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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XII.

JULY—DECEMBER, 1849.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth; even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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ERRATA.

In No. XXII. at page 535, and in the article on "Cunningham's History of the Sikhs," it is stated that "*two* unserviceable guns were lent to the British," (Wild's Brigade) by the Sikhs under Avitabile at Peshawur; we find that we should have written "*four* unserviceable guns," &c.

In No. XXIII. at page 48, line 25, for "Maygars," read "Magyars."

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Progress of Russia in the East. 2nd Edition.* 1838.

2. *Quarterly Review, No. CXXVII. Art.* 7.

3. *Foreign Office Correspondence relating to Persia and Affghanistan, presented to both houses of Parliamentby Her Majesty's Command.* 1839.

4. *Records of the Indian Government.*

5. *The Bombay Times, &c. &c.*

PERSIA, which has almost disappeared from the political horizon since the Affghan war, is now again looming in the field of sight. The country is undergoing that shock which it periodically sustains, when the occupancy of the throne is changed; and although, upon the present occasion, neither does the immediate paroxysm threaten to be internally of a very violent character, nor is it accompanied for the moment with any morbid symptoms from without, still we cannot think the crisis altogether undeserving of attention in India.

There is probably no political question, connected with our Indian Empire, which has been treated more frequently, or with greater discrepancy of result, than that which pretends to fix the nature, the limits, and the value of the true interests that we possess in Persia.

Party-writers and economists, historians and pamphleteers, statesmen and journalists, have, at different periods, and under different particular phases of the subject, examined it with more or less of competency and care; and, if the acts of Government may be taken as an index of the pressure of the times, the effect of these varied agencies upon the public mind must have been to invest our relations with Persia, in popular opinion, with every possible degree of consideration, from that of absolute vitality to one of comparative worthlessness. We commenced with a magnificent embassy, which was followed by complete isolation We descended in our next essay like Jupiter in an avalanche of gold; but ere long we took advantage of poor Danaë's distress to drive a bargain with her of

extraordinary rigour, and even of doubtful honesty. A third time we beheld our Syren transformed into a Hydra, and we plunged into a contest on her account, as momentous as any that figures in the page of Indian History; and yet, although the issue of that war must have increased tenfold our danger —if such danger ever had existed—we have since its conclusion held on our way with an inert complacency, that would hardly have been justified in our palmiest days of security and strength.

"Nil fuit unquam
"Sic impar sibi."

The most remarkable circumstance, however, is, that while we have exhibited this strange inconsistency; while we have belied, in respect to Persia, the otherwise traditional character of our Eastern policy; yet if there has been one branch of our Indian external interests, which, from its nature, has been not only less than any other altered, but has been less susceptible of alteration, it has been that which relates to the value (be it for good or ill) of our connection with the Court of Teheran. Organic changes are as difficult in nations, as they are in individuals. Eastern society above all, immovable alike in its predilections and its prejudices, sustains the action of half a century without any sensible effect; and the picture therefore of Persia, as it appeared to Captain Malcolm on his first visit to the Court of the Shah, conveys, as far as all essentials are concerned, a faithful representation of the country at the present day.* Considered also politically, since Zizianoff crossed the Caucasus, and Lord Lake entered Delhi, the substantive relations of Persia to the European powers (we exclude party intrigues, personal feelings, ephemeral interests, as of no consequence to the general question) can never by possibility have varied. Shut in between her colossal neighbours, the country has been held together by their opposing pressure. She has received influences, but has never imparted them: her condition has been strictly passive, and the tendencies, to which she has been exposed, have been constant and uniform. If it be wise at the present time to fold our arms in dignified composure, and look on Persia with indifference, then our lavish subsidies have been a folly, and our wars, costly as they have been in blood, in honour, and in

* Malcolm, indeed, ventures to assert, that "the Persians, as far as we have the means of judging, are not at present a very different people from what they were in the time of Darius and of Noosheerwan;" but we cannot concede this dictum in all its latitude. We think it would be difficult to find a greater contrast than that obtained by comparing the autobiographic records of Darius at Bisitun with the Firman issued by Mahommed Shah on his return from the siege of Herat; and, if we may judge of Hercules by his foot, we may surely estimate a nation from the mouth of its ruler.

treasure, have been a crime. If, on the other hand, our past policy has been sound, then our present supineness may well excite surprise.

Notwithstanding all that has been published on the subject of Persia, we still doubt if the question of her real abstract value, in regard to India, has ever yet been fairly treated. We enter our formal protest against fancy-pieces, party-articles, and against all political papers written for a purpose, whether that purpose be detraction or apology. We will go even further, and assert autobiographic history to be in its nature liable to suspicion. The writer, however able and however honest, who undertakes to describe and reason on the political events amongst which he is moving, encounters the same difficulties as a painter, who should seat himself at the library table to sketch the façade of the mansion he inhabits. The "quorum pars magna fui" is a positive impediment. Preconceived impressions, and personal associations, must inevitably disturb the natural current of enquiry, and divert it into stranger channels. Still less, too, are mere programmes to be depended on. Designed to justify some particular line of policy, they explode, if that policy should prove unsuccessful. We do not mean to say that they are useless, or that the "respice finem" of the Athenian sage can be applied generally to the science of politics. Doubtless, when an occasion arises, emergent and exceptional, the available lights of the moment must be followed; delay would be fatal. There must be to a certain extent an adventurous movement—a leap in the dark; and posterity can alone benefit by the issue, in obtaining another element for future calculations; but with regard to the "pièces justificatives,"—those specious, often convincing guides—they must still come before the tribunal of experience, and be judged by the result. If their predictions are verified, the arguments on which they rest will remain a proud memorial of human foresight and sagacity. If, on the other hand, they do not stand the test of time, whatever respect may be paid to their ingenuity, they can have no permanent claim on consideration.

These remarks are particularly applicable to the principal "brochures" that have issued from the press on the Persian question. Undoubtedly the two ablest of these papers, which have appeared in modern times, and which, from their opportuneness and ability, have exercised the most influence on the public mind, are those that we have placed at the head of the present article. Sir John McNeill, from whose pen they are well known to have

proceeded, united to the most perfect familiarity with his subject, a cool and comprehensive judgment, the rare advantage of a freedom from political bias, and as little perhaps of local prejudice as was compatible with his personal identity; yet, after the ample interval of ten years' probation, do his positions, we ask, sustain their reputation? Can his arguments, flowing as they invariably do, in a clear and continued series of inductions, or his inferences, legitimate—nay imperative—as they seem, be now quoted as standard authorities? We think not, and for this simple reason, that, if they prove anything, they prove too much. If "the progress of Russia in the East" had been, indeed, as constant and inevitable as the antecedents, which he grouped together, led him to believe, ten years—and ten such years—could not have passed over without a much more marked development than has, in reality, taken place. If it were indispensable in 1838 to establish a strong British influence in Affghanistan, in order to keep at a distance certain dangers with which India was threatened, that influence could not have been annihilated in 1842, without the dangers becoming by this time so imminent, as to be no longer matters of speculation. Accidental circumstances, we admit, may at any time interpose to check or divert the natural course of events; but the possibility of those very circumstances should form an integral item of account in working out every political problem. This item, indeed, is of the same value in considerations of policy, as the doctrine of chances in the calculations of the actuary; and by its omission any argument is as essentially vitiated as by erroneous premises.

We propose then, in the murky atmosphere of Calcutta, and without such full aids as we could desire, to re-open the Persian question; and we promise our readers that, if they should discover no great novelty or merit in our views, they will, at any rate, obtain a just idea of our general connection with the country, and will, moreover, find those particular points, on which opinion is so much divided, treated in a fair and candid spirit of enquiry.

It was at the close of the last century, under the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley, that the Government of India first thought of opening political relations with the Court of Teheran. As we do not profess to be here writing a history of the British connection with Persia, whilst at the same time we are loth to leave entirely blank any portion of our outline sketch, we must throw into the form of a brief narrative such information as we possess of our dealings with the Court of Teheran

prior to Captain Malcolm's mission. Lord Wellesley's attention had been drawn to the North West frontier of India shortly after his arrival in the country, not merely by the power and avowed hostility of Shah Zeman, and by the notorious fact of an ambassador having travelled from Mysore to the Punjab, but by the discovery that Vizier Ali of Oude had also appealed to the avarice of the Affghan King, by offering a donation of three crores of rupees, in the event of his own restoration to the musnud through the Affghan arms, and by proposing in the mean time to assign, for the uses of the Shah, the fifty-five lakhs payable from Oude for the maintenance of the British Contingent.

Mehdi Ali Khan, accordingly, a Persian nobleman naturalized in India, who was then acting as the Company's Resident at Bushire, was instructed "to take measures for inducing the Court 'of Persia to keep Shah Zeman in perpetual check (so as to 'preclude him from returning to India), but without any decided 'act of hostility;" and two or three lakhs of rupees were to be expended annually, at the Khan's discretion, for the purposes above specified,—"the plan of subsidizing the whole army of 'Persia being (in Lord Wellesley's language) more extensive 'and expensive than circumstances seemed to require."

Agreeably to these instructions, Mehdi Ali Khan, early in 1798, opened a correspondence with Teheran, for the purpose of persuading the Shah, (who however needed no persuasion) to send the two refugee princes, Mahmud and Firoz, with a respectable force into Affghanistan.

Some court-intrigue was employed on the occasion, and the expedition actually took place; but there is every reason for believing, that it would have equally taken place without the interference of our agent; for the project was in entire accordance with the temper and policy of the Persian court, and had been moreover actively discussed before the receipt of Mehdi Ali Khan's communication. This expedition, which was badly conceived and worse executed, turned out a complete failure; and so little disposed were we at the time to take credit for having instigated the movement, that it was eight years before the Indian Government could be persuaded to reimburse to the Agent employed at Teheran the paltry sum of 17,000 Rupees, expended on the personal outfit of the princes.

Futteh Ali Shah took the field in person for the first time in 1799, for the avowed purpose of "conquering and reducing the 'countries of Candahar and Herat," and without any further communication with Mehdi Ali Khan. Letters had been written by

that officer to the court of Teheran, and, by the highly coloured statements which they gave of the atrocities committed by the Affghans on the Sheeahs and Syuds of Lahore, these were certainly calculated to excite the sectarian animosity of the Persians ;* but it was not in consequence of these letters that the expedition was organized. His Majesty received the inflammatory despatches on the borders of Khorassan : and we were indebted, therefore, for the withdrawal of Shah Zeman from Lahore to Peshawur, which immediately followed his receiving intelligence of the Persian movements, to the ambition of Futteh Ali Shah, and not to our own diplomacy : and upon this ground we rejected a subsequent claim brought forward by the Persians for indemnification.

The campaign of 1799 was of very short duration, and of no great importance even in its local effects. His Majesty returned to the capital, in the autumn, and there received Mehdi Ali Khan, who had in the mean while wended his way from Bushire to the capital, to endeavour by personal intercourse with the Shah's Ministers more steadily and effectually to carry out Lord Wellesley's policy. The Agent expended about two and a half lakhs of rupees upon this mission, thus giving the Persians a foretaste of British prodigality : and it is possible (although there is no sufficient evidence of the fact) that it may have been partly owing to his advice and promise of pecuniary aid, that the Shah again marched into Khorassan in the spring of 1800. Mehdi Ali Khan in January of that year returned from Teheran to Bushire, and joined Captain Malcolm very shortly after the first British mission had set foot upon the soil of Persia.

The immediate aim of Captain Malcolm's mission, in 1800, was to push forward a Persian army on Herat, as a means of diverting Shah Zeman from his long-threatened descent on Hindustan ; and this was undoubtedly a legitimate object of diplomacy. The invasion of India and the defence of Khorassan had been the stimulant and opiate which, ever since Shah Zeman's accession to the throne, had alternately inflamed and paralyzed his ambition. The Affghan king had, on two occasions, advanced in person to Lahore, but had been compelled to retrace his steps

* Mehdi Ali Khan was an active and faithful servant of the Company, and not an unskilful negociator ; but his florid statements and thoroughly oriental colouring scandalized, on more occasions than one, the British authorities even of that age, when veraciousness was certainly not the distinguishing feature of our political correspondence. He commences the letter in question with a very pretty specimen of his craft. "Lord Mornington," he says, "and Mr. Duncan, and all the Sirdars in the Company's service are indifferent as to the entering or not of Shah Zeman into Hindustan, as the fame of the European Artillery is well known, a trifling instance of which is that 700 *of their brave troops not long ago defeated three lakhs of Suraj-ed-Dowlah's forces !*"

by troubles in his rear. He was still intent on conquest beyond the Sutlej, when Captain Malcolm quitted India. It is, however, erroneous to suppose, that we were indebted to the mission in question for our deliverance from the danger which threatened us.* That the storm was dissipated in the manner suggested by Lord Wellesley before it reached our frontier, and that the clouds never again collected in dark lowering masses, was creditable to His Lordship's foresight, but was entirely independent of his measures. The second expedition, indeed, of Futteh Ali Shah into Khorassan in 1800, which drew Shah Zeman from Candahar to Herat, took place almost simultaneously with Captain Malcolm's journey from the south of Persia to the Capital. His Majesty received the British mission at Teheran in the autumn of the same year, after his return from Subzewar; and the subsequent proceedings of Shah Mahmood, which disconcerted Shah Zeman's arrangements at Peshawur, and which led, in the sequel, to his dethronement, so far from originating in British instigation, or in Persian support, were in reality indebted for their success to their entire independence of all foreign aid. As the minion of Persia, Shah Mahmood could never have prevailed against his elder brother. As the popular Durání champion, he was irresistible.

Captain Malcolm appears, however, to have had other instructions than those which related to our relief from the positive danger of Affghan invasion. At this time a Gallophobia reigned rampant in India. Napoleon was the "bête noire" of Lord Wellesley's dreams; and thus, although there seems, in reality, to have been no more reason for suspecting the Directory to have entertained the design of injuring us through Persia, than there was for apprehending danger to British India from the inflated proclamation of a Mauritius Governor, Captain Malcolm was nevertheless empowered to contract engagements with the Shah, in regard to the French nation, of so stringent—nay, of so vindictive—a nature, that they have been characterized by one of our ablest, as well as most impartial, political writers, as "an eternal disgrace to our Indian diplomacy."† In those en-

* For a minute and honest detail of these events, see Elphinstone's Cabul, Vol. II. p. 316. It is of the more importance that historic truth should be vindicated in this matter, as the error that we have noticed originated with Captain Malcolm himself, who in his History of Persia, Vol. II. p. 215, had the assurance to write that his "policy 'had the temporary success which was desired of diverting the Affghans from their me-'ditated invasion of India." On such authority, Dr. Conder may be pardoned for stating in the Modern Traveller, (Persia, p. 237,) that, "the mission fulfilled all its objects. The 'Shah gladly embraced the opportunity to invade Khorassan; and his conquest had its 'anticipated effect of recalling the Affghan chief from his Indian expedition."

† Sutherland's Sketches, p. 30.

gagements it was provided, that, "should an army of the French 'nation, actuated by design and deceit, attempt to settle with a 'view of establishing themselves on any of the Islands or shores 'of Persia, a conjoint force shall be appointed by the two high 'contracting parties to act in co-operation, for their expulsion 'and extirpation, and to destroy and put an end to the founda-'tion of their treason; and if any of the great men of the 'French nation express a wish or desire to obtain a place of 'residence, or dwelling, in any of the islands or shores of the 'kingdom of Persia, that they may raise the standard of abode, 'or settlement, leave for their residing in such a place shall not 'be granted." Captain Malcolm further persuaded the Shah to issue a Firman to the provincial Governors, which directed that "you shall expel and extirpate the French, and never allow 'them to obtain a footing in any place," and added that "you 'are at full liberty to disgrace and slay the intruders."

Can we be surprised that Monsieur Langlès, writing of these engagements, after the passions of the hour had subsided, termed them "ridiculous and even injurious?"* Is it not, indeed, a significant admission of their inability to stand the test of public opinion at the present day, that the treaty, which embodied them, was excluded from the State papers presented to the House of Commons, on March 9th, 1839?† We confess that we fully participate in the condemnation which Colonel Sutherland has expressed of them on the score of their morality; but we go even farther, and affirm that they were unnecessary in their nature, unsound in their policy, and pregnant with evil consequences; unnecessary, inasmuch as they were aimed at an imaginary danger; unsound in providing for that danger a remedy too potent, or at any rate too violent, to be efficacious; and of an almost suicidal tendency, in exposing the vulnerability of our Indian Empire, and thus courting, instead of averting, attack. It was an unhappy augury for our future intercourse with Persia, that our political relations should have commenced under such auspices. It was

* Voyage de Chardin. Tom. X., p. 232. Captain Malcolm coolly replied to the Frenchman's statement that, "*it was exactly opposed to the truth.*"

† It is possible however that the exclusion of this document from the Persian State Papers may have been owing to certain doubts being entertained, whether the treaty ever came into operation; for we find Governor Duncan stating in 1806, that "there 'was an impression on his mind, that the final ratification and interchange of the 'treaty of 1801 were not to take place till after the arrival of Hadjee Khaleel in Bengal, 'which never having occurred, the Supreme Government could judge how far it 'might be allowable to consider it as not now in force." We have never seen the validity of the Malcolm Treaty questioned in any other quarter; but assuredly, if its ratification and interchange never did in reality take place, it was diplomatically allowable to ignore the whole transaction.

ominous of the troubles we should have in the sequel to encounter, that we originated the idea of "the road to the English" lying through the Persian Empire;* and, if we have since had occasion to complain of the insincerity of the Court of Teheran, or of its desire to profit by the jealousy of the European powers, we should do well to remember, that the secret of the value which we placed on the country from its geographical position was first revealed to the wily Persian by ourselves.

But Captain Malcolm's Treaty was not, perhaps, the most objectionable feature of his mission; his prodigality left a more lasting impression, and that impression, in the ratio of its original force and effect, has operated ever since to our prejudice. So lavish was his expenditure, that he was popularly believed to have been granted a premium of 5 per cent. on all the sums he could disburse; while the more intelligent, who rejected an explanation savoring so strongly of the "Arabian Nights," could only draw, from his profusion, an exaggerated estimate of the wealth of England, or an inordinate appreciation of the value which we placed upon the Persian alliance. Money, we know, in the moral world, is much like opium in the physical. The stomach, once drugged, is insensible to milder stimulants; and thus, ever since we administered the first fatal dose, to create an influence, or to persuade the Persians of our really being in earnest in seeking for their friendship, we have had to follow the same pernicious treatment, with a merely temporary effect upon the patient, but to the ever active depletion of our Indian store, from which the prescriptions have been drawn.

We cannot close our notice of Captain Malcolm's mission, without alluding to another project which occupied much of his attention, and which, although it found little favor with Lord Wellesley at the time, has since been much canvassed, and sometimes even carried into partial execution. That India was menaced with danger from the European powers, Capt. Malcolm never doubted; and with this position, taken in the abstract, and dependent for its development on time and circumstances, we are hardly disposed to quarrel: but we can only explain it as the effect of that sort of strabismus, which, on particular subjects, sometimes distorts the eyes of politicians, otherwise clear-sighted enough, that he should have looked for

* This expression has ever since been a bye-word in Persia. Diplomatic etiquette of course did not admit of its appearing "totidem verbis" in our treaties with the Shah; but the idea, which it embodies, forms the very basis of all these treaties; and we hardly understand, therefore, why our nerves should have been so greatly shocked, when Dost Mahommed Khan was reminded by his agent at Teheran, that he held a turnpike lower down "*the road.*"

the approach of the danger *by sea*, and that his line of sight should have been still more strangely diverted, from the Caspian, to the Persian Gulf. Such, however, was the case. He seems to have had a sad misgiving that the French—notwithstanding that they were subjected by his treaty to a perpetual ostracism from the Persian soil—would still establish themselves on the shores of the Gulf, and would thence launch their victorious navies against the coasts of India; and he accordingly proposed seriously, that we should obtain the island of Kishm from the Shah, and should there construct a fort, which, if not "hewn out of a mountain" like Gibraltar, or "cradled in a crater" as at Aden, should at any rate, be so strengthened by all the means and appliances of modern science, as to present a formidable obstacle to any enemy. In a military point of view, this fort was to be a "tête du pont" to the Bombay Harbour. Commercially, it was to revive the extinct glories of Siraf and Ormuz. Politically, it was to give confidence to Asia, while it frowned, like "Castle Dangerous," upon Europe.

It was in vain that Mr. Harford Jones, to whom Capt. Malcolm submitted his lucubrations, objected that France must overrun Syria, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, before she could approach the Persian Gulf; that she must hold those countries as a conqueror, before she could pretend to fit out an expedition against India; that, if she did really contemplate so gigantic an enterprise, she was in a better position for making the attempt from the Red Sea, than if she were in possession of Bushire and Bussorah; inasmuch as the naval resources of Egypt were fully equal to those of Arabia and Persia, while Suez was much nearer, than the mouth of the Euphrates, to her European base. It was in vain that the fallacy was exposed of ever again forming a great commercial emporium in the Persian Gulf; Vasco de Gama, when he doubled the Cape, having given the death blow to this once famous line of traffic between the East and the West. It was in vain that the resident at Bagdad, with a sagacity that has never been acknowledged, and the full value of which remains yet to be realised, pointed out the true point of danger to our Indian Empire, at Asterabad; "the line of least resistance" lying between the Caspian and the Indus. Captain Malcolm was not to be disabused of his crotchet; he sturdily defended his thesis, and sent in a report of one hundred and eleven paragraphs to Lord Wellesley on the subject, supported by supplementary arguments extending to some fifty paragraphs more. This portentous document, however, happily miscarried: the minutes of the Calcutta Council Chamber stifled the monster in its birth; and, although Malcolm

again attempted to vitalize the embryo in 1810, and certain abortive measures, such as the expeditions of 1817 and 1820, and the occupation of Karrack in 1838, may be indirectly traced to the same germ, the only actual embodiment at the present day (and that a mere faint shadow of the original idea) is to be found in our naval station at Bassidore.

We must now take a rapid survey of that phase in our Persian policy, which we have before mentioned, as one of complete isolation. For several years succeeding Captain Malcolm's mission, the affairs of Persia excited but little interest in India.* The violent effort we had made in opening an alliance was followed, as usual, by the reaction of langour. The Gallo-phobia had been lulled for a time by the ill success of the French in Egypt, and the dispersion of Perron's battalions. Danger from beyond the Indus no longer scared us; for Afghanistan was torn asunder by civil war, and Runjeet Singh had founded a kingdom in the Punjab. Although, therefore, we continued to receive intelligence from Teheran by the way both of Bagdad and of Bushire, and although we thus learnt that Persia was sinking gradually before the power of Russia, and that France had offered assistance to the Shah, we made no attempt whatever to preserve the influence that Capt. Malcolm had created, or even to require an observance of his treaty.

Persia in the mean time, was suffering grievously. She lost in

* We must compress into a note the leading features of the Persian question in regard to India during this period. A certain Haji Khalil Khan was dispatched from Persia to India, immediately on Captain Malcolm's retirement, to pay the compliment of a return mission, and to arrange for the ratification and interchange of the treaty. This individual, however, lost his life at Bombay in 1802, in an affray between his servants and the guard of sepoys who were acting as his escort. Much embarrassment ensued; but ultimately, liberal pensions having been provided for the relatives of the deceased, and full explanations having been tendered on the part of the Indian Government by Mr. Manesty, the Company's Resident at Bussorah, who took upon himself in 1804 to proceed to the Persian Court for the purpose, the event was passed over as the inevitable stroke of "fate." We do not believe that any ill-feeling to us was awakened amongst the Persians generally by so untoward an affair: in fact a saying is on record of the minister of Shiraz, that "the English might kill ten Ambassadors, if they paid for them at the same rate," in allusion to the princely pensions settled on the family. There was an individual, however, who caused us considerable trouble in the sequel: Mirza Nebi Khan, the brother-in-law of the ambassador, having been named administrator of the estate, conceived the idea of turning the accident to his private account. By enormous bribes to the Persian Court he obtained the appointment of ambassador for himself, and after much delay came down to India in 1805, not exactly to fill his relative's place, but to exercise the triple functions of minister, merchant, and claimant of blood money, which he roundly assessed at 20 lakhs of Rupees. It is probable, nay almost certain, that his political mission, which mainly referred to a requisition for aid against Russia, would have failed under any circumstances, for the question was before the Home Government, and in the mean time the Indian authorities were powerless to act; but it is also certain, that his arrogant language, his extraordinary pretensions, and the anomaly of his triple character, contributed in no small degree to bring about the indifferent reception and frigid replies, with which he was greeted by Sir G. Barlow, on his arrival at Calcutta in March 1806. He returned to Persia "re infectâ," and found the French already established there.

succession to the indefatigable Zizianoff, Mingrelia and Ganjeh, Shekee, Shirwan, and Karabagh. In 1804, she fought her first pitched battle with a Russian army near Erivan, and, of course, sustained a defeat. When overtures were made by France in 1802, proposing the co-operation of a French and Persian army against the Russians in Georgia (all territorial acquisitions to be divided between the contracting parties, and resident French Agents to be established immediately at Teheran and Erivan), they were coldly received.* Mirza Buzurg, indeed, emphatically

* These letters were delivered by a certain Shahrokh Khan, who had travelled to Paris on his private affairs, and had met with much attention from the French authorities. They were generally believed at the time to be genuine documents; but circumstances subsequently transpired which led to a suspicion of their having emanated from a certain clique of diplomatic subalterns, who, under the name of "Consular Agents," remained in Syria after the French evacuation of the country, and who continued for many years to pursue a restless course of political adventure, spreading in the sequel a perfect net-work of intrigue over the whole face of Western Asia. These parties, at any rate, led on by those veterans of the Levant, the Outreys, the Rousseaus, Pontecoulant, and the Corançes, were found pushing their "antennæ" into Persia, almost immediately subsequent to the presentation of Shahrokh's letters; and it was in pursuance of their counsels and through their agency, that, in the autumn of 1804, when the Shah was encamped near Erivan, a second communication, formally authenticated, was addressed by the Government of France to the Court of Persia, which claimed, in virtue of a certain treaty concluded with Shah Abbas, (a treaty, however, that we do not remember to have seen otherwise noticed in history,) a prescriptive right of alliance between the two countries, and which proposed that the Shah and the Emperor should act cordially together against Russia. As France and Russia were at this time ostensibly on terms of friendship, the sincerity of the proposal seems to have been suspected. The Shah, moreover, had already applied to the British Cabinet, through the Resident at Bagdad, for support on the European side; and he was about despatching an Ambassador to India to solicit an armed interference in his behalf. The French overtures, therefore, without being offensively or even decidedly rejected, were, for the time being, quietly laid upon the shelf.

In the summer of the following year (1805), war having in the mean time broken out between France and Russia, Colonel Romieu appeared in person at Teheran, accredited under the hand of the Emperor: he was accompanied by a respectable suite, and was the bearer of handsome, if not of splendid, presents: his proposals, too, were sufficiently explicit. If Persia would repudiate the British alliance, which could not avail her against Russia, and would connect herself with France, the Emperor would at once send a Resident Minister to Teheran, would subsidize the Persian troops, and throw an auxiliary army into Georgia. The Shah, who at the first audience of the Colonel had merely vouchsafed three questions: "How are you?" "How is Buonaparte?" "What made you kill your King?" wavered, when he heard of a subsidy and an auxiliary army in Georgia. Would the English fulfil his expectations? Would they abide by the stipulations of the Malcolm Treaty, which was offensive and defensive, the friends of one country being the friends of the other, and the enemies of one country the enemies of the other? These were the questions which His Majesty again referred to Bagdad, and, pending an answer to which, he was still resolved to avoid committing himself with France. In the mean time Colonel Romieu died at Teheran; and further negociations being deferred until the arrival of a Monr. Rubie, whom it was intended to send out from Paris in an ostensible diplomatic capacity, Sir Harford Jones availed himself of the respite thus afforded, to write soothing and hopeful letters to the Shah, and ultimately to proceed in person to Constantinople, for the double purpose of awakening the King's Ambassador to a sense of the critical state of affairs in Persia, and of explaining the anomalous position in which we were placed in regard to that country, by the conflicting interests and the independent engagements of the Home and Indian Governments. In the spring of 1806 the Shah must have received intelligence of the expected result of Mirza Nebi Khan's negociations in India. The Governor General had left the question of protecting or supporting Persia against Russia for the exclusive consideration of Downing Street; and as his Majesty's ministers had been now for full two years de-

wrote, that "if Buonaparte in person came to Teheran, he would be debarred admission to the centre of the universe," and, as the ink of the Malcolm Treaty was scarcely then dry, this was no very surprising trait of constancy, even for a Persian. By degrees, however, the Minister's coyness wore off. French agents were admitted in 1805 to reside in Persia, and were even treated with distinction; and when the application, addressed from Teheran direct to the Government of India in 1806, seeking for support against Russia, entirely failed—owing amongst other causes to Sir G. Barlow's strict adherence to the principle of non-intervention—the star of France rose rapidly in the ascendant.

It has been asserted, by one who might be supposed to be

liberating on the question, without venturing to come even to an approximate solution, the Shah could not help regarding this shifting of responsibility at the last moment from the only quarter whence substantive aid could be afforded, to the same shadowy, silent oracles, as equivalent to a determination to avoid interference. In the first bitterness of disappointment letters were addressed to Napoleon, and confided to Monr. Outrey, a French Dragoman, who had remained at Teheran after Colonel Romieu's decease; but as this gentleman travelled leisurely by the route of Bagdad to Constantinople, he had hardly reached the latter place when he was overtaken by an Ambassador appointed by Futteh Ali Shah to repair to the camp of the Emperor. This was the adventurous Mirza Reza, who afterwards concluded the treaty of Fenkestein; and the instructions with which he proceeded on his mission were dexterously conceived and not unskilfully executed. In these instructions, so far from appearing as a suppliant, the Shah adopted the tone of an equal. No undue apprehension was expressed of the power of Russia. On the contrary she was spoken of as an antagonist of ordinary calibre, "equally an enemy of the Kings of Persia and France, and whose destruction accordingly became the duty of the two Kings. France would attack her from that quarter; Persia from this." Then followed a golden pill for the Emperor, "If the French have an intention of invading Khorassan, the King will appoint an army to go down by *the road* of Cabul and Candahar." But the Ambassador was thus warned in conclusion,—"If the French require a station or port in the province of Fars for their passage to Hindustan, do not consent; but say that, when a respectable confidential person is established at the royal residence for the consummation of friendship between the States, the proposal will be considered."

Nothing could have been more opportune for Napoleon than this communication: he had just fought the doubtful battle of Eylau, and was casting about for new allies against the only power which had yet been able to arrest the march of his legions. A preliminary treaty accordingly was formed without delay, and almost at Mirza Reza's dictation, and Monr. Jaubert was at once sent off to Teheran to announce the terms agreed on, and to hold the Shah firm to his new alliance. A few months subsequently, when the convention of Tilsit had entirely altered the relations between Russia, France, and England, General Gardanne was accredited to Persia with instructions very essentially modified from those issued to the Agent who preceded him, and far less satisfactory to the Shah. The treaty of Mirza Reza, who accompanied the General, was barely noticed, or at any rate it was only so far admitted to be in force, as it concerned the exclusion of the English from Persia, and the hostile designs of the French against British India. The armed opposition to Russia, which had been especially provided for in Mirza Reza's draft, was rendered impossible by the peace of Tilsit; and the Shah, being now committed to the new alliance, was fain to accept of mediation in its stead.

We have been thus particular in describing the origin of the French connexion with Persia, as all the historical notices we have seen upon the subject are deficient either in veracity or fullness; and as Sir John McNeill even, who ought to have known better, has, in his Persian pamphlet, (Progress of Russia in the East, pp. 59-62), confounded the different missions in a manner which furnishes a graphic picture but which is correct neither in outline nor detail.

competent to give an opinion on the question, that the Governor General's rejection of this application for assistance was a clear "casus fœderis;"* but, in the received language of history, the odium of broken faith rests altogether with the Shah; and Sir John McNeill, indeed, affords an apology, but no defence, when he says, "that Persia, losing all hope of support from her old 'ally, had no alternative but to throw herself into the arms of 'France." Upon whichever party, however, may fall the responsibility of those proceedings which led to the mission of Mirza Reza, the return mission of Monsr. Jaubert, and the conclusion of a treaty between France and Persia at Fenkestein in 1807,—no sooner was it known that General Gardanne had been appointed to Teheran, and that French officers might be thus expected ere long to obtain a control over the military resources of the country, than the authorities in Downing Street and Calcutta appear to have awoke almost simultaneously to a sense of danger.

It is currently believed that at the conference at Tilsit, the Eastern question in its full extent was discussed between Alexander and Napoleon, much in the same spirit as the Turkish question had been previously treated by Catherine and the Emperor Joseph. There were formidable impediments, it is true, to a partition of the East between two such powers as France and Russia, not the least of which must have been the difficulty of apportioning the rich prize to be acquired from England; but it may fairly be presumed, that when Napoleon destined the most able and distinguished of his brothers† to fill the post of Ambassador at Teheran, he not only really entertained the idea of contesting, with more or less activity, British supremacy in India, but expected the Emperor Alexander to aid in the design. It seemed therefore to be time, when Persia, sulky through disappointment, threatened to place herself a passive instrument in the hands of France, that the British Government should bestir itself; but supposing even this result to have been as imminent as our fears led us to imagine, whether the means employed were the best calculated

* "Letter on the present state of British interests and affairs in Persia, 1838, by "Harford Jones Brydges," page 6. Sir H. Jones always maintained the principle, that, as our alliance with Persia was offensive and defensive, the Russian occupation of Mingrelia, Karabagh, &c. was equivalent to an attack on our own dominions, and required to be resented accordingly. It must be remembered, however, that the offensive and defensive article of the Malcolm Treaty referred particularly to the French, and was so understood and admitted both by the Engligh and Persian plenipotentiaries. The validity moreover of the treaty in question was, as has been before observed, open to dispute.

† Lucien Buonaparte. See "Progress of Russia in the East," page 60.

to avert the danger, is a distinct and much controverted question.

We have said advisedly that Napoleon entertained the idea of contesting our supremacy in India—such an idea indeed was a necessary element in his design of universal empire—but we are far from intending to commit ourselves to the popular opinion that we were, either then or at any future time, exposed to the actual danger of an armed European invasion. Among the visions which the Emperor displayed to Alexander at Tilsit, and for which he sacrificed so many substantial interests, we have heard of one proposing the simultaneous march of a French and Russian army, which, combining in the plains of Persia, should operate against our Indian frontier.* It is further known, that Sebastiani endeavoured to obtain permission from the Porte, that the French troops destined for the expedition should pass by Constantinople, and we have little doubt that Gardanne's principal instructions in his Persian Embassy referred to the same subject; but it is also notorious, that in spite of Mirza Reza's engagements, the project from the commencement found no favor with the Persian monarch, and that a very short experience of the Persian character and of the state of the relations of the Court with Russia, sufficed to convince Gardanne, not only of the impossibility of a tripartite alliance, but of the extreme difficulty of persuading the Shah to admit the presence in Persia of an auxiliary army of any European nation whatever. The utmost that the General could have achieved, if he had fulfilled Napoleon's promise of inducing Russia to relinquish to the Shah all her recent acquisitions in Georgia, and if he had thus obtained a place, dominant and permanent, in the Councils of Teheran, would have been the direction of a Persian expedition towards the Indus led by European officers; and we may safely venture to predict what would have been the fate of such an army, when brought, after its toilsome march, face to face with the veterans of Deig and of Laswarrie, who then guarded our north-western frontier.

Such, however, was not the light in which the Russo-French coalition was viewed at the time. An alarm, exaggerated by the vagueness of the danger, was suddenly called into existence, and measures of defence were taken, which, with the usual un-

* We find the project thus described in an official document of the period, drawn up at Vienna, and circulated "by authority:"—"Buonaparte saisit adroitement l'occasion de la paix de Tilsit pour engager Alexandre d'envoyer une armée le printemps prochain en Perse, qui s'uniroit avec une armée Française qui devait passer par Constantinople et l'Asie Mineure, et de là, traversant la Perse, organiser les troupes que la Cour d'Ispahan devait donner pour sa part, et commencer quelque acte hostile contre les possessions de la Compagnie des Indes."

towardness of sudden impulses—an untowardness, indeed, that in regard to Persia seems to operate with a sort of fatality—almost brought the Home and Indian Governments into collision. The British ministry, judging Persia, at war with Russia and courted by France, to come within the legitimate range of European diplomacy, appointed Sir Harford Jones, who had lately returned from Bagdad, to be Envoy Extraordinary from the Crown, and sent him out in October 1807, with a commission which placed him in subordination to the Governor-General, but with full powers to conclude a direct treaty between the Shah of Persia and the King of England: while Lord Minto, either mistrustful of the Agent, or deeming affairs too critical to await his tardy arrival by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and dissatisfied also with the interference of the Crown in arrangements, which had hitherto been under the exclusive direction of the Indian Government, and the expenses of which moreover required to be defrayed from the Indian Treasury, nominated his own officer, Brigadier General Malcolm, to the same duties that had been confided in London to His Majesty's Envoy. We will not follow the details of the unseemly contest that ensued, although an instructive lesson might be drawn from them. We must confine ourselves to results, and to the general questions of policy involved in them. General Malcolm, who was allowed the initiative in this singular diplomatic combat, had no sooner arrived in the Persian Gulf in May, 1808, than, agreeably to his instructions, he opened trenches against the French position at Teheran. But Gardanne was then basking in the full sunshine of Court favor: he had given something, promised much, and led the Shah to hope for more; he was pleading earnestly to Russia for forbearance: his engineers were constructing fortifications: his officers were disciplining the Persian troops: and, although the British Envoy resorted freely to his old strategy of a golden influence, and fairly offered to buy the French out of Persia, he found it impossible to make any way. A discomfiture, so signal and so unexpected, seems to have obscured the General's judgment, as much as it shocked his vanity. Without considering the causes of his failure, or duly weighing its probable effects, or even seizing upon an eligible remedy, he indignantly quitted the shores of Persia, "breathing reproach, defiance and invasion."

We doubt if General Malcolm was guilty of greater blunders in his dealings with the Peishwa in 1817-18, than he committed in his abortive mission to Persia in 1808. It required no extraordinary penetration, one would think, to have perceived

that at the period in question money could possess for Persia but a secondary attraction. Self-preservation was her leading instinct; and whichever power, France or England, could offer her the best chance of protection against her gigantic adversary, Russia, must, of necessity, have had a preference in her Councils. Undoubtedly the "auri sacra fames" was the prevailing vice of Futteh Ali Shah's character, and he had been taught, moreover, to make the jealousy of the European powers subservient to the gratification of his avarice; but what to him was "all the wealth of Ind," if at the same time a Russian army occupied his capital? As the overtures made by Persia to Napoleon were mainly owing to the unwillingness or inability of the Governor General of India to adopt any measures for placing a check upon Russian aggression, so did Gardanne maintain his ground against English gold by persuading the Shah, that in French mediation lay his only safeguard against absorption by his northern neighbour.

The more extended also the view that may be taken of the Persian question, the less favorable will be the light in which General Malcolm's proceedings must appear. If it be admitted (and there can be few dissentients, we think, at the present day), that a tripartite alliance between Russia, France, and Persia, for purposes hostile to British India, was beyond, and that the march of a Russo-French army to the Indus, in defiance of Persia, or without her assistance, was barely within, the range of possibility, the alarm excited by Gardanne's establishment at Teheran must appear quite extravagant. To us it seems, that if the French had really strengthened Persia against further encroachment on the part of Russia, either by treaty, or by placing her in an improved state of military defence, they would have rendered us a service of far more real consequence to our Indian Empire, than any dangers arising from their own hostility or intrigues: while, if they failed in that object, which had alone given, and could alone give them consideration at the Court of the Shah, they were powerless to injure us. But if the rejection by Persia of the British alliance is thus shown under the circumstances to have been not only natural but necessary, and if the consequences of that rejection are also shown to have been altogether misunderstood, what are we to say to General Malcolm's proposed remedy of invasion? It is affirmed we know of

> "A spaniel, a wife and a walnut tree,"
> "The more you beat them, the better they be:"

but really we never remember (except perhaps at Navarino) to have heard the proverb applied to international friend-

ships. To have expected to regain the lost affections of the Shah by force of arms seems to us to have been very like fatuity. To have actually carried that design into execution would have been of positive injury to our ulterior interests. If, indeed, General Malcolm had landed a British force on the shores of the Gulf, and had succeeded, by a diversion in the south of Persia, in driving the French from Teheran, he would have aggravated, instead of alleviating, the only real danger that threatened us. That danger was, as it ever had been, and ever will be, the gradual extension of the Russian power and the Russian territory, and it would have been augmented precisely in the same proportion as Persia was weakened or divided.

The proverbial "Ikbal," however, of the Honorable Company at this time stood us in good stead. Sir Harford Jones, who had been impatiently watching the progress of General Malcolm's negociations, no sooner learnt their unfortunate and even dangerous issue, than he stepped forward with too much perhaps of ostentation, but with undeniable boldness and address, "to throw the Ægis of the British Crown over the imperilled 'destinies of India." Without entering on the vexed question, whether the affairs of Persia came properly and naturally under the political jurisdiction of Great Britain or of India, we may observe that, as Sir Harford had been placed by the letter of his commission in subordination to the Governor-General of India, and as all arrangements to which he might pledge the Government that he immediately represented, must have depended for their execution on the same authority, it evidently required strong and exceptional circumstances to justify his pursuing in any degree an independent course of action. His proceedings however were not merely independent, —they were in direct antagonism to the declared policy of his predecessor, which had already received Lord Minto's approval; and we suspect therefore that success, even in the general object of his mission, would not have carried him scatheless through his perilous adventure, had not the situation appeared to those who were ultimately called on to decide upon his conduct to have been otherwise desperate.

We will now give a brief sketch of his really remarkable career. Arriving at Bushire in October 1808, he found that General Gardanne had overplayed his game, and that a "reactionary" tendency was setting in against the French. The idea therefore occurred to him to propose England, instead of France, as the power which should protect Persia against the great Northern Leviathan, and time and circumstances both favoured the substitution: for as the French, in their early efforts to

undermine British influence at Teheran, had been careful to instil into the minds of the Shah's ministers, that the enemy of Russia could be the only natural ally of Persia, and as by force of iteration this doctrine had now come to be received almost as a maxim of international policy; so when Sir Harford revived the argument, ("fas est et ab hoste doceri") he obtained a ready—almost an anxious—hearing; and when he further urged its practical application, he had the satisfaction of finding that not only did the precept recoil upon the French, but that the recoil was doubled in effect by experience having proved in the interim the folly of trusting to the feeble powers of mediation and good offices in dealing with such an enemy as the inexorable Czar. So effective indeed was the "coup," that little more remained for diplomatic handling, and that little was accomplished by the Envoy's personal friendship with the Persian ministers, and by the "prestige" which he enjoyed as the direct representative of the British King. He advanced in a sort of ovation to the capital, General Gardanne retiring on his approach, and Monsieur Jouannin, the Secretary, who still clung with a leech-like tenacity to the court, being fairly eclipsed by the rising luminary. A "pourparler" then ensued, not less remarkable for its brevity than for the importance of the matters discussed; and in March 1809, was concluded the Preliminary Treaty, which, in spite of much Procrustean manipulation sustained during an interval of forty years, continues in force to the present day as the basis of our Persian alliance.

With the tone and spirit of this treaty little fault has been ever found, but its particular engagements, distasteful in many quarters at the time of their conclusion, have provoked criticism ever since. Approbation could never have been withheld when the temperate language of a treaty, which secured the full advantages at which it aimed without a single offensive, or even invidious, allusion to a foreign power, was compared either with those requisitions of 1801, that we have already blazoned in their true Chinese colors, or with certain subsequent stipulations of Mr. Elphinstone's at Cabul, still more preposterous in founding on a preamble absolutely fictitious;* but in spite of

* In the 3rd article of Sir H. Jones's treaty, it was expressly provided that "from the date of the preliminary articles (March 12th, 1809) every treaty or agreement which the King of Persia might have made with any one of the powers of Europe became null and void, and that he would not permit any European force whatever to pass through Persia either towards India, or towards the ports of that country."—Yet three months subsequently (June 17th, 1809) Mr. Elphinstone assumed that "the French and Persians have entered into a confederacy against the state of Cabul," and then went on to engage, that "if the French and Persians, in pursuance of their confederation; should advance towards the King of Cabul's country in a hostile manner," such and such measures should have effect.

the contrast thus presented—in spite of the testimony afforded by it to the favorable character of Sir Harford Jones's general diplomacy—when the expulsion of the French from Persia has come to be weighed against the heavy liability of a permanent subsidy, and the inconvenience of being committed indefinitely to a state of quasi-hostility with Russia, a question has arisen whether the British Envoy did not over-estimate the value of the Shah's alliance,—whether in fact he did not make us "pay too dear for our whistle."

Having already recorded our opinions on the real nature and tendency of the French connexion with Persia, we may leave our sentiments to be inferred on the particular question of the penalty thus gratuitously incurred for its disruption; but it is important to observe that a verdict, however unfavorable on the score of expediency, does not by any means reflect on Sir H. Jones's individual judgment or discretion. That Gardanne should be expelled from Persia was a settled thing before hand, and the agents employed in the transaction had merely therefore to decide whether the end in view was to be attained by force of arms or by persuasion. If by persuasion, it was indispensable to find some means of supporting Persia against Russia; and really under the circumstances we doubt whether any could have been devised less onerous to England, or more likely, on a "prima facie" view of the case, to advantage the Shah, and to contribute to our own strength, than those which imposed upon the Indian Government the obligation of furnishing a subsidy, with arms, ammunition, officers, and artificers, to be employed against the common enemy. The best reply indeed to the charges which have been brought against Sir Harford Jones—that "he ignominiously purchased the protection of 'Persia for England;" that, "he saddled the Indian Government 'with a useless and extravagant debt, &c.,"—* is to be found in the fact that Lord Minto, who regarded his personal proceedings as actually mutinous, who by anticipation repudiated

* See Taylor's History of British India, p. 227. Sir Harford Jones has been mercilessly treated by the majority of writers upon Indian History. A certain doctrine, which he had not only the merit to discover, but the boldness to avow, and the sense to act upon—namely, that the Governor General was incompetent to conduct political relations on a footing of equality at the court of an independent monarch already closely connected with the two chief powers of continental Europe—appeared so monstrous and unintelligible to Indian Officials, that unworthy motives were sought for to account for its proposition: personal vanity and private pique were currently imputed to Sir Harford at the time (we believe unjustly) as having mainly influenced his conduct, and Lord Minto penned some of his most elaborate despatches to prove the injury and inconvenience which would accrue to the national interests from conniving at a crime of *lèse-majesté* against the Governors of India. We could have afforded to laugh at His Lordship's sensibility, had it not cost us, in General Malcolm's supplementary mission, a useless outlay of between fifteen and twenty lakhs of rupees.

his possible negociations with the Shah, disavowed his diplomatic character, and ordered him summarily to leave the country, who went the length even of dishonoring the bills drawn by him on the public service—still did not hesitate, when furnished with a draft of the treaty, and while yet in ignorance of the feelings of the Home authorities, to accept all the pecuniary and military engagements which had been contracted in the name of His Britannic Majesty, with the sole proviso that their execution should be entrusted to an officer honored with His Lordship's confidence, and prepared to uphold the dignity of the Indian Government.

It is needless to pursue this subject further. Sir Harford's importance on the page of Persian political history expires with his treaty. His singular personal fate,—the condemned and persecuted of Calcutta, the approved and honored of Windsor—may be of interest to our Indian annals, in exemplifying one of the anomalies which impede the working of our Empire in the East; but it is otherwise devoid of consequence. Let it suffice that the preliminary treaty was conveyed to England by the author of "Haji Baba," accompanied by the Persian Ambassador, broadly drawn, we can hardly say caricatured, in that inimitable story; that it was duly ratified and exchanged, and that it came into operation with all convenient despatch. We must pass over with equal rapidity General Malcolm's resumption of his functions in 1810; for however rich in scientific results may have been the labors of the General and his suite,* and however willingly we may concede to such results a value superior to the most brilliant diplomatic services, we are fain to confess that, as far as regards the question of our political relations with Persia, we have failed to discover a single vestige of effect, proceeding from so expensive and well appointed a Mission. A limited supply of military stores, in fulfilment of Sir Harford Jones's promise, and the transfer of a few officers who accompanied the Escort, to the service of the Heir Apparent, then sedulously occupied with the formation of a regular Army, give a certain "eclat" to the General's visit, and furnished a not ungraceful epilogue to the previous drama; but we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that Lord Minto's object in sending the Mission to Persia was in any way realized. This object, which was nothing less than "to restore and secure the injured credit and insulted dignity

* It must be remembered that to this Mission we are indebted for "Pottinger's Travels in Beluchistan;" for the journals of Grant and Christie; for Macdonald Kinnier's "Geographical Memoirs;" for the "Sketches of Persia;" and for Sir John Malcolm's elaborate History,—a series of works, which not only filled up an important blank in our knowledge of the East, but which materially helped to fix the literary character of the Indian services.

of the Indian Government,"* (or, in other words, to teach the Shah, that, in all matters which regarded the Persian connexion, the Governor General was the equal of the King of England) we consider to have been neither practicable, nor desirable. We believe indeed, that if the Shah had been really mystified by General Malcolm's pretensions, and if he had been thus again led to confound colonial and imperial responsibility, a confusion, which involved a positive error in political ethics, and which was constantly liable to bring on embarrassments of the gravest character, would have required, sooner or later, to have been set right by an explanation still more disparaging to the Indian Government. Fortunately the unambiguous language and the consistent measures adopted by His Majesty's Ministers left no room for misapprehension. While General Malcolm's mission was ignored, or at best regarded as a mere complimentary pageant, Sir Harford Jones, after the ratification of his Treaty, was confirmed in the post of Resident Minister at Teheran; and on his voluntary retirement in 1811, an officer of even higher rank—of the highest rank in fact in the diplomatic service—was a second time accredited from the Court of Saint James's to watch over our interests in Persia.

At this point of our narrative it is important that we should understand what those interests really were, and how we were disposed to view them. Hitherto we have seen our Persian relations based on two principal objects, the establishment of a counterpoise to the power of the Affghans, and the neutralization of French ambition, both the one and the other of these objects referring immediately to the defence of India. The Russian element has hardly entered into the question. Although in fact we knew that, as early as 1791, the invasion of India by a Russian Army marching from Orenburg upon Bokhara and Cabul had been planned by Monsr. de St. Genie, and had actually occupied the attention of Catherine; although we were acquainted with various memoirs (among which may be noticed those of Monsr. Brutet and Monsr. Pavillon, French emigrants of Petersburg and Moscow, and especially a really clever "brochure," drawn up by Le Marquis Beaupoil St. Aulaire, Private Secretary to the Hospodar Ispilanthi,) which had been addressed to Alexander about the period of the peace of Tilsit, and which foreshadowed much of that policy that has since been practically carried out in Central Asia, we do

* This is quoted from Lord Minto's despatch to General Malcolm of October 26th, 1809—a despatch, of which the strong expressions and uncompromising tone could hardly have been exceeded by Lord Ellenborough in the plenitude of his independence. Sir Harford Jones's appointment from the Crown is termed nothing less than "a solecism in the system of diplomatic delegation."

not seem up to the period of Sir Harford Jones's treaty to have had any clear conception of danger from the vicinage of Russia, or any strong desire to keep her at a distance. We had looked on the war in Georgia as a mere local derangement; and the question of supporting Persia in that war had been debated and recommended on the exclusive ground of the superior influence we should thereby secure ourselves at the Court of the Shah. There was a disposition at the outset to estimate Sir Harford Jones's engagements by the same factitious standard of value, rather than in reference to their possible efficacy in resisting Russian encroachment. It was not indeed until our officers at the head of the Persian battalions were actually brought into contact with Russian commanders in the field, that we began to notice the formidable power that was growing up in our neighbourhood, and to speculate on its further development. A cursory survey exhibited to us upon one side the appearance of immense military strength, the lusty energy of awakened civilization, and a certain consistency of movement, which seemed to point to geographical extension as a necessary law of existence. On the other we beheld, or we thought that we beheld, a nation in the last stage of decrepitude, subject to convulsive throes which gave for the moment an unnatural vigour, but bereft of moral confidence, and verging on that state which precedes dissolution. That Russia had been formerly desirous of obtaining a position in Central Asia, which would have brought her into inconvenient proximity with India, was attested by her expedition against Khiva in 1717; by her occupation of Ghilan in 1724, and again in 1796; and by her attempted settlement at Asterabad in 1781. That she was still bent on the same object—substituting however, for isolated conquest, the surer process of gradual territorial absorption—was inferred from the pertinacity with which she had now for twelve years prosecuted a war with Persia, that could not by possibility secure for her any immediate advantage, at all commensurate with its expense. Such being her power, and such being her purpose, it was judged that unless we interposed to check her progress, many years could not elapse before, in the natural course of events, Russian troops would garrison cities in Khorassan, within 700 or 800 miles of the Indus; and this prospect, once opened to our view, was sufficient to arrest and fix our attention. The probable consequences of such a dislocation of the map of Asia were differently contemplated by men of different temperaments. Visions of invasion floated before the eyes of the excitable; while practical statesmen were content to weigh the amount of disturbing influence, which the neighbourhood

of a new mass might be expected to exercise on the still oscillating bodies of the Indian system. This problem was undoubtedly a difficult one to solve, for it depended altogether upon unknown quantities; but it nevertheless furnished the data upon which the expediency was admitted, and the amount was calculated, of the subsidy to be supplied to the Shah. The integrity of Persia was declared to be worth just so much to us, as it would cost us to counteract the disturbing influence of Russia, if impinging on our frontier; and from ten to fifteen lakhs of Rupees of annual outlay being considered a moderate estimate for the expenses which a mere state of preparation would entail on us, it was determined to apply something like that amount to the formation and support of a Persian army. It must be seen however that in thus reducing to a tangible form the value of our interests in Persia, and in proceeding to realize that value, there was a begging of the question upon two points. We jumped, in the first instance, to a conclusion of the imminency of a Russian occupation of Persia, and we arbitrarily assumed in the second that certain means would produce certain ends; that is, that the integrity of the country might be preserved through the instrumentality of a native army. It is now tolerably certain that we were wrong both in the one assumption and in the other. It can be proved, we think, that whatever benefit Persia may have derived, as far as regards the centralization of the power of her monarch, from the introduction into her armies of European discipline, she has been, as a substantive power, progressively weakened by the change, and rendered less capable of sustaining a pressure from without; and it follows therefore that if she had been in danger of absorption by Russia under the old system, she must long ere this have ceased to exist under the new.

It would detain us too long to explain in detail the seeming paradox of discipline engendering weakness. If it be remembered, however, that when the system is affected with chronic paralysis, the attempt is vain to restore any particular member to a healthy action, it will be understood that to a nation devoid of organization in every other department of Government, a regular army was impossible. It thus happened that, notwithstanding the admirable material for soldiery which were offered by the hardy peasantry of Azerbijan and the still hardier mountaineers of Kermanshah—notwithstanding the aptitude of the officers to receive instruction—notwithstanding that a due portion of physical courage appertained generally to the men—the disciplined forces of Persia, considered as an army, and for the purpose of national defence, were from the

epoch of their first creation contemptible. Beyond drill and exercise, they never had any thing in common with the regular armies of Europe and India. System was entirely wanting, whether in regard to pay, clothing, food, carriage, equipage, commissariat, promotion, or command; and under a lath-and-plaster Government like that of Persia, such must have been inevitably the case. At the same time, however, a false confidence arose of a most exaggerated and dangerous character; the resources of the country were lavished on the army to an extent which grievously impoverished it at the time, and which has brought about at the present day a state of affairs that, in any other quarter of the world, would be termed a national bankruptcy; above all, the tribes,—the chivalry of the Empire, the forces with which Nadir over-ran the East from Bagdad to Delhi, and which, ever yielding but ever present, surrounded, under Aga Mahommed Khan, the Russian armies with a desert —were destroyed. Truly then may it be said that in presenting Persia with the boon of a so-called regular army, in order to reclaim her from her unlawful loves with France, we clothed her in the robe of Nessus.

Although it is thus certain that Persia was not saved from the grasp of Russia by any additional strength that we imparted to her, and that in supplying her, accordingly, with a subsidy, our treasures were unprofitably wasted, it is not to be supposed that we were under a delusion, either in judging of her feebleness as a nation, or in assuming an aggressive tendency as an inherent element in her antagonist's policy. Our error lay in giving an undue extension to the operation of that tendency—in over-estimating, in fact, the offensive power of Russia. We were wrong in including the East and West in the same category; in believing that Persia might be annexed with the same facility as Courland and Finland—that she could be suddenly dismembered and occupied like Poland, or cajoled out of her independence like the Crimea—that she might be over-run like Bessarabia, or even subdued like Georgia.

At that time, it is true, the opportunity had not occurred for verifying to its full extent a certain remarkable analogy between the natural and moral laws of the Russian Empire—an analogy which has been casually touched upon in the saying that "her slope is to the East," but which will admit of still happier and more forcible illustration; for it may be added with equal truth that, as her rivers torrents at the fountain-head slacken in their onward course, until at length they roll lazily through endless steppes, and stagnate in the Caspian marshes, so do her means and forces, although tending naturally to the East,

become attenuated at the extremities of the Empire till their effects are barely sensible.

We had not then seen the striking spectacle of a few isolated mountain bands (powerful because remote) setting for a long series of years her battalions at defiance, nor had we beheld an army of veteran soldiers, like that conducted by Petrowski against Khiva in 1840, annihilated by the mere passive resistance of a distant enemy; but still from the slow progress and inadequate results of the Persian war—the conquests of Russia upon this side the Caucasus in 1813, after twelve years of uninterrupted hostility, being actually of less extent than those achieved by Zuboff in the brief but brilliant campaign of 1796—we might have fairly suspected either her earnestness, or her ability. To have anticipated, at any rate, for Persia the catastrophe of a sudden extinction, was to violate all probability. To have supposed her even in such danger as to justify any considerable outlay in her defence was to show that we followed the impulse of our fears, rather than the limited, though perhaps sufficient, lights of our experience. We now resume the thread of our narrative.

Sir Gore Ouseley, who reached Teheran as Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of England, in the summer of 1811, found Persia still engaged in hostilities with Russia. The officers supplied from India, Christie, Lindsay, and their gallant comrades, had already under great disadvantages formed the nucleus of a regular army, which on more than one occasion had beaten the Russians in action: but these successes were transient and illusory. The Persians owed more to the lukewarmness (if not the misconduct) of their enemies, than to their own prowess. In 1812 the reconciliation of England and Russia, which followed on Napoleon's rupture with the Czar, necessitated the withdrawal of the British officers from the battle field, and the inferiority of the Persian troops became at once apparent. It was evident, that to give the experiment of discipline a fair chance of success, a respite from war was indispensable; and as Russia had occasion for her full resources and undivided attention to shake off the gigantic foe with whom she was now grappling in the death-struggle, the good offices of England, which had been promised to Persia in the preliminary treaty, in the event of our making peace with her antagonist, were accordingly exerted with such effect, that in October, 1813, the Treaty of Gulistan was at length signed between the belligerents. This treaty was no doubt sufficiently humiliating to Persia. All the acquisitions of Russia, south of the Caucasus, were confirmed to her. It was further provided,

in the same jealous spirit which dictated the secret article of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi regarding the closing of the Dardanelles against nations at war with Russia—and perhaps also with a view of especially alarming England (for really as far as Persia was concerned, a power whose maritime inaptitude was proverbial, the condition was not merely superfluous, but absurd)—that "no ships of war, except Russian, should be allowed on the Caspian Sea." A want of preciseness also, either culpable or wilful, in the demarcation of the frontier at a most important point, left Russia at liberty, whenever it might suit her convenience, to force on a renewal of hostilities by occupying the disputed territory. We believe, indeed, that the peace of 1813 was regarded neither by the one party nor the other in any other light than as an armistice. Russia had no idea of accepting permanently any frontier short of the Aras (Araxes); but she was unable at the moment to push her conquests. Persia was equally insincere in affecting to have abandoned Karabagh; but she required an interval of repose to recruit her energies, and above all to improve her discipline, and gain some knowledge of European tactics.

Simultaneously with the convention of Gulistan, or immediatlely following it, Sir Gore Ouseley concluded with Persia, on the basis of Sir Harford Jones's preliminary arrangements, the definitive treaty which he had been especially appointed to negociate; and shortly afterwards he returned with it to England, leaving his Secretary, Mr. Morier, in charge of the Mission. This treaty, however, was not accepted in its original form. The British Ministry, with the honest and honourable intention of doing the very best for Persia of which her situation would admit, resolved on more liberal terms of subsidy than those which the Shah's Government had already thankfully accepted; and accordingly, a special Commissioner, Mr. Henry Ellis, was sent out in 1814 to modify Sir Gore Ouseley's stipulations.

It is unnecessary that we should examine in detail, and throughout its eleven articles, the treaty of Teheran, which was concluded by Messrs. Morier and Ellis, November 25th, 1814. A brief notice of its more prominent features will suffice for our purpose, and is all, moreover, of which our space admits. In many points of view it was undoubtedly faulty to have supposed that Persia could interfere to prevent, or even to check, the movements of a Russian army marching upon India by the route of Khiva, or Bokhara, or Kokan; and to have provided accordingly, betrayed an inexcusable ignorance of political geography. There was an equal impropriety in engaging

that "the limits of the two states of Russia and Persia should 'be determined according to the admission of Great Britain, 'Persia, and Russia;" for, if considerations of the public weal, patent and emergent, be alone held to justify under any circumstances the intrusion of mediatory offices, and if an engagement to proffer such offices be thus rarely inserted in treaties between States,—to pledge a third party to accept of them does seem the very acmé of diplomatic hardihood. We will say nothing, for the moment, of the subsidy itself; but the 7th article, which stipulated for the payment of the money in as early instalments as might be convenient, "*since it was the custom in Persia to pay the troops six months in advance*," might really be very well taken for a burlesque. The obligation, again, which we contracted in the 9th article, to abstain from interference in the event of a possible contest between the Persians and Afghans, is hardly intelligible. Such a proposal could not have proceeded from Great Britain; and, if proceeding from Persia, it indicated that desire of territorial extension which was more fully developed in the sequel, and which, when developed, compelled us upon general grounds to repudiate the treaty altogether.* Lastly, the extradition of refugees, which we also blindly conceded, was a most humiliating, (and under the circumstances a most gratuitous) engagement;—an engagement, indeed, so repugnant to Eastern ideas of honour and hospitality, that, although the occasion has frequently arisen for bringing it into operation, we believe that means have been sought and found in every instance, if not for rejecting the terms entered in the bond, at any rate for modifying their rigour, and thus saving our credit on one side to expose it on another.

The essential points of the treaty in regard to Persia were the augmentation of the amount of the subsidy, and the definition of the conditions under which the liability of its payment was imposed on us. The annual amount was raised from 160,000 to 200,000 Tomans (or from about 12 to 15 lakhs of Rupees); and, in explanation of that article of the preliminary treaty, which merely declared Persia to be entitled to our assistance in the event of any European forces invading the territories of His Majesty the Shah, our exemption from the pecuniary liability was specifically limited to the possible case "of the war with 'such European nation being produced by an aggression on the 'part of Persia."

Undoubtedly, however, the most important feature of the treaty in question was the principle which it involved, that

* See Lord Palmerston's despatch to Mr. McNeill, dated July 27th, 1838. Correspondence relating to the affairs of Persia and Affghanistan, P. 89.

Great Britain had a right to consider any spontaneous act of Russian aggression upon Persia, as a demonstration against India. That we should really have propounded so important, and at the same time so questionable, a doctrine may well excite surprise; yet the 6th article will admit, we think, of no other construction; for by that article it was provided, that although Great Britain might be at peace with Russia, if Persia were attacked by the latter power, and if our good offices failed in bringing about an arrangement of differences, then we would continue to pay the subsidy to support the army of the Shah, or, if it were preferred, we would send a force from India to assist in repelling the enemy,—neither the one nor the other of these engagements being compatible with the duties of a neutral State, nor indeed admitting of justification, according to the Law of Nations, on any other grounds than those of *self-defence*, which grounds of course must have pre-supposed the fact of an attack on Persia being an indirect attack upon India. We were in fact by the 6th article of the treaty pledged to a possible war with Russia in defence of Persia, and, what is of more consequence, the pledge remains registered against us to the present day; for when we compounded in 1828 for the expunging of certain articles from the treaty of Teheran, by some inexplicable oversight the 6th article was not included in the obnoxious category; and it still therefore must be considered in force, as far as regards the principle involved in it, and as far as its integrity may be unaffected by our release from the other engagements.

For a considerable period, subsequent to the treaty of Teheran, our relations with Persia underwent no material change. We were pursuing two objects: one was the improvement of the military resources of the country, to which end we supplied arms, founded a laboratory and arsenal, and furnished officers for the drill and discipline of the army; the other was the creation and retention of such a commanding influence at Court, as should not only guarantee us against the possible intrigues or enmity of a foreign power, but should enable us in some degree to sway the councils of the State. In the former path, our success was hardly equal to our hopes, or even to our expectations. Our officers, it is true, displayed a most creditable zeal, and no little address in contending with the difficulties of their position: and, moreover, the Prince Royal, under whose immediate orders they were acting, seconded their efforts,—not exactly with the same ardour which had inspired him, so long as a regular army added to its substantial advantages the irresistible charm of novelty, but still with sufficient steadiness to have ensured the fashioning, according to the end in view, of any less intractable materials; yet it cannot

be denied, that when Persia again came into collision with Russia in 1826, her means and power as a military nation were positively inferior to those which she possessed at the close of her former struggle. During this long interval of thirteen years, she was continually losing ground in that quarter where her real strength lay, while she advanced in a direction where progress was exhaustive, as well as useless. If, however, in the words of Persia's most impartial historian, "the attempt to introduce an 'effective discipline, and to organise a regular force on European 'principles was a signal failure;"* and if, in one branch of our policy, we were thus doomed to chew the cud of disappointment, in our other object at any rate we were more than successful. Nothing could have been more satisfactory or more honourable to the parties concerned, than the conduct at this period of our relations with the Court of Teheran.† Still more commendable also was the character of those general measures, by which we conquered prejudice, disarmed jealousy, and finally gained a complete ascendency in the public estimation of the nation. To the care, indeed, with which, after the retirement of Mr. Morier, Sir Henry Willock, ably assisted by Sir J. McNeill, then a young officer on the Bombay Medical Establishment, conciliated popular opinion, rather than to the wayward prodigality of Malcolm, or the lawyer-like dexterity of Jones, must be attributed the impressions, which, surviving all party questions—surviving even the shock of wounded pride—enable an Englishman at the present day in any part of Persia, not merely to enjoy personal safety, but to command esteem and respect.

We shall not follow in any detail the relations of Russia with Persia during the interval in question. The bearing of the former power throughout was irritating and contemptuous. Unwilling, or unable, to appear as a competitor against England for the favours of the Shah, she rather sought to oppose our influence by acting on the fears of Persia—by exhibiting in fact that disregard for rights and courtesies which could be only supposed to arise from a consciousness of complete superiority. The retention of Talish, the profound indifference with which she received the repeated invitations of Persia to treat for the

* Fraser's Persia, page 301.

† We have not fogotten that a personal misunderstanding between Sir H. Willock and the Shah led to the temporary withdrawal of our Mission from the Court; but the occasion of the rupture was so entirely accidental, and the effects of it were so transient, that we do not consider it to affect the general character of our relations during the period in question. When our truant Minister, indeed, reported himself at the Foreign Office, Canning is said to have observed "Henry Willock? I know a man of that name at Teheran, but certainly not in London," a remark which sufficiently expressed his opinion of the quarrel, and censured the undue importance that had been attached to it.

adjustment of a disputed frontier, and finally the violent occupation of Gokchah, must be imputed, we think, as much to a desire to prevent Persia from deriving strength, or even confidence, from our support, as to any real thirst of conquest, or any wish to precipitate hostilities. Russia had doubtless always looked to the absorption of the Persian territory, north of the Aras, as essential to the geographical boundaries of her Empire; and such an absorption could hardly be effected without engaging in a war: yet war was not her principal object. That object was the general depression of Persia, the rivetting of chains around her which should annihilate her powers of self-action: and it was valued perhaps less for its immediate results—less even as a movement in advance towards the final act of appropriation—than as a means of quickening the alarm of England, and thus obtaining a moral leverage against us in Europe. We have not dwelt hitherto upon this occult element of the Russian policy; partly, from a disinclination to ascribe too much astuteness to any plan of attack; partly, from the difficulty of tracing such a plan, where the batteries are masked, the approaches are tortuous, and the sap often shifts its course according to the nature of the ground. During the mission of Prince Menzikoff however to Teheran, in 1826, there was an overt attempt upon his part to commence that system of demonstration which has since so much embarrassed us; and we shall be justified therefore throughout the sequel of our sketch in assuming the probability of there being always two distinct principles of action in the proceedings of Russia against Persia,—the one, real, immediate, and acquisitive; the other, remote, artificial, and working merely by intimidation. If indeed there were any object in the mission in question, it was to give a different direction to the outpourings of the national mind, then in a high state of fermentation; to change the theatre of contemplated war from the North West to the East; to bring about through military complications in Khorassan a state of local politics, which should entirely alter the relative positions of Great Britain, Persia, and Russia, and which, whatever might be the result, would advance the interests of the latter power. The project failed for the moment, owing to the sagacity of Futteh Ali Shah, who saw through so transparent a device; * but it has never been forgotten. On several later occasions indeed it has been brought prominently forward, and at the present

* Menzikoff taunted the Shah with the power and magnificence of his brother potentate in Khorassan, Esau Khan, and observed that it might be necessary for Russia, in a few years more, to open independent relations with him. The Shah's pride was severely wounded, but he had the sense to reply, that he preferred the rivalry of Esau Khan to the enmity of England.

moment perhaps it as fully occupies the attention of Russia as any direct scheme of territorial aggrandizement.

In glancing at the war, which broke out even before Menzikoff had quitted Persia, and which raged until the spring of 1828, we must confine ourselves to those points in it which immediately affected us. To ascribe this war, seriously and in good faith, to the occupation of Gokchah, or to any isolated accident whatever, is to ignore altogether the relative position of the belligerent powers. In real truth it was the mere consummation of a long course of preparation and design. Russia, if not deliberately provoking the contest, had been at any rate for many years previously indifferent to the preservation of peace; while Persia, brooding over her former losses, and smarting under recently accumulated indignities, judged the time to be favorable for resenting them. As however the liability of England to assist Persia with a subsidy or an auxiliary army, depended upon the first act of aggression, the question of the initiative nearly concerned us; and a discussion therefore immediately arose, as to whether the affair of Gokchah did, or did not, constitute a "casus belli." Persia maintained that she was forced into the war by an aggression on the part of Russia, and accordingly demanded the assistance to which under such circumstances she was entitled by our engagements with her; whilst we replied—with more of casuistry, certainly, than generosity—that "the occupation by Russian troops of a portion of 'uninhabited ground, which by right belonged to Persia, even 'if admitted to have been the proximate cause of hostilities, 'did not constitute the case of aggression contemplated in the 'treaty of Teheran."* We shall not pretend to pronounce "ex cathedra" upon a question so very nicely balanced; but, if the case had been argued in court, and if counsel had quoted to a jury, Sir J. McNeill, as a pamphleteer, against Sir J. McNeill, as a Minister, contrasting a passage from "The progress of Russia in the East," which unequivocally stated that "the war origi-'nated in a violation of the Persian territory by the Governor 'General of Georgia,"† with the article of the treaty o fTeheran, which provided that we should be excused from payment only 'if the war might have been produced by aggression on the 'part of Persia," there can be little doubt, we think, as to how a verdict would have been given. That we did not, indeed, feel that confidence in our immunity at the time, which we have since affected, may be inferred from our anxiety to obtain a release

* Correspondence relating to the affairs of Persia and Affghanistan, page 112.

† Page 98.

from the subsidy engagements immediately that the war was terminated, as though we still trembled at the risk we had encountered, and indulged a covert hope that to the release once obtained might be conceded a retrospective effect. The actual bargain however, by which the Shah was persuaded to cancel our engagements, forms, we think, the least creditable feature in the whole "tableau" of our Persian policy. It is this bargain which we have before characterized as one of extraordinary rigour, and even of questionable honesty; and to enable the reader to see if we have judged harshly, we now present him with an outline of the transaction.

At the close of the war, when defeat and treachery following closely one upon the other had left Persia, if not so enfeebled, at any rate so disheartened, as to be ready to accept of any terms that might be imposed on her without scrutinizing their claim to moderation, Russia demanded, amongst other conditions of peace, the payment of ten crores* of Tomans (about three and a half millions sterling) as indemnification for the expenses of the campaign. Of this enormous mulct the greater portion was defrayed from the reluctant coffers of the Shah; but for the remainder the Prince Royal was rendered personally responsible, and, as the province of Azerbijan had already borne the chief burthen of the struggle, it may well be understood that neither His Royal Highness's treasury, nor the resources of his government, were in a condition to meet the call. He had recourse to expedients—not of the most dignified character—to obtain even a temporary relief. At his earnest entreaty a small portion of the debt was remitted; a further portion, amounting to a crore, was suffered to lie in suspense: for another crore the rich district of Khoi was handed over to Russia in pledge; and a certain amount of ready money was provided by anticipating the revenues of the province. A considerable sum however was still wanting to satisfy the immediate demand, and the prince found himself accordingly compelled to accept of aid tendered by the British minister, however limited in amount, and however severe the terms upon which such aid might be afforded. We are not cognizant of the full details of the transaction which ensued;† but we believe that Sir John Macdonald in the first instance passed a bond to the Prince Royal, pledging himself to furnish a sum of 250,000 Tomans

* The crore here mentioned is only 500,000 Tomans.

† There is a singular, and to say the least of it, a most suspicious, want of uniformity in the dating of the documents, which refer to this transaction in the published "Treaties." (Indian Papers, No. 2, page 7.) In one paper, the English date is used; in another, the Mahomedan; and the date of the third is altogether suppressed.

towards the liquidation of the indemnity, provided H. R. H., acting as the plenipotentiary of the Shah, would annul the subsidy engagements of the treaty of Teheran; and that subsequently, when the time for payment arrived, the Envoy declared that he had exceeded his instructions, and that he could only disburse at the moment 200,000 Tomans, in consideration of which assistance a formal act of surrender must be passed to him; but that he would obtain the remaining 50,000 Tomans in the sequel, as a gratuity to Persia from the British crown. Be this however as it may, the bond for 250,000 Tomans remained in the hands of the Prince Royal; the act of annulment was passed and ratified on the payment of the reduced amount of 200,000 Tomans; and, when Persia claimed the difference, she was told that "she could not establish a right 'to the greater sum, as she had subsequently agreed to accept, 'and acknowledged that she had accepted, the less sum as the 'the price of the sacrifice she made."* Now, if nothing positively dishonest can be imputed to us in these proceedings, they must be admitted at any rate to involve as close a practice, as was ever followed by Clive or Hastings. That we had at the out-set improvidently contracted the subsidy engagements, and that we were at liberty to seek for a release from them at any time by a fair negociation, may very readily be conceded; but to have obtained that release under circumstances of such extraordinay difficulty for one of the contracting parties was, we submit, to redeem our original error almost at the expense of our good name. With regard to the discrepancy also between the amount tendered in Sir John Macdonald's bond, and the sum actually paid, we suspect that Persia has still a valid claim against us for 50,000 Tomans.

The most important consideration however to Persia, resulting from the transaction which we have noticed, was the evidence it afforded of a complete change in our estimate of her alliance. Sir J. McNeill has significantly said, that "the alteration in the 'treaty was supposed to evince a desire on the part of England 'to disencumber herself of a falling ally."† Taken in connection indeed with the transfer from the crown to the Indian Government of the direction of our relations at Teheran, which occurred a short time previously, no other inference could have been drawn from it. We had awoke, it seemed, to a sense of the worthlessness of Persia. Our efforts to make her strong had but contributed to her weakness. We had been building

* Correspondence relating to the affairs of Persia and Affghanistan, page 112.

† Progress of Russia in the East, page 135.

on a quicksand. The country existed only by the sufferance of her northern neighbour ; and it was useless therefore to undergo further expense, or to encounter further risk, on her behalf.

But here again we erred upon the side of despondency, as much as we had been formerly too bold and sanguine. Persia was never in that extreme danger of extinction—not when the Russian troops were in full march upon the capital, and when defection spread rapidly among the higher classes,—which in any way called for her abandonment, or even required an essential modification of our relations with the Shah. The prosecution of Paskevitch's march on Teheran, upon which the fate of Persia was supposed to rest, would have been a still more adventurous movement than Diebitch's advance on Adrianople: and if strategists are agreed that the latter movement was altogether false, and must have signally failed, had not Turkey succumbed under the moral pressure, much more certain must it appear—to those who know the contemptible amount of force which was employed on the occasion, and the power of resistance which is offered by the mere principle of vitality in a nation like Persia—that the Russian enterprise in Persia could have led to nothing but disaster and disgrace. We hold it, indeed, to have been morally impossible that Russia, who " during the whole course of the war with Persia had never ' been able to collect more than 10,000 men in one body, nor to ' keep together for a month more than half that number,"* should have occupied a territory, which contained 10,000,000 inhabitants, bound together by the common ties of religion, naturally warlike, and detesting the invaders: and, unless the invasion had been followed by military occupation, we conceive that there was no real danger for the country.

To proceed however with our sketch ; no sooner had we abandoned the idea of raising up in Persia an efficient bulwark against Russian encroachments, and had thus limited the functions of our Envoy to observation, or at most to expressions of encouragement and sympathy, than we began to take an augmented interest in the countries intermediate between Persia and India. It cannot be said that we had been indifferent to those countries at former periods. The journeys of Stirling and Arthur Conolly had been undertaken at the instigation and under the auspices, of the British Mission at Teheran ; and it was owing merely to the services of Mr. McNeill being indispensable to the conduct of affairs in Persia, that Sir J. Macdonald was deterred from detaching him on a Mission to the east-

* Progress of Russia in the East, page 134.

ward, of an almost identical nature with that subsequently entrusted to Burnes. To the latter officer, however, must the Afghan movement, we think, be properly ascribed. Others recommended the cultivation of a position at Cabul and Candahar, as an equipoise to the pressure of Russia upon Persia—as a means of checking the disposition of the former power to keep up a sustained attitude of attack, while it promised to render the latter more docile to our counsel from our being in a measure independent of her friendship, as well as more confident in herself from our increased facilities of affording her support.

But Burnes grappled far more boldly with the question. He would at once have left the Shah to his fate, and have transferred all our solicitude to Dost Mahomed. "Had circumstances," he wrote on returning from his memorable journey, "brought us 'into an alliance with Cabul instead of Persia, we might have 'now possessed more trusty and useful allies nearer home than 'we can boast of in that country; and we should never have 'incurred a tenth of the expenditure which has been so freely 'lavished in Persia."

To account for Burnes's prejudice against Persia and his predilection in favor of Cabul, it must be remembered that on his first journey he saw the two countries under very peculiar circumstances. Dost Mahomed at that time was in the plenitude of his power. Uninfected as yet by western propagandism, he was as friendly to the Indian Government as his jealousy of the Sikhs, tempered by a natural circumspection, could render him. His personal character moreover stood out in bright relief among the sombre masses of his countrymen. In Persia, on the other hand, the actual state of affairs was gloomy, and the prospect was still more threatening. Groaning under misgovernment, and "broken up into a loose confederation of petty principalities," the country appeared, to those who looked on centralization as the essence of power, and cared not to penetrate a nation's spirit, to be on the point of dissolution. The Court, alarmed, even more than injured, by the relaxation of interest which our altered language and stinted expenditure betrayed, was prepared to conciliate Russia at any sacrifice. The Envoy, who had succeeded Sir John Macdonald at Teheran, was personally obnoxious to the Shah, and had quarrelled with all the Ministers. The Prince Royal too, against the counsel of his father, who was perhaps the steadiest friend to England, as well as the best politician in his empire, had been at length prevailed on to send an army into Khorassan, in order to reduce the refractory local chieftains, and, when Burnes passed through the province, H. R. H. was concerting measures with a Russian

agent, Baron Ache, for prosecuting hostilities beyond the frontier. Those hostilities, which it was proposed in the first instance to direct against Khiva, were suspended for the moment, owing to the interference of the only British officer in camp, Captain Shee; but as that officer, with more zeal than prudence, went so far as to pass his bond for a large sum of money in order to dissuade the Prince from the enterprise, and as such a proceeding was of course disavowed by the Envoy at Teheran, the circumstance indirectly tended still further to depress our influence. In the following year 1832, the project of aggression was resumed; but the Afghans were now pointed out as more deserving of punishment than the Uzbegs; and, after some consideration, Herat was at length selected as the destined object of attack. Again, however, did our counsel interpose to prevent the intrusion of the arms of Persia into a territory almost conterminous with India; and again was the interposition successful. On this occasion, too, as Mr. McNeill was the counsellor, it may be presumed that the true aim of the Russian policy was exposed, and that we lost nothing in Abbas Mirza's estimation by warning him of the snare prepared for him.

The Khorassan campaign, of which we are now treating, was the germ from whence sprung our own Afghan war, and it merits therefore more than a passing notice. That Russia had instigated the original movement, that she took a marked interest in the progress of the war, that she ever pointed to ulterior conquest, were all matters of notoriety; but the objects which she had in view in thus acting were by no means so patent to observation, nor indeed have they ever perhaps been submitted to a full and fair inquiry. The question has been usually put as follows:—Did Russia propose to push forward Persia as her own pioneer towards India? Was the whole scheme a phantasmagoria, designed for the mere purpose of frightening us out of our propriety? Was it a scheme, in short, with no substantial base—no real and tangible outline, and of which it would have been prudent, as well as safe, to have ignored the very existence? Such have been the limits generally assigned to the inquiry: but we have already hinted, and we shall endeavor to prove in the sequel, on what we consider unexceptionable evidence, that there was always a third object, more immediate in its nature, and more certain in its effect, which entered largely into the consideration of Russia. That object was to estrange England from Persia, to create an antagonism of interests between the two countries, and thus force the weaker power into a coalition with herself,—the natural results of such a coalition being that the moral power and influence of the Russian Empire in the

East would be greatly strengthened, while there would be entailed on British India either the anxiety and embarrassment of a sense of danger, or the expense of a state of preparation.

It was in the autumn of 1833, that the expedition against Herat, which the remonstrances of Mr. McNeill had caused to be suspended for a full year, was at length put in execution; and unfortunately the command of it was entrusted to the prince who, before another year had expired, was called upon to fill the throne of Persia. We say unfortunately, for to this accident may be proximately traced the events of 1838, and all the evils which followed in their train. That Abbas Mirza was actuated by feelings of hostility to England in sending an army against the capital of Western Afghanistan, no one has ever pretended to assert. That imputation has been reserved for Mahommed Shah: yet if the lust of conquest, the natural ambition of a military chief, were sufficient to account for the designs of the Prince Royal upon Herat, irrespective of the advice of Russia, at least the same allowance should be made for the temptation which must have assailed a leader, who, having been worsted on the first occasion of independent command, found himself shortly afterwards enabled to employ the resources of an empire to retrieve his failure. We have heard indeed that when the death of Abbas Mirza at Meshed in the autumn of 1833 compelled his eldest son to raise the siege of Herat, and return into the Persian territory in order to attend to the immediate duties of Government, he swore a solemn oath, after the approved fashion of the knights of old, that he would sooner or later retrace his steps to the eastward, and wipe out his disgrace in Afghan blood; and we further know that the design was ever uppermost in his mind from the moment that he ascended the throne, and that, however it may have been matured by Russian counsel, or linked with subsequent considerations of policy, the germ is thus to be sought in a deep-seated feeling of personal revenge.

We now return to the general question. Russia was at this time singularly placed. Having sown the dragon's teeth in Khorassan, she was content to await the harvest, without attempting to force on a crisis, or to disturb in any way the natural course of events. England on the other hand, (or rather British India, for the Teheran Mission still continued under the direction of the Calcutta Council,) had been partially awakened from its lethargy by the recent occurrences in Khorassan. If no measures of positive and complete relief were practicable, it was judged at any rate that the symptoms of danger might be alleviated, and that the day of dissolution for Persia might be postponed. Economists indeed suggested the idea that the expenditure in

Persia might be legitimately carried so far as would equal, but not exceed, the interest upon the gross outlay which we should be obliged to incur for the defence of India, in the event of the former country being swallowed up by Russia; and Lord William Bentinck, although at that period in the full career of his financial reform, was not indisposed to undergo some sacrifice, in order to better our condition at the Court of the Shah. A large supply of arms and accoutrements accordingly was transmitted gratuitously to Persia in 1832-33; and in the latter year a detachment of officers and sergeants, more complete even than the party which had been furnished from India when we were striving to supplant the French, inasmuch as it provided for the requirements of every branch of the military service, was placed by the Governor General at the disposal of the Envoy at Teheran for employment with the troops of the Shah.

A certain reaction did assuredly follow on this indication of a renewed solicitude. It was mainly owing to the exertion of British influence that Futteh Ali Shah was persuaded, in the summer of 1834, to appoint Mahomed Mirza, who had just returned from Khorassan, heir-presumptive to the Empire; and a commercial treaty, with the privilege of naming Consuls for the protection of our trade, upon which we set much store, and which we had been long vainly urging on the attention of the Court, might at this time assuredly have been carried, but for a personal misunderstanding between the British Envoy and the Ministers charged with the negociation. In the autumn indeed of 1834, when Futteh Ali Shah gave up the ghost at Ispahan, Khorassan had been previously cleared of troops, except in such numbers as were necessary for the internal safety of the province; our officers had been again placed in communication with, if not in command of, the regular army; and, the heir-presumptive being apparently inclined to hold to us, our general position in Persia certainly wore a more favorable aspect than at any period since the Russian war. The accession of Mahomed Shah formed a new epoch in our relations, and deserves to be attentively considered.

Sir John McNeill, in his article in the *Quarterly Review*, has well described the evil auspices under which our intercourse with Mahomed Shah commenced. "The young Shah," he says, "had mounted the throne with the countenance of 'Russia, and the active support of England; but although he 'was unable to move his army from Tabreez until he received 'pecuniary aid from the British Mission, and the assistance of 'British officers to command the troops, and to give the soldiers 'confidence in the promises which had been held out to them;

'and although it was known and admitted at the time that the 'success of the Shah could not have been secured, without 'hazarding his independence, unless by the opportune and effec- 'tive assistance he received from England, it unfortunately did 'so happen that, when he had been firmly seated on the throne, 'Russian influence was found to have gained an ascendency in 'his counsels, which, under the circumstances, it would have 'appeared unreasonable, or almost absurd, to have anticipated."

The sketch however is in so far imperfect, that there is no attempt to explain the enigma of this sudden preponderance of Russian influence, and we venture therefore to give its solution. Supposing our views to have been restricted to the continuance of a struggle with Russia for influence at the Persian Court, it was a capital error in our policy ever to have attached ourselves to the Azerbijan party, or to have assisted Abbas Mirza's family in the question of the succession. Whilst Futteh Ali Shah lived, he would never tolerate a permanent Russian Mission at his Court. He resolutely set his face against the establishment of Consuls at the ports on the Caspian Sea, notwithstanding that the treaty of 1828 expressly conceded that point to Russia. He was in fact essentially anti-Russian, and, as far as his power and influence extended, he was ever ready to throw his whole weight into the scale against "his cousin, the Emperor." With Abbas Mirza, however, and his family, the case was widely different. Bred up under the shadow of the Northern Upas, they were thoroughly impregnated with its influence. They had been struck by the eye of the basilisk, and could never possibly regain their confidence. Mahomed Shah had little love for Russia; he had never forgotten the fatal field of Ganjah, where the fleetness of his groom's horse alone saved him from the grasp of the Cossacks; but he was impressed with a profound conviction of her irresistible power, and he was thus pre-disposed to yield to any pressure she might exert, however feeble in its nature or injurious in its tendency. The aid, which England afforded in seating him on the throne, was ascribed to our fear lest he should immediately sink to the condition of a mere tributary to the Russian Empire, rather than to any rational hope of our supporting him in independence. From the very day, indeed, of Mahomed Shah's accession, all chance of our competing with Russia for influence in the Persian councils was at an end; and the more that power was thrown into the hands of the Azerbijan party, the more difficult did it become that we should ever re-gain our due position in the country.

Russia in the meantime was fully cognizant of the advantages of her situation. Satisfied that our efforts to consolidate the

power of the young monarch must, through whatever channel they were employed, or to whatever point they were directed, terminate to her own advantage, she smiled complacently on our assistance, and was quite content to occupy for a moment, but for the last time, a secondary place in the pageant. It was not even requisite to strike upon the old chord of conquest to the Eastward. So notorious was the young Shah's passion on this subject, that the coronation anthems rang with prophetic pæans of victory over the Uzbegs and Affghans; and His Majesty's speech, delivered from the throne before the foreign Missions on the first occasion of a public *durbar*, dwelt rapturously on the same theme. The constitution of the new Ministry, which, in the place of the old native and independent aristocracy, was composed of parties immediately subject to Russian discipline, either from the accident of birth, or from their previous employment and connexions, although contributing largely to our embarrassment, can hardly be cited as a separate element of trouble. This change indeed was a necessary consequence of the translation of the Tabriz court to Teheran, and the difficulties therefore that arose from it must be added to the catalogue of evils, which were entailed on us by the support of the Azerbijan family, and for which we never seem to have contemplated any compensating good, beyond the establishment of a principle of hereditary succession.

Our "home" proceedings now require to be noticed. Mr. McNeill had been sent to England, in the autumn of 1834, to endeavour to arouse the ministry to a sense of the necessity of some more active interference, than the mere furnishing of arms and officers from India, in order to preserve the integrity of Persia; and he was so far successful, that, on the occasion of the death of Futteh Ali Shah, the crown resolved again to place our relations with Teheran under the immediate controul of the Foreign Office, and Mr. Ellis was accordingly a second time sent out from London on an embassy of condolence and congratulation to the young monarch. Much more however required to be done to fulfil the expectations that had been formed. It was necessary in the first instance that the public mind should be aroused, before government could be either disposed, or able, to undertake measures involving responsibility, or any thing like extraordinary expense; and Mr. McNeill accordingly, assisted by David Urquhart, who had just returned from Turkey, and by Baillie Fraser, who had been travelling on a special mission in Persia, set to work to *write up* the Eastern question.

Press agitation had long been a familiar weapon of attack, and on domestic ground it had been often wielded with almost as

much facility as effect; but it was a very different affair when the battle field was the far East, and when to the impassiveness of languor was added the positive obstruction of ignorance. Perseverance and real talent however triumphed at length over all obstacles. The Monthlies poured in a close and galling fire, supported by the light artillery of leaders in the daily journals, and by charges of cavalry in the shape of pamphlets and reports. The heavy Quarterlies too brought up their masses to sustain the onset, and the mysterious "Portfolio," which was embodied for this particular campaign, proved in itself a very "Legion" of destructiveness. The public mind of England, that huge burly citadel of selfishness and unbelief, was fairly taken by assault; and when Mr. McNeill came out as minister to Persia in 1836, Urquhart at the same time going to Constantinople as Secretary of Embassy, and Baillie Fraser remaining as Oriental reporter in Downing Street, expectancy was culminating towards some great explosion in the East. We beg those of our readers, who have been accustomed to look on the Affghan war as the accident of a moment, a sudden spasm of India in an agony of mortal fear, to attend to these premonitory symptoms, which as surely heralded the movement, as the formation of "the League" preceded the repeal of the Corn Laws.

We doubt, however, if our relations with Persia had yet assumed any tangible or definite shape in the deliberations of the British ministry. Mr. McNeill at any rate, on his return to the country with further supplies of arms, and further detachments of officers and sergeants, must have still looked to the old object of making use of Persia as a defence for India, and of strengthening her for our own benefit. He was prepared probably to advocate a very much more extended and effective system of relief than had yet been resolved on by the ministry. His pamphlet on "The progress of Russia in the East," which was published just before his departure from England, pointed to the necessity of preserving the integrity of Persia at all risks; although how that object was to be attained—whether by negociation, or money, or military assistance, or a bold defiance of Russia—was purposely left in obscurity. But these visions must have quickly faded, after he was brought in contact with the court. The Shah, he must have seen, no longer needed, nor even wished for, the protection of Great Britain. His Majesty had found a more convenient, if not a more safe, ally in Russia,—an ally who would encourage and promote his conquests, guarantee him against intestine troubles, and shield him, if necessary, against the resentment of England. It does not appear, in the Foreign Office

printed correspondence, at what time the scales first fell from our eyes, or how, when the broad truth stared us in the face, that we must henceforward encounter at the Persian Court,not the insidious attack of a power equally suspected by both parties, but the open hostility of a successful rival—we proposed to meet the difficulty. There are certain circumstances which render it probable that then, at the eleventh hour, we did imperfectly shadow forth the only line of policy which, without entailing on us an enormous expense, could have availed us to retrieve our position. The distinguished reception which had been given in England to the refugee Princes of Shiraz, and the handsome pension assigned to them, seemed to point to the eventuality of a restored dynasty under British auspices in the south of Persia. The contumelious dismissal of our civil and military officers from the Royal camp in the summer of 1836, was popularly, though, we believe, improperly, assigned to the discovery of intrigues tending to the same end; and we shall presently show, that Russia herself had become alarmed at this possible, and under the circumstances justifiable, resolution of our difficulties. If, however, we ever harboured the idea of extricating ourselves by the semblance, or reality, of such a scheme, the plan must have soon yielded to the more pressing necessities of the time. Witkewitch had already started for Cabul, and the Shah was preparing to besiege Herat.

It enters not into our design to impugn or contradict any part of the evidence which Sir J. McNeill has accumulated in his article in the *Quarterly Review*, to prove the complicity of Russia in the proceedings of Persia against Affghanistan, or to show that the ulterior object of Russia in thus acting was hostility against England. We merely reserve two points; first, that the Shah was an unconscious instrument in the hands of Russia, until our opposition to his views kindled discord between us and him; and secondly, that the full scope of the Russian policy (the channel through which the feeling of hostility against us was to work, and its advantages were to be developed) has been either miscomprehended or concealed. On the first point it is perhaps unnecessary to enlarge; for, supposing that the Shah can be proved to have acted unconsciously against us, still if his proceedings were injurious, he was as amenable to our resentment as if he had been our wilful enemy. The question is only of interest in proving the complete success of Russia's machinations, which brought England almost into collision with Persia against the wishes of the one party, and without the cognizance of the other. The second point is of greater consequence; for, if the views of Russia were such as we believe them to have

been, and if those views were duly communicated at the time to the British Government, it seems the less excusable that we should have taken the bait prepared for us.

We remember to have seen a paper which reached India, long before the grand army had crossed the Indus, and which purposed to give the confidential explanations of a high Russian functionary on the policy which his Government had pursued in the affair of Herat. We know not how the paper was obtained, but its verisimilitude guaranteed its authenticity; and, although for obvious reasons it has not been printed in any of the Affghan Blue Books, we venture, after the lapse of ten years, to quote certain parts of it from memory.

"Russia," it was stated, "has played a very successful, as 'well as a very safe, game in the late proceedings. When she 'prompted the Shah to undertake the siege of Herat, she was 'certain of carrying an important point, however the expedition 'terminated. If Herat fell, which there was every reason to 'expect, then Candahar and Cabul would certainly have made 'their submission. Russian influence would thus have been 'brought to the threshold of India; and England, however much 'she might desire peace, could not avoid being involved in a 'difficult and expensive war, in order to avert more serious dan-'gers. If, on the other hand, England interfered to save Herat, 'she was compromised—not with the mere court of Mahomed 'Shah, but with Persia as a nation. Russia had contrived to 'bring all Persia to Herat, and to identify all Persia with the suc-'cess or failure of the campaign: and she had thus gravelled the 'old system of partizanship, which would have linked Azerbijan 'with herself, and the rest of the nation with her rival."

"By interfering to save Herat, and by thus checking for the 'moment the advance of Russian influence towards India," it was further said, "England has made an enemy of every pro-'vince whose troops were engaged in the campaign—of Khoras-'san, Irak, Fars, Mazanderan, and Ghilan. She is now the 'national enemy, the friend of the Soonees, and the foe to the 'Sheeah faith; and Russia will not be slow to turn this revul-'sion of feeling to account." We remember also its being observed that, "Russia feels no anxiety at the interference of 'England in Affghanistan. The reports of Witkewitch have 'satisfied her, that, owing to the disorganized condition, the 'turbulent character, and the conflicting interests of the Affghan 'tribes, Cabul and Candahar can never form a bulwark for 'India. They are more likely to shatter the fabric to which 'they are violently attached, and cause it to crumble prematurely 'into ruin."

It was supposed at the time, that, in thus putting the case, Russia was affecting a satisfaction which she did not feel. She had been foiled, it was thought, and it was only natural that she should seek for palliatives to cover her dishonour, and to mitigate the keenness of her sense of disappointment. That we had sustained any real injury in Persia was doubted; and the Affghan war was considered by all, except a hesitating few, to promise the most complete success. But subsequent events, we think, verified to a remarkable extent, not only the accuracy of the Russian calculations, but the sincerity with which they were declared.

Upon the actual merits of the Affghan question, we shall not venture far into the arena of discussion; although we might perhaps communicate new facts, as well as new opinions, to the public. The time has not yet come for writing a true and detailed history of the war, either in its origin, its progress, or its close; and we must confine ourselves therefore to generalities. The justice of the expedition seems now to be pretty generally abandoned; and the expediency of it, on which ground alone the defenders of the war are obliged to rest their case, is made to depend upon the fact of an imminent danger, threatening the security of British power in the East in 1838, which could be averted, or which at any rate seemed to be evitable, by no other means. Now we will not dispute that, if Herat had fallen, there would have been a certain amount of positive danger to India. It may be questioned, if that danger would have nearly reached the crisis, which Lord Wellesley had contemplated with so much serenity in 1799: but still, as the power of Persia at Cabul and Candahar would undoubtedly have been exerted in a direction contrary to that which our own policy unfortunately took during the subsequent occupation—as she would have brought forward the Sheeah Hazarehs, the Parseewans, and the Kizzilbash, to confirm and strengthen the Baruckzye ascendancy, and would thus have escaped the troubles, which arose from our pursuing the contrary course of raising into power the turbulent Dooranee aristocracy—it may not be unreasonably supposed, that she would have attained and preserved such a position in the country, as would have materially increased that to internal agitation of India, which had been already called into existence by her mere preliminary measures of attack. To this extent there was, we believe, actual danger to the British power in the East from the aggressive policy in which Persia had allowed herself, through the personal ambition of her monarch, to be inveigled; but at the same time a much stronger exhibition, than we have ever

yet seen, of the evils to be apprehended from this increased domestic agitation, would hardly persuade us that a foreign war was necessary to neutralize their effects; still less a war which violated all the acknowledged principles of military and political guidance.

An argument, however, which seems to be fatal to this defence of expediency is, that the war was *not* undertaken to avert the danger that we have spoken of. In our own opinion the unsuccessful assault of June 23rd, 1838, settled the question of Herat. The siege, we believe, would have been raised even without a demonstration on the part of England in favor of the besieged. It actually *was* raised at any rate before the army of the Indus had begun to assemble, and the fact was communicated to the Governor General while the troops were still encamped at Ferozpore. Lord Auckland did not affect to base the expedition on the facts set forth in his proclamation of October 1st, or on the hostile advance of Persia towards India. He unequivocally stated, that "he would continue to prosecute with 'vigour the measures which had been announced, with a view 'to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the 'Eastern provinces of Affghanistan, and to the establishment 'of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon 'our North-West frontier;—"* objects no doubt of a certain abstract value, but hardly more urgently needed in 1838 than in 1798, or than at any intermediate period.

If the Shah raised the siege through the inadequacy of his resources to support the contest, he was a contemptible enemy. The rulers of Candahar and Cabul would scarcely again supplicate, or descend even to propitiation, when their brother chief of Herat had triumphed. Their spirit of independence, and their detestation of a foreign yoke, which had yielded for the moment to the exhibition of superior force, would have revived when the phantom had passed away, and they would have been rendered all the more intractable for the future from shame at their misplaced despondency. If, on the other hand, the siege of Herat were raised, and the designs of Persia on Affghanistan were abandoned, in consequence of our sending a detachment of 500 rank and file with two six-pounders to the island of Karrack, we had at any rate a guage of the power of the nation from which we were apprehending danger. The vulnerable heel was revealed to us; and with this revelation—with the proof of our ability to controul the policy of the Court of Teheran by the application of means which could at any

* Order by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India. Nov. 8, 1838.

time be furnished from the garrison of Bombay—there should have come, we think, a returning sense of confidence, a consciousness that the march of a British Army to Cabul could not really be indispensable to the defence of India.

It has been further said that, independently of the advantages which the Affghan war promised to secure for us, the treaty of Lahore bound us to undertake it, and that the safety of Herat did not in any way release us from this engagement; but, in looking over the text of the treaty, we are really at a loss to understand which article can be supposed to involve such an obligation. The restoration of Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk to the throne of Cabul was no doubt tacitly assumed as the object of the treaty, and the nature and extent of the assistance to be supplied by Runjeet Singh towards the accomplishment of that object were pretty accurately defined; but whatever may have been the character of the promises and encouragement held out by us to the Shah at Lahore, there was certainly not a syllable entered in the treaty which entailed upon the British Government the liability of furnishing an auxiliary army, or a contingent, or even of affording pecuniary support to the enterprise. "The friends and enemies of each of the three high powers were," it is true, declared, "to be the friends and 'enemies of all;" but a general defensive league of this nature is never held to pledge the contracting parties to mutual support when hostilities may arise from aggressive proceedings on the part of one of them; and to render the condition therefore applicable to the case in point, it would be necessary to show, that Shah Shujah's invasion of Affghanistan was not an aggression, or, in other words, to resume the position which we have already stated to have been generally abandoned as desperate, and to maintain that the war was not only expedient but *just*.

So entirely insufficient indeed do the ostensible grounds appear, which have been assigned for the prosecution of the Affghan war, after the danger which menaced India from the Russo-Persian movements had been dissipated by the retreat of Mahomed Shah's army from Herat, that, without attaching much importance to the rabid gossiping of Mr. Masson, we still cannot help suspecting, that it was owing in a great measure to the bureaucratic machinery of the Governor General's camp, that the troops were finally set in motion.

We will now consider the effect of our proceedings upon Persia. Herat owed its safety mainly to British interference; more however, we think, to the interest manifested by Mr. McNeill throughout the siege, which inspired the garrison with hope,

and to the fortitude and skill of Lieut. Pottinger, which contributed essentially to the military defence of the place, than to our tardy occupation of Karrack. The Shah at the same time naturally made the most of our demonstration, and professed to have raised the siege, "in sole consideration of the interests 'of his faith and country;" and the Persians generally, whose vanity as a nation is proverbial, preferred the explanation of being coerced by England to that of being defeated by the Affghans. We had therefore appeared in a new character; we had opposed the arms of Persia, and had even threatened her with invasion; and, if the nation had been identified with the court, or even with the army which had besieged Herat, such an attack on the national honour and interests might have been expected to go far to neutralize the effects of all our previous conciliatory policy.

That to a certain extent the Russian prediction of our being compromised with Persia was fulfilled, we will not deny; but we protest against the assumption, that in general estimation we changed places with Russia, or that we ever sank nearly to her level of unpopularity. There was an element, indeed, working strongly, but silently, in our favor,—the element of nationality, or a distinction of race, of which the full value has only been recently recognized in the science of political government. In the same way that we have lately seen the Scandinavian struggling with the Teuton, the Maygar fighting to the death with the Croat, the Sclavonian rising against the German, so for the last ten years in Persia there has been an antagonism of race, which has been ever deepening in inveteracy, and which will hardly yet pass away without leading to some violent cataclysm. The Toork population, which inhabits the single province of Azerbijan, was never allowed during the reign of Futteh Ali Shah to emerge from that secondary place to which its numbers alone entitled it. Abbas Mirza's army was, it is true, composed of this material; and, in the expeditions of the Prince Royal to Yezd, Kerman, and Khorassan in 1831-33, the Toork power had thus made itself pretty extensively felt throughout the kingdom; but still all offices of trust and emolument were confided to Persians; the executive power in the provinces was wielded through local means; and a native of Azerbijan was hardly to be found in the ministry. On the accession however of Mahomed Shah the position of the two races was reversed. The Tabriz court was transferred bodily to the capital. Toork governors were sent into all the provinces, and Toork garrisons were detached to support them. The native nobility

were ground to the very dust; the native troops were disbanded, or reduced, or neglected. The municipalities were presided over by Toorks: farms, monopolies, all situations, which involved the exercise of power, or afforded means for the amassing of wealth, were entrusted to natives of the same race. The consequence was that an antipathy between the Toorks and Persians, which always probably existed, but for which under the old regime there was little or no opportunity of display, became suddenly a leading characteristic of the nation. If, therefore, the provinces of southern and central Persia shared in the mortification which was generally felt at the failure of the Herat campaign, they were at any rate consoled in some measure by the reflection, that the disgrace principally fell upon their Toork oppressors. The appearance of a British force in the Persian Gulf did not, we think, excite alarm in Shiraz and Ispahan. A fear of conquest, or occupation by a foreign invader, was certainly not the predominant feeling. That feeling was the hope that, through the instrumentality of the British arms, the power of the Toorks might be humbled, and the native race might be admitted at least to an equality of rights and consideration. We have it, indeed, from the best authority, that if the British force had landed on the coast, and had proclaimed any suitable pretender to the throne—one of the old Zend dynasty for instance, supposing that an individual of that family could have been found—the tribe chiefs throughout the southern and central provinces would have risen to aid in the enterprise; their motive being, less that of attachment to the English, or pre-disposition in favor of the cause which the English supported, than a hatred of the ruling powers, and of the myrmidons by whom they were surrounded. It did not however of course enter into the calculations of Great Britain to incur the risk of precipitating such a crisis. Our object was demonstration, not attack; and in furtherance of that object, it would have required the nicest management to conduct any military movement whatever; for too much diffidence would have hazarded the miscarriage of the enterprise, while too much confidence might have forced us on to a dismemberment of the kingdom, and have thus accelerated that collision with Russia, which for thirty years we had been striving to retard.

Fortunately although the court remained sulky and disposed to listen to any counsel which promised revenge for the affront we were conceived to have put on it, there was no occasion for our exceeding the strict limits of an attitude of observation. Ghorian, a fortress of some strength in the Herat territory, continued to be occupied by Persian troops, notwithstanding, that that

occupation had all along been declared by the British Government to be equivalent to a hostile demonstration against England. Reparation for the violence which had been offered to the messenger of the British mission, and which had constituted throughout the Herat controversy one of our gravest grounds of complaint, was still refused. Persia had ventured even to impede in some degree the working of our Affghan policy, by opening a friendly communication with Yar Mahomed Khan ("the arch-villain" as he is usually styled in India, but according to Sir J. McNeill "the most remarkable man of his age and country"), for the purpose of sharpening his already awakened jealousy at the magnificent and gratuitous aid which we lavished on Herat: yet, the progress of our arms beyond the Indus was so constant, and the results promised so favorably, that we could afford to disregard such indications of hostility, even had they been more malignantly shaped, and fraught with more immediate injury. Persia being in fact for the time innocuous, we were well enough content to await that compliance with our demands, which in the natural course of events could not fail sooner or later to take place; the interruption of diplomatic intercourse and the prolonged occupation of Karrack testifying to our offended dignity, while our extreme reserve, in desisting from all intrigue, in rejecting offers of co-operation, in avoiding every measure which might complicate our position, showed that we were not inclined to push the rupture to extremities.

Russia in the meantime was not inactive. The satisfaction, with which she had viewed our retirement, and had found Persia left to her exclusive embrace, soon gave way to a feeling of alarm, when she learnt of the gigantic preparations which British India was making to appropriate the countries intermediate between Herat and the Indus, and when she further remarked the effervescence in the public mind, and the consequent danger to the Shah, which resulted from our isolated location in the Persian Gulf. After those famous despatches of Count Nesselrode to Pozzo di Borgo, dated respectively October 20th, 1838, and February 21st, 1839, which, however ingeniously imagined and plausibly tricked out, had for their unique objects the moderation of our Affghan scheme, and the withdrawal of our force from Karrack, and which signally failed, not only in attaining those ends, but even in making out a case that should withstand an ordinary scrutiny, Russia began to organize her plans for allaying the commotion, which she had, perhaps too precipitately, called into existence, or at any rate for counteracting its effects. As she could make nothing of Persia, divided against itself, and embarked moreover in a cause which the

Emperor had already declared to be unjustifiable, she turned her attention to Khiva; and hence arose the manifesto of December, 1839, which declared the great object of General Perowski's expedition to be "to strengthen in that part of Asia the lawful influence to which Russia has a right."

No one doubted at the time but that a force, vastly superior both in numbers and artillery to that which Lord Keane led from the Indus in triumph through the defiles of Affghanistan, would be able to cross the open plain of the Desht-i-kipchák, between the Caspian and the Aral: and it was in anticipation, we think, of General Perowski's success, and in deprecation of the advance of our own arms beyond the Hindoo Koosh, which was then in contemplation in order to dislodge Jabbar Khan and Dost Mahomed's family from Khooloom, that Baron Brunow significantly remarked to Sir John Hobhouse—"If we go on at this rate, Sir John, the 'Cossack and the Sepoy will soon meet upon the banks of the 'Oxus,"—and that the President replied, with more spirit perhaps than self-conviction—"Very probably, Baron; but, however 'much I should regret the collision, I should have no fear of the 'result." Man proposes, however, while a greater than man disposes. The expedition altogether failed, partly perhaps from the extraordinary severity of the season, but more essentially from the fact, that Orenburg did not furnish to Russia (any more than did Tiflis in the Persian war) that strategic base for operations beyond the frontier, which Ferozpore, faulty, remote, and unprovided as it was, offered to India.

Dispirited by this failure, and by the supposed complete success of our Affghan occupation, (for it must be remembered, that it was the fashion of the day to paint every thing "couleur de rose," and that the few who ventured to tell the truth, were mercilessly snubbed) and foreseeing real embarrassment to herself, if we should be induced to resort to any active measures for the termination of our quarrel with the Shah, Russia now set to work to bring about that reconciliation between England and Persia, which, from the first hour of the rupture, she had professed her desire to accomplish. She believed, or affected to believe, that we were aiding and abetting in certain troubles that broke out in the south of the kingdom. A revolt of the Bakhtiarees was ascribed to the accidental presence of an English traveller, Mr. Layard, since so well known as the excavator of ancient Nineveh. The Kerman insurgents, headed by Agha Khan, it was pretended, were supplied with arms and ammunition, with money, and even with artillery, from Bombay. Baron Brunow, indeed, pleasantly complained that, "at Calcutta they still acted as if Simonich 'were at Teheran, and Witkewitch at Cabul;" and he further

categorically stated, that, in order to put an end to so very unsatisfactory a condition of affairs, the Emperor had called upon the Shah to comply with all the requisitions of England. If the same language had been used by the Russian representative at Teheran in 1838, which was addressed to the Shah in 1840, the British Mission would never have retired from the country. Persia, of course, as soon as she found that all European support was denied to her, Russia seconding the cause of England, and France (which had also in the interim sent a complimentary mission to Teheran) declining to interfere in the controversy, had no alternative but submission. Ghorian was evacuated, yet the party for whose immediate benefit this difficult point was at length carried, had a very short time previously confirmed his claim on our consideration by turning Major Tod out of Herat! Reparation was given for the arrest and ill-treatment of the mission courier. A commercial treaty was guaranteed to us. Sir John McNeill returned once again to Teheran; and the British troops were removed from Karrack.

This settlement was opportune. If it had been delayed six months longer, Russia would hardly have proffered the same earnest mediation; nor would the Shah's obstinacy have been so easily overcome. If we had still been in a state of quasi-hostility with Persia at the close of 1841, it would have required something more than a mere moral pressure to right ourselves at Teheran. Even with six months of preparation, Sir J. McNeill must have found it a difficult business to meet the first burst of the Cabul disaster; and the more so, as the Persians with the usual proneness of Orientals to personify all measures of policy, insisted on fixing upon our minister the individual responsibility of their failure at Herat, and he had thus to encounter the irritation and ill-will of almost all classes with whom he was brought in contact at the court. That under such circumstances,—at a season when our Indian Empire had sustained a blow, which in the estimation of those who knew not its strength, shook it almost to its foundations, and acting at Teheran with one of the ablest and most astute officers who ever represented Russia in the East,*—Sir J. McNeill should have held Persia firm to her engagements; that he should have carried the commercial treaty; and that he should have put our relations with the Shah upon something of their ancient footing, we regard as not the least meritorious achievements of his distinguished career. In the spring of 1842, ill health compelled him to abandon Persia. He had been employed for

* Count Medem.

nearly twenty-four years in that country, and during that interval had raised himself by his unaided talent and energy from the humble rank of an assistant surgeon in the Company's army, to that of a civil Grand Cross of the Bath—a bright example to the Indian services. So high, indeed, was the character he had earned for himself with the ministers of the crown, that, when he retired from the East, he merely exchanged his diplomatic functions for an office of equal honor, and of more utility, under the Government of his native land.*

From 1842, until the recent death of Mahommed Shah, there were few salient points of interest in the politics of Persia. The objects of England were less, it would seem, during that interval, to struggle for influence at Teheran, or to restore strength to Persia, than to keep a watch over the proceedings of Russia; to preserve, as far as might be, the "status quo;" and to prevent at any rate our sustaining injury from sudden impulses, which prudent counsel might avert. Our expenditure was thus reduced within the narrowest possible limits. Interference in the domestic affairs of the country was studiously avoided. When the Shah appealed to us against the imperious bearing of Russia, we assured His Majesty of our sympathy, but never ventured to lead him to hope for our support. On one point only did we transgress the bounds of passive observation. A war was imminent between Persia and the Porte; and as it was evident that such a war, however it might terminate, would essentially weaken one, if not both, of the belligerents, and thus invite aggression, we determined to force our mediation on the pugnacious powers. Relying also on the Emperor's declaration, that the system which the two cabinets had a common interest in pursuing, was that of "maintaining the tranquillity of the inter-' mediate countries, which separate the possessions of Russia from ' those of Great Britain," we invited Russia to send a commissioner to the conference of Erzeroom, and to aid us in the work of pacification. The invitation was of course acceded to, and the conference accordingly commenced; but in the proceedings of such an anomalous congregation of parties it would have been unreasonable to expect either alacrity or even unanimity. All things indeed considered, it is, we think, more surprising that, under the joint mediation of Great Britain and Russia, any treaty whatever should have been concluded between the courts of Constantinople and Teheran, than that negociations, for which five

* Sir John McNeill has been for the last four years one of the "Poor Law Commissioners for Scotland;" and it was partly owing to his admirable management that the famine of 1817, which decimated Ireland, was so little felt in the sister island.

weeks would have been a very liberal allowance of time, were actually made to extend over as many years.

At the commencement of our sketch, we have remarked on the little progress that has been made by Russia, since the Affghan occupation, in that path, which the war was specially designed to obstruct, and which the withdrawal of our arms must have left more accessible than ever; and we now propose to consider this subject somewhat more in detail. It would be absurd to suppose that an erroneous view had been taken throughout of the bent of the Russian policy; and yet, if that policy were one of aggression against Persia and of hostility towards England, the question naturally arises how it happened, that the very favorable opportunity for its prosecution, which presented itself on our retirement from Affghanistan, should have been so little cultivated. The reasons, of course, of Russia's comparative inactivity can be mere matters of speculation, but we still give the following explanation with some confidence. The Affghan war, which, in the magnitude of the efforts it called forth, and the success that smiled on its commencement, took Russia somewhat by surprise, and made her almost repent of having provoked the struggle, furnished her in its sequel, not only with cause of congratulation, but with a lesson of much importance, as it might be applied to herself. If England were unable to maintain herself at Cabul and Candahar, Russia could scarcely expect to fare better at Teheran and Ispahan. All the difficulties, th we encountered in Affghanistan, would in a much graver form beset a Russian army in its occupation of Persia. The enormous sacrifice, indeed, at which alone a nation, exclusively Mahommedan, could be overrun and held by a Christian power, was exemplified in the case of Algiers; and Russia had neither the same objects nor interests in coveting the realm of the Shah, that impelled France to fasten on her African colony. It is possible then, that the acquisitive policy of Russia in respect to Persia, and her agitating policy in respect to India, did actually cool, as the result of the Affghan war testified to the transcendant danger of her schemes, and as its corollaries all revealed to her the facility with which England could render abortive any plan of mere intimidation, or meet any system of attack.

The continued rebellion of the Caucasus, the ease with which Sheik Shamil baffled all her efforts to reduce him, rising up like the giant Antæus with renovated strength from every fresh encounter, must have powerfully aided in modifying the character of the Russian policy. We believe, indeed, that if her course had been otherwise uninterruptedly successful, if Persia

had surrendered herself a willing victim into the hands of her enemy, and Great Britain had given up every inch of ground beyond the Sutlej, the resolute resistance of this mountain chief would still have proved the salvation of Asia. We have heard it surmised, that Russia plays with the Caucasus to further her views in other quarters; that she favours the impression of her weakness on an unimportant point, to be enabled to employ her force with more effect where greater interests are at stake; but such is not our belief. We are convinced that for the last fifteen years at least, she has honestly and unremittingly employed her utmost available power to reduce the tribes of the Caucasus; and as Shamil at the present time, independently of his native forces, commands the services of 15,000 deserters from the Russian ranks, and can place in battery 200 pieces of ordnance, captured from the Russians in the field, or carried off from their entrenchments, we may understand, how totally inadequate that power has proved to the emergency,* and how impossible it would have been for Russia, with her communications at the mercy of such an enemy, to push her arms still further to the eastward, or to contemplate even territorial extension. The full value of the mountain war of independence has hardly yet, we think, been appreciated in preserving the balance of power. A moderate support of Shamil might still perhaps save the Danubian principalities, and as long as his banner floats from the summits of the Caucasus, so long is Persia safe from the hostile invasion of a Russian army.

Although, however, the two checks, that we have thus noticed, imposed upon Russia the necessity of abstaining from those active measures, which might have been reasonably expected to supervene upon our Affghan reverses, it is not to be supposed, that, during the period which has since elapsed, she has exhibited no signs of animation, and no tendency to an onward movement. Her conduct, it is true, in Persia has been more guarded than formerly, and more observant, to England in particular, of the amenities which should characterise the intercourse of friendly states; but it has not been less constant in its aim, or less progressive

* A friend has furnished us with the following story, which is currently quoted in Persia, as an example of ready repartee, but which is also not without a certain degree of political significance:—"When the Amir Nizam visited the Emperor of Russia during his Georgian progress in 1837, and introduced the Heir Apparent, then a boy of 7 years of age, His Majesty observed in the course of conversation, "Who are these Affghans, that they should be allowed to laugh at your beards in this way? Whose dogs are they to stand in the path of Mahomed Shah?" (We quote, of course, the Persian version of the story.) "Oh!" answered the Amir, "they are an insignificant set of vagabonds, not worth naming; idle unsainted scoundrels, very like those Lesghies and Daghistanis you have in the mountains." The Emperor looked as black as thunder, but said not a word further on the subject."

in its action. Her shadow has been gradually darkening over the land. Having coerced into her interests the Prime Minister, a Russian subject by birth, who, by the force of certain rules of the ecstatic school of the philosophy to which they mutually belonged, held the Shah in leading-strings, she pursued, during the closing years of the late monarch's reign, an unobtrusive but an undeviating course of interference, almost of supervision, over the internal affairs of the country. Her protection was granted to all applicants. She recommended candidates for offices, and screened offenders, constituted herself referee in disputed cases, and not unfrequently usurped and exercised the functions of the executive power. Her attention was particularly directed to Azerbijan, and to the countries on the Caspian. She brought the Governor of the former province, the Shah's uterine brother, into direct dependence upon her, supported him against the central Government, and, when his liberty was endangered, granted him an asylum in the Russian Embassy, and ultimately, received and welcomed him as an imperial guest at Tiflis. Upon the shores of the Caspian the extreme jealousy of the littoral tribes compelled her to proceed with greater circumspection. Commencing, however, with a consulate at Resht, and agents at other ports, she obtained in process of time the authorization of the Shah to construct a naval arsenal on the island of Ashoon Ada, for the rendezvous and refitting of her marine. She then placed a consul in the town of Asterabad, to protect the trade which this establishment had created; and, shortly before the death of the Shah, she is also understood to have proposed to institute another consulate at Meshed, the extension of her commerce being the ostensible, and perhaps really the immediate, object of her activity; but political influence also, and increased facilities for intrigue follow, as she must well know, of necessity in the train of that commerce, when it may have once fairly taken root in Khorassan.

Persia herself in the meantime had presented a miserable and melancholy spectacle. She had been undergoing the very extremity of suffering which misgovernment could entail upon a nation. The Prime Minister of Persia, Hajee Mirza Aghassee, had for a period of thirteen years the destinies of the country over which he presided more completely under his guidance, than perhaps any absolute autocrat of ancient or of modern times; and lamentably did he abuse the trust reposed in him. Self-sufficient almost to fatuity; utterly ignorant of statesmanship, of finance, or of military science, yet too vain to receive instruction, and too jealous to admit of a coadjutor; brutal in his language; insolent in his demeanour;

indolent in his habits; he brought the exchequer to the verge of bankruptcy, and the country to the brink of revolution. Alienating at the outset of his career fully one half of the revenues of the Empire in extravagant grants to pampered courtlings, personal dependents, upstarts and empirics, he consumed the remainder in amusing the military mania of the Shah, for whose edification he prepared a park of about 1,000 pieces of artillery, and commissioned above half a million of English muskets. At the commencement of 1848, the Government paper (and it must be remembered that the finance of Persia is carried on entirely by a system of assignments) was at ninety per cent. discount. The pay of the army was generally from three to five years in arrears. The cavalry of the tribes was almost annihilated. The intense animosity of the Toorks and Persians had reached a climax, which crippled the means of action of the provincial Governors, and threatened to produce complete disorganization. With the exception indeed of Azerbijan, in which the whole wealth of the Empire had become pretty well concentrated by the constant return of its inhabitants laden with the spoil of the provinces, Persia generally presented the appearance of a country occupied in force by a foreign enemy. Resistance to the Toorks was hopeless for the moment, but the desire for revenge was only deepened in intensity by the necessity of prolonged endurance.

In his foreign policy we do not think that the Prime Minister wilfully betrayed his country. He never submitted patiently to the tuition of Russia. On more occasions than one he proclaimed concession to have reached its limit, and struggled to break the meshes that were being woven around him. But he was impotent. He had not that confidence in England, which might have led him to throw himself upon us for protection, nor had we shown any disposition to volunteer our support, or even to grant it, if it had been solicited. A French alliance had seemed for a time to hold out a prospect of succour from a quarter where danger was to be apprehended, and had been cultivated, therefore, with more attention than in reality it merited. For a short period indeed the Comte de Sartiges held a position at Teheran more favourable, as far as the consideration of the Court was concerned, than that occupied either by the Russian or the British Minister; but a relation of this nature was evidently artificial, and could lead to no permanent result. France had no substantive interests in Persia, for which she could have ventured to put herself in opposition either to Russia or to England; nor, if she had been ever so much dis-

posed in favour of Persian integrity, and had desired to retain the Shah as her own minion, is it very apparent how she could have carried her plans into execution. A categorical reference on this subject was, we believe, made to Louis Philippe before the revolution of February; but that event—the expulsion of a Monarch by his subjects, and the establishment of a republican government, measures utterly repugnant to the oriental idea of the divine right of kings,—scattered, of course, the negotiation to the winds; and, until a royal or imperialist dynasty shall be again seated on the throne of France, we venture to predict that French influence will not regain at Teheran that transient lustre which flickered round it in 1847, struck out from the jarring contact of British and Russian interests.

On passing events in Persia we must be allowed to express ourselves with some reserve. Mahommed Shah died at Teheran on September 5th, 1848; and officers of the British and Russian missions immediately rode post to Tabriz to proclaim, and bring to the capital, his eldest son, Nassir-ed-din Mirza, who had been separately and conjointly recognized by the Courts of St. James's and St. Petersburg, as the legitimate successor to the throne. Persia had been so much habituated of late, in all measures of state policy, to receive her impulses from the European powers, that probably under any circumstances the simple declaration of the British and Russian Ministers would have sufficed to settle the immediate question of the succession. In the actual posture of affairs the acquiescence of the nation in that declaration was inevitable; for, of the few competitors who could pretend to exercise any influence on the general body of their countrymen, one, Bahman Mirza, was in honorable exile at Tiflis, and all the others were refugees at Bagdad. In the provinces, also, the peasantry and tribesmen were everywhere too intent upon their local emancipation, to take heed of an abstract matter like that of the succession. It may be said, then, that the Russian and British Missions, and a mere clique of notables, (who had however sufficient influence at the capital to cause public property to be respected, and generally to prevent disorder,) effected at the moment a transfer of kingly power, to which, in the best appointed times of former Persian history, the path could have only lain through long avenues of intrigue and blood. The obnoxious Minister was of course hurled from power, and only escaped the popular fury by taking sanctuary. The Toork governors generally were expelled from the provinces, and the garrisons

either saved themselves by a precipitate retreat, or, where their numbers admitted of defence, shut themselves up in citadels, and awaited attack. The young Shah encountered no opposition whatever on his march from Tabriz to Teheran. He made his public entry into the capital on October 21st: and thus ended the first scene of the drama.

The second scene is not yet played out, or at any rate we are not yet acquainted with its result in India; but as far as it has gone, it is of a much less agreeable character than its predecessor, and it adumbrates progressive trouble. In the disposition of the Shah, so far as his tender age and hitherto obscure career afford materials for enquiry, in the constitution of the court, in the state of parties, in the internal condition of the country, and in its foreign relations, we look in vain for a single element of strength, or a single characteristic of permanence. When we say that Nassir-ed-din Shah is a mere youth of eighteen years of age, it may be understood, that for a considerable time at any rate he must be a mere cypher in the Government which he is supposed to wield. The longer too that his nonage may extend, the less probably will his country suffer; for of all the characters that might pertain to an irresponsible Monarch, we should apprehend the greatest danger from one, which, to the vices of the voluptuary, added the sins of ignorance and obstinacy, and the more terrible traits of cruelty and revenge. With regard to the ministry, our only consolation is, that it cannot last, and that any change must be for the better. A fatuous priest has been succeeded by a timid scribe, and the incompetency of the one is scarcely less obstructive to business than were the eccentricities and malignancy of the other. The state of parties is still more pregnant with evil; for, over and above the two great factions, the Toorks and Persians, which have hitherto, in spirit at any rate, divided the kingdom, and which (having whetted their appetite for blood in many an encounter during the recent convulsion in the provinces) may be expected to be henceforward pledged to an internecine struggle, leading too probably to the dismemberment of the empire—there may now be considered to be a third party, which desires nothing more than to promote this struggle, and to profit by the mutual exhaustion of the combatants. We do not think it worth while to particularize petty sections, or mere personal divisions; although some of these, such as the tribe party of the Queen Mother, another oriental Messalina, may very possibly play an important part in the future government of the country: for, if a real crisis were

imminent, we conceive that all other feelings would yield to that of a distinction of race, or to the callous calculations of individual benefit.

On the internal condition of Persia, and on the present aspect of its foreign relations, we could say much, if our space permitted; but we have already exceeded the ordinary limits of a political article, and must hasten therefore rapidly to a close. In every quarter there is abundant cause for anxiety, and few, very few, faint glimmerings of hope. The rock, upon which the government of the country will first split, will be a want of funds to defray the most ordinary and limited expenditure. The treasury has been drained of its last ducat, and we see little probability of its being replenished: for neither will the provinces, after the license of an interregnum, and with the consciousness of recovered strength, be induced to submit to exactions; nor will the Prince Governors, who have been sent to replace the subordinate chiefs employed during the late reign, and who will each endeavour to establish his own independent court, be in any hurry to contribute their quota of revenue for the support of the central government. It will be dangerous, again—at any rate while the "Res dura et regni novitas" hamper the free action of the government—to attempt to resume the grants so extravagantly lavished by Mahomed Shah and his minister upon unworthy objects. Without pretending, indeed, to vaticination, it seems to us that the sustaining or motive power of the government no longer exists, neither can it be renewed; and that, when the original impetus is lost, the wheels of the machine accordingly must cease to work.

The general condition, too, of the provinces is hardly less unfavourable to the consolidation of the young monarch's power, than an empty treasury, and impotent and divided councils. In no quarter, we may safely say, is there any feeling of confidence in the stability of the government. The public mind is still heaving with the agitation of the many local revolutions which followed on the death of the Shah, and extensive emeutes have since broken out in Mazenderan, Ispahan, and Kerman, aimed almost undisguisedly against the existing government. Khorassan however undoubtedly affords the greatest cause for apprehension. Ever since the Assef-ed-Douleh, the head of the old Persian party, was removed, about two years ago, from the government of the province, very great discontent has prevailed generally throughout that part of the kingdom. An accident, shortly before the death of the Shah, brought this discon-

tent to a head, and raised the population of Meshed in arms against the Toork garrison, which held the citadel. The old Russian Colonel who commanded the Toorks,* made a brave defence, but was compelled at length to evacuate the place, and to retire with a remnant of his forces, and with the Prince Governor of the province, to the camp of Yar Mahomed Khan, who had advanced with a considerable army from Herat,—not exactly for the relief of Meshed, but with a view of sweeping the country in the general scramble, and annexing perhaps a portion of the Khorassan territory to his Affghan principality. Yar Mahomed Khan made an attempt to carry Meshed, but failed; the Khorassanis being not less inveterate against the Affghans than against the Toorks, and having now put forward the son of the Assef-ed-Douleh as their *quasi* independent ruler. It would have been easy, we believe, for the young Shah's government, at this stage of the affair, to have brought about, through British mediation, the ostensible submission of the province. The Khorassanis were resolved to be no longer trampled on by the soldiery of Azerbijan: they had mercilessly massacred the Toorks, wherever they had fallen into their hands, and had proclaimed against them a war of extermination; but the Salar, as the Assef-ed-Douleh's son was named, had no pretension to enter the lists as a competitor with Nassir-ed-din Shah for the throne. He boasted indeed to have aided the royal cause in forcing the Affghans to retire towards Herat; and the most to which at that time he ever ventured to aspire, was that either his father or himself should govern Khorassan as a fief of the empire—that is, to be placed in fact something on the same footing, which Mahomed Ali Pasha had been allowed to occupy in his government of Egypt under the Sultan. The ministry of the Shah however seems to have shewn an invincible repugnance to the inauguration of the new reign by negotiation with a party, flushed with triumph, and still exhibiting an attitude of defiance.

It was judged indispensable to punish the insurgents before according to any terms for a permanent settlement of the province; and reinforcements accordingly were sent to Khorassan to cooperate with the garrison which had evacuated Meshed, but which still held its ground, supported by Yar Mahomed Khan's army, upon the Herat frontier. These reinforcements, consist-

* It must not be supposed that this officer belongs to the army of the Czar. He is a Russian refugee, who entered the Persian service some thirty years ago, and is undoubtedly the most efficient military chief at present at the disposal of the Shah.

ing exclusively of Azerbijan troops, were beaten off from the first town which they attacked after entering the province; and they have since retired towards Teheran, where efforts are being now made to support them. That the Minister has pledged himself to reduce Khorassan "coute qu'il coute," would be of little consequence, if it merely involved the question of his personal fate; but unfortunately there are far graver interests concerned in the contest. According to our view it is impossible that the Toork yoke should be again violently imposed on Khorassan; and the prolongation of the struggle, therefore, in increasing the exasperation of parties, would appear to render only more certain the threatened dismemberment of the kingdom. There is indeed an alternative, which has been already freely discussed, and which might be adopted, in order to prevent this disintegration of the empire. An auxiliary Russian army might be disembarked at Asterabad, and pushed on to Meshed, either in avowed support of the royal cause, or preliminary to an arrangement of the same nature as that which made Russia the arbiter of the destinies of the Danubian principalities, and led to her present permanent (?) occupation of Bucharest and Yassy.

It would be premature at present to discuss the eventualities of such a movement. Although indeed Russia has seen with great concern the progress of our arms in the Punjab, and would assuredly desire to lessen the effect on Affghanistan of our location at Peshawur and Shikarpur, we doubt exceedingly, after the attentive examination of her career in the East embodied in the foregoing pages, that she would incur the risk at present of military operations in Khorassan. We anticipate that she will continue for some years longer the same course of gradual advance that she has pursued since the Affghan war. The effect of the succesSsion of Nassir-ed-din Shah upon the relative positions of Russia and England at Teheran will probably be an exact reproduction of the action and reaction which followed on our united support of Mahomed Shah fourteen years ago. We shall have undergone trouble, responsibility, and perhaps expense, merely to render the Russian predominance more certain. A short blaze of popularity may possibly attend the first indication of our awakened solicitude for Persia; but that we shall fall back into a secondary position, as soon as the season of exertion may be over, and that of fruition may arrive, we hold to be a necessary consequence of the nature of things. As far indeed as Russia finds that she can press with safety upon the incapa-

bility of a boy king, and the incoherency of a divided government, so far it may be presumed, that she will be prepared to push on her approaches. That she will replace her minion Bahman Mirza in the Government of Azerbijan may be considered inevitable ; that she will strengthen herself at Asterabad, and push her feelers into Khorassan, is equally to be expected : that she will further controul the court, and through that controul will make herself felt wherever the authority of the court extends, is hardly to be doubted ;* but to adopt any more active course of interference, before the outburst of that domestic crisis, which may be imminent, and cannot be very distant, would be to stultify her previous caution, and to plunge herself into needless embarrassments. By what measures on the part of England, the armed intervention of Russia in the north or in the east of Persia, if ever it should take place, would require to be met, would depend, not less upon the European combinations, to which in the meanwhile the election of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency of the French Republic, or other causes, might have led, than upon the state at the time of the finances of India, and upon the degree of fixity and security which might have been obtained for our North Western frontier.

* As we write, we hear of the arrival at Teheran of a splendid Russian Embassy conducted by Lieut.-Gen. Schilling, and charged ostensibly with the empty form of congratulating the new monarch on his accession. We shall be surprised if this embassy does not replace Bahman Mirzah in Tabriz, obtain further grants in Asterabad, and perhaps establish a consulate at Meshed.

ART. II.—1. *General Orders by the Governor General of India in Council.* 1801-1849.

2. *General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief in India.* 1801—1849.

3. *The Calcutta Englishman and Military Chronicle.* 1848—1849.

WE are not afraid of being charged with attaching undue importance to a subject of no 'public concernment,' or with misapplying the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, if we devote some small space to a consideration of the condition, during the first months of their servitude, of those gallant young fellow countrymen of ours, whose arrival at Calcutta we see daily chronicled in the papers, to supply the vacancies in the commissioned ranks of the Bengal Army, which climate and battle are for ever causing. We believe that no fact can be better ascertained, than that the future character of these young men takes its complexion, in nine cases out of ten, from the manner in which the first few months of Indian residence are spent: that the habits formed during this period are rarely parted with in after-life; and that according as the Ensign is steady or profligate, prudent or extravagant, attached to his duty or indifferent to it,—so, in a great majority of instances, is the Lieutenant, the Captain, and even the Field Officer. Therefore it is, that we are desirous to draw attention to what we conceive to be the short-comings of the system devised at our own Presidency for the guardianship and instruction of these young men, (or rather of such of them as come out in the Infantry) during the time that necessarily intervenes before they can be permanently posted to regiments: and, at the same time we are anxious to shew how very much the evil is generally increased by the ignorance of parents, as to the way in which the pecuniary assistance, which almost all afford their sons on first starting in India, can be best and most advantageously applied. The subject is not perhaps a very attractive one to the general reader, nor shall we strive to make it more so by any attempt at fine writing. We desire to tell a plain, straightforward tale, to afford information to the future young military officer, and to those who place him in the service, and to attract the attention of those who have the power to remedy existing abuses.

On first landing from the steamer or ship which has brought him from England, the Cadet finds himself claimed by one of the myrmidons of the Fort Adjutant of Fort William, who

unites with that appointment the secondary one of 'Superintendent of Gentlemen Cadets.' He is forthwith installed in quarters in the range called the 'South Barracks,' in Fort William, is provided with the necessary servants, enrolled a member of the Cadet's Mess, and then proceeds to enjoy himself, pending his departure to join a regiment, after the fashion of young men just released from the confinement of a long sea-voyage, and perhaps for the first time their own masters. During his stay in Fort William there is nothing to interrupt the unrestrained flow of his enjoyment: his time is entirely at his own disposal: and, as it is, and has been, the fashion of parents, from time immemorial, to furnish their sons with letters of credit upon some mercantile house in Calcutta, under an undefined idea that certain heavy expenses in the way of uniform, &c. will have to be incurred on arrival in India, the means of enjoyment are not wanting. It may therefore be imagined, that the month or so spent by the cadets,—we beg their pardon, the unposted ensigns—in Fort William, pending the departure of the steamer which is to take them to the Upper Provinces, is not generally spent in the most profitable manner imaginable: on the contrary, that debt often incurred, and habits of extravagance and dissipation contracted, which militate sadly against their future comfort and respectability. It is true that the young gentlemen are nominally under the control and supervision of the Superintendent of Cadets; and we do the officer who at present holds this appointment, no more than justice, when we say that he has every inclination to do his duty. But, to say nothing of other difficulties, which will suggest themselves, this gentleman's duties as Fort Adjutant, occupy too large a portion of his time to allow of his giving much attention to the concerns of the young officers under his charge. The most, we believe, that he can contrive to do for them, is to settle any little disputes between them and their servants, to draw their pay, arrange their passage, and give his advice when asked. Thus then it would seem that the system from the very outset is faulty. For the first month of his Indian residence the young officer is left entirely to himself; is subject to no sort of control; and, what is perhaps worst of all, has his pockets full of money—money, which the ignorance of his parents has given him the means of spending when there is no possibility of his benefitting by it, but the want of which he will feel most grievously hereafter, when he joins the regiment to which he is finally posted. The subsequent arrangements for the disposal of these young officers are not, it will be seen, less faulty than the first.

The unprofessional reader must understand, that owing to the great distance between England and India, and, until lately, the tedious nature of the communication between the two countries, it has always been considered necessary by the Court of Directors to have a number of young officers, supernumerary to the establishment, waiting in this country, so as to be ready to fill vacancies the moment they occur. In earlier times, when the European officers were few, and the army was almost constantly on actual service, the importance of this may be understood. The system, however, has remained unaltered to the present day; and hence it has always been a difficulty with the Indian Government, how to dispose of these supernumerary heroes, pending their being brought on the effective strength of the army. In the early part of the present century, (in 1802 we believe) a Military College was founded at Baraset for their reception. Before the experiment, however, had been fairly tried, the institution died of inanition, from the exigencies of the Mahratta war requiring the presence of every available officer in the field. After a suspension of nearly three years the College was resuscitated, in 1805; and during the next five years some of the subsequently most distinguished officers, which the Bengal Army has produced, passed through its classes. In 1811, it was however finally abolished, the advantages derived from it being found incommensurate with the evils it caused. The following extract from a despatch of the Court of Directors, of the date of 1808, affords a clue to the cause of its extinction.

"And whereas it has been represented to the Court of Directors by the Government abroad, that many of the Cadets at the Institution have manifested a serious disposition to insubordination towards their superiors, and have been guilty of gross irregularities and ungentleman-like conduct towards each other, the Cadet is hereby informed, that, on his arrival in India, he is subject to Martial Law."

After the abolition of the Baraset Institution it became necessary to devise some other way of disposing of the cadets, until they could be finally posted to regiments; and the system, which, under certain modifications, has continued to the present day, was therefore adopted. The cadets on landing were permitted to choose with what regiment they would do duty:* and when a sufficient number had been collected, they

* We are under the impression that at one time, between 1811 and 1826, all cadets were required to do duty with the European Regiment, (now 1st European Bengal Fusiliers.) If such was the case, it must have been when the regiment was at Dinapore, and, perhaps, Ghazipore, between 1819 and 1822. The General Orders issued to the Army do not, however, so far as we can ascertain, contain any order to this effect, or any allusion to the existence of such a regulation.

were sent off, in fleets, to their several destinations, by the river route, each fleet being placed under the charge of an officer of standing, either specially detailed for the duty, or proceeding to rejoin his regiment from furlough, or elsewhere. There are few of us, probably, who have not heard something of the scenes which used to be common in these fleets, during their progress up the river; how the inhabitants of the villages on the banks used to flee at their approach, and how drinking, and debauchery of every kind, varied by an occasional duel, or the homicide of some unfortunate native, used to be the order of each and every day. This state of things continued until the Government steamers began to ply between Calcutta and Allahabad, when most of the cadets naturally adopted the more rapid and agreeable mode of travelling which they afforded, and the fleet system died a natural death; the few unposted, who still preferred the antiquated budgerow, proceeding singly, or in parties of two or three only, to their destination.

The change thus accidentally introduced,—for up to this time the authorities do not appear to have interested themselves in the matter—was unquestionably greatly for the better; but still the arrangements were very imperfect. Great irregularities were found to occur amongst the parties who still preferred to join their regiments by budgerow, and who were now of course devoid of all control. A sample of what we allude to is to be found by reference to the General Orders for one of the earlier months of 1845: moreover, up to this time no station in Bengal or the North-west Provinces had been barred as a resort for unposted ensigns; and, accordingly, they were to be found in all quarters,—at Berhampore and at Bareilly, at Mhow and at Mullye. In one respect at least this license of choice was good, inasmuch as it prevented the likelihood of any very large number of unposted ensigns being congregated at the same station. It had however this disadvantage, that ensigns, who had selected any of the more remote cantonments, at which to pass their noviciate, could contrive to loiter a most unconscionable time in joining; and, as they rarely took the trouble to report themselves at the military stations on their route, they were often lost sight of, by the army authorities, for months together. Lord Hardinge, whose attention during the time he remained at the presidency, and before the affairs of the Punjab engrossed so much of his time and thoughts, seems to have been very largely devoted to the concerns of the army, appears at length to have noticed this; and, in June 1845, he issued the following General Order:—

"The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, having had under consideration the inconveniences resulting from the present mode of allowing young officers to proceed in boats by themselves to join their regiments, and deeming it desirable that some better arrangement should be devised, with the view of ensuring their earlier arrival at their respective destinations, is pleased to direct, that, immediately after the publication at the Presidency, of General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief, posting young officers to corps, or on permission being granted to any of them to do duty with particular regiments, pending such posting, the Superintendent of Cadets in Fort William will adopt measures for securing for officers, whose regiments may be at or above Allahabad, or at inland stations off the river, the requisite accommodation on board one of the first Government steamers leaving Calcutta for the Upper Provinces. The Superintendent of Cadets will report the departure of young officers to the Fort Adjutant at Allahabad, or at intermediate stations on the river to Station staff officers; who, in communication with Post Masters, will make arrangements for forwarding them without delay, by dawk, to their respective corps.

"In all such cases no boat-allowance will be drawn; but the charges connected with the conveyance of young officers by river steamers, and by dawk, will be defrayed by Government, contingent bills being forwarded through the proper channels for audit and adjustment."

Admitting the necessity for keeping a large number of supernumerary officers in this country, in readiness to step at once into each vacancy as it occurs, and that there is no other way of disposing of these supernumeraries intermediately but by sending them to do duty with different regiments, it appears to us that the rules laid down in the foregoing Order are the very best that could be devised. It is provided, that the cadet's stay in Calcutta shall be as short as possible:—that the speediest mode of travelling which the country affords, shall be adopted in conveying him to his destination: it is rendered impossible for him to loiter on the road; the entire charge for the journey is defrayed by Government; and the choice of any station in Bengal or the Upper Provinces, is allowed him. But before this Order had been in force a twelve-month, the last and most important provision of it was lopped off; and henceforth it was declared, that no Infantry cadet would be permitted to do duty at a station higher up the country than Benares. The result has virtually been to limit the cadet's choice of station to Dinapore and Benares; for Barrackpore had been prohibited

some time before this; and also, if we are not mistaken, Berhampore; and these are the only other stations between Calcutta and Benares. Hence it is, that such large numbers of unposted officers have been congregated of late at Dinapore and Benares, and that the evils to which it is our object to draw attention have arisen.

The obvious intention, of course, in sending the unposted ensigns to do duty with regiments, is, that they may acquire a perfect acquaintance with their duties as subaltern officers, before the time comes for them to be finally posted. Now we all know that at present (the more's the pity) no very great amount of training is required to fit a lad for performing the duties of a subaltern, either in the Queen's or Company's service. To be able to go through, in his own person, the drill laid down in the book of Regulations for the recruit: to be able to put a company through the evolutions laid down in the Company Drill; and lastly, to have a sufficient acquaintance with the mysteries of guard-mounting to enable him to march the regimental guards to their posts: we believe we are correct in saying, that such an amount of proficiency is all that is absolutely required from a subaltern officer, before the Adjutant reports him 'fit for duty.' But even this scanty amount of professional knowledge is unattainable, under present arrangements, by the young officers doing duty at Benares and Dinapore. This is perfectly easy of demonstration. There are only three parties in a native infantry regiment upon whom the duty of drilling officers can properly devolve,—the Adjutant, Serjeant Major, and Quarter Master Serjeant. True, every regiment has a staff of native drill instructors, and truly efficient they are in many corps; but many Adjutants, we are told, object, and perhaps properly, to employ these men for the purpose of drilling officers:—first, because a young man, fresh from England, and with exaggerated notions of his own importance, pays but an unwilling obedience and attention to a man he calls a "nigger;" and secondly, because to place an European officer, under any circumstances, under the tuition of a native havildar, or a private soldier, is considered calculated to impair the respect which it is so desirable the native soldier should feel for every thing in the shape of an European officer. Now an Adjutant's duties on the drill-ground are of course merely those of general superintendence, and assuredly do not leave him the requisite leisure to act the drill serjeant to a squad of young officers. The same may be said with respect to the Serjeant Major, so that the Quarter Master Serjeant only is in

fact available for this duty; and as of the ten or twelve young men generally doing duty with each regiment at Benares or Dinapore, not two, in all probability, are equally advanced in their drill, it stands to reason that they cannot all be drilled by the same man at the same time. The result is just what might be expected. The young officer gets a slight smattering of his drill, partly from the Serjeant Major, partly from the Quarter Master Serjeant, and partly from the drill havildar; and then the Adjutant is forced to report him fit for duty, in order to make room for another batch. It may be said that this matters little, because young officers can always be re-drilled when they join their own regimemts; but the reader will please to remember that our argument throughout is founded upon the premises, that first habits are every thing; and that in India, above all countries, the effects of first habits are rarely shaken off: and thus we maintain that the youth, who only half learns his drill in the first instance, rarely acquires it thoroughly afterwards, but remains deficient in the A. B. C. of his profession to the end of the chapter. The round shoulders of our European Foot Artillerymen have often been brought up in judgment against the Bengalis, by the martinets of the other Presidencies: might not the round shoulders and ungainly gait of many of our Infantry officers, be similarly, and quite as justly objected to?

The above, however, is a trifling disadvantage of the present system, and is completely thrown into the shade by the more serious evil we are about to mention. It seems to be a condition of cadet-humanity,—and for the matter of that, of a good many other classes of humanity also,—that no sooner are a dozen or two of them got together in the same station, than every species of riot and extravagance forthwith commences. It was so at the Baraset Institution, at Barrackpore, and at Berhampore, when those stations were respectively the great resorts of the unposted; and, as we have previously said, in the fleets during their progress up the river. Benares and Dinapore have formed no exception to the rule, and, amongst the unposted ensigns doing duty at these stations, the greatest dissipation has, if we may believe what has been stated without contradiction in the public prints, prevailed during the last two or three years. Gambling, in particular, and a reckless habit of incurring debt, would appear, both from public and private accounts before us, to have reached an alarming extent. Instances, we are told, are on record, and have even been of frequent occurrence, in which ensigns have lost enormous sums, (enormous if we consider the pay of

the players), chiefly to one another, at cards and billiards, and have joined their regiments, after doing duty for four or five months, owing as many thousand rupees. Indeed, it is a common cause of complaint at present amongst regimental officers, that the young men who join regiments from Dinapore and Benares, are, for the most part, so deeply involved in debt, and have their pay so extensively cut, either by the Court of Requests, or on account of payments to the Mofussil Banks, or in consequence of promissory notes which they have given to tradesmen and others, that it is absolutely impossible for them to join the regimental institutions—Band, Mess, &c.,—or, joining them, to avoid falling into arrears. We feel that it would not be fair to mention individual instances of what we allude to, and, indeed, it would scarcely strengthen our case to do so, inasmuch as the fact which we have stated is notorious. It could hardly be otherwise when the state of things at Benares, some months ago, reached the ears of the late Commander-in-Chief at Simla, and led to the issue of sundry instructions in regard to these riotous young gentlemen, which, so far as they go, are good, and have served to check the grosser irregularities complained of. For instance, we have before us a list of questions, entering into very minute particulars regarding character and conduct, which officers, commanding regiments with which unposted ensigns have been doing duty, are required to answer when the latter are finally posted, and a copy of which questions and answers goes to the ensign's future regiment. The value of such a check upon misconduct can be well appreciated.

That gambling and other vices should be common amongst the young officers at Benares and Dinapore, is not to be wondered at, when their situation is fairly considered. In the first place, —to say nothing of their being young and inexperienced, and having no sort of duty to perform for at least twenty-two hours out of the twenty-four,—we are obliged to confess, what perhaps is not very creditable to the army, that where a dozen or so of unposted ensigns are attached to a regiment, they are not regarded with any great complacency by the officers of it, or considered to have exactly the claims of brother officers upon them. Hence they do not meet with that friendly, straight-forward admission into the bosom of the regimental society, which the young officer permanently posted to a regiment experiences, and the effect of which generally is to keep him from going very wrong, or at least from perpetrating any egregious folly or extravagance. The feeling with which they are regarded is of course quickly perceived by the unpost-

ed ensigns; and they are encouraged by it to form an independent society among themselves, and to keep aloof from all other, which we take to be a main cause of the disorderly ways they fall into.

Again, it should be remembered, that, whilst unposted, and merely doing duty with a corps, the ensign wants that grand inducement to steadiness and propriety of conduct to be found in the consideration that he is amongst those who are to be his companions for life, and on whose good will, and favourable opinion, he is dependent in a great measure, not only for his future happiness, but also for success in life. On the contrary, having the prospect before him of making another beginning hereafter, he is naturally less anxious as to how he is regarded by those amongst whom he is temporarily thrown. Few like to get the character amongst those with whom their whole lives are to be spent, of being gamblers, drunkards, or spendthrifts; whilst many are indifferent as to how they are regarded by those with whom they are sure not to spend six months, and from whom they may be separated in the course of as many days.

It may be said, that admitting the difficulties of their social position, still the young officers doing duty at Benares and Dinapore, being attached to regiments, are placed by Government under military control, and that their immediate commanding officers, and the commanding officers of those stations, are responsible for the correctness of their behaviour, both in a military and moral point of view:—in short, that the system is not to be blamed, because those whose place it is to carry it out fail in their duty. We admit that at first sight it would seem so, and that, theoretically speaking, the commanding officer is no less responsible for the private, than for the public, character of his subordinates; but practically it is otherwise, at least in Indian military life. The scattered way in which the officers of regiments in India live, (each perhaps, half a mile from the other, and still further from the Commandant), so different from the concise arrangement of barrack quarters; the climate, which for the best part of each year keeps one and all confined to their own quarters the greater part of each day: and, more potent still, the custom from time immemorial of the service, must always prevent the officer at the head of a regiment from exercising much interference in, or influence over, the private life and pursuits of those under his command. And if this be so in the case of officers permanently attached to regiments, how much more where half a dozen or a dozen young lads are merely temporarily sent to do duty with a corps, with the certainty of not remaining

above five or six months, and the chance of being ordered a thousand miles off in five or six days.

Having thus placed before the reader the working of the present system, by which some thirty or forty young men are congregated at two of the smaller stations of the army, without any adequate provision being made for their superintendence and control, we proceed to consider wherein the remedy for this lies, and what better arrangement it is in the power of the Indian, or of the Home, Government to introduce.

At first we felt disposed to advocate the revival, in some shape or other, of the Baraset Institution, but in a different locality; —being moved thereto by the conviction, that it is only at such an institution, that a young man, who has not had a military education before coming to India, has a chance of picking up that practical knowledge of his profession, which almost every Indian infantry officer wants at some time or other of his career. Thus, how frequently has it occurred in India, that infantry officers have experienced the advantage of knowing something of an artillerist's duty,* or the disadvantage of being totally ignorant of it! The same holds good of field, to say nothing of permanent engineering. What, for instance, would have become of the "Illustrious Garrison," or rather would Lord Ellenborough ever have had the opportunity of christening it by that name, if Major Broadfoot, an infantry officer, had never turned his thoughts to an engineer's duty? But on more mature consideration we have thought that the experiment of a second military college, after the experience of Baraset, would be too hazardous, as well as open to too many objections of other kinds, to make it prudent to recommend it. A disorderly ill-managed college would be productive of more harm than is chargeable even upon the present defective system; and, though really able and energetic supervision and management would doubtless effect a great deal, still, if there was the slightest relaxation of these, (as who can say there might not be?) it is not difficult to foretell the result. On the whole, therefore, we think the best thing to be done is, *to do away with the entire race, both of cadets and unposted ensigns*, and to let every young man, who, under present arrangements, obtains a cadetshisp, be presented instead with a commission as ensign in the Honorable Company's ——— regiment of European or Native infantry.

* Take an instance, the first that occurs to us. When Major Ferris was attacked at Pesh Bolak, shortly after the Affghan rebellion broke out, he reports that he was enabled to do the enemy a vast deal of damage, thanks to the skilful way in which his Adjutant—Lieutenant Lukin—a Madras infantry officer, laid their only gun, a six-pounder. Major F. had not, we believe, a single artillery-man with him.

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above five or six months, and the chance of being ordered a thousand miles off in five or six days.

Having thus placed before the reader the working of the present system, by which some thirty or forty young men are congregated at two of the smaller stations of the army, without any adequate provision being made for their superintendence and control, we proceed to consider wherein the remedy for this lies, and what better arrangement it is in the power of the Indian, or of the Home, Government to introduce.

At first we felt disposed to advocate the revival, in some shape or other, of the Baraset Institution, but in a different locality; —being moved thereto by the conviction, that it is only at such an institution, that a young man, who has not had a military education before coming to India, has a chance of picking up that practical knowledge of his profession, which almost every Indian infantry officer wants at some time or other of his career. Thus, how frequently has it occurred in India, that infantry officers have experienced the advantage of knowing something of an artillerist's duty,* or the disadvantage of being totally ignorant of it! The same holds good of field, to say nothing of permanent engineering. What, for instance, would have become of the "Illustrious Garrison," or rather would Lord Ellenborough ever have had the opportunity of christening it by that name, if Major Broadfoot, an infantry officer, had never turned his thoughts to an engineer's duty? But on more mature consideration we have thought that the experiment of a second military college, after the experience of Baraset, would be too hazardous, as well as open to too many objections of other kinds, to make it prudent to recommend it. A disorderly ill-managed college would be productive of more harm than is chargeable even upon the present defective system; and, though really able and energetic supervision and management would doubtless effect a great deal, still, if there was the slightest relaxation of these, (as who can say there might not be?) it is not difficult to foretell the result. On the whole, therefore, we think the best thing to be done is, *to do away with the entire race, both of cadets and unposted ensigns*, and to let every young man, who, under present arrangements, obtains a cadetshisp, be presented instead with a commission as ensign in the Honorable Company's ——— regiment of European or Native infantry.

* Take an instance, the first that occurs to us. When Major Ferris was attacked at Pesh Bolak, shortly after the Affghan rebellion broke out, he reports that he was enabled to do the enemy a vast deal of damage, thanks to the skilful way in which his Adjutant—Lieutenant Lukin—a Madras infantry officer, laid their only gun, a six-pounder. Major F. had not, we believe, a single artillery-man with him.

We have already adverted to the origin of the practice of sending out supernumerary officers to India, to be ready to step into vacancies. It might have been, as we said, a necessary practice when the European officers were few, and casualties frequent; but with the present comparatively liberal establishment of officers attached to each regiment, and the altered position held by us in Hindustan, the necessity of it has ceased. True, Lord Gough ordered up all unposted officers to join the Army of the Sutlej in 1845-46; but it is difficult to conceive, with what object, or to what possible use he could have intended to put them. For all useful purposes every unposted ensign might just as well be in England as in India. Suppose them posted however:—without intending the juniors any disrespect, it is quite immaterial, we beg to observe, how long the fifth ensigncy of a regiment remains vacant; and at any rate it is far better for the service, that it should remain vacant for a twelve-month, than that it should be filled up, at the instant of its occurrence, by a dissipated *blasé* youth, confirmed in vicious habits and propensities by six months' independent idleness at Benares or Dinapore.

The plan we propose would work as follows: at stated periods (say every three months, or oftener if thought desirable) the Commander-in-Chief would send home to the Court of Directors a list of the regiments in which there might happen to be vacancies. On receipt of this list, the Court would proceed to appoint ensigns to fill these vacancies, and direct them to proceed at once and join. Thus the change would be trifling, and yet a great object would be gained. The change would be that the Court of Directors would have the posting (as well as appointing) of ensigns, instead of the Commanders-in-Chief at the different Presidencies; the object gained would be that the dangerous noviciate, which every young officer now goes through, would be abolished. A reformation more complete, and yet upsetting fewer existing arrangements, it is difficult to conceive.

Were the alteration we contend for to be conceded, the provisions of Lord Hardinge's Order (which we quoted in a former page of this article, and which, we believe, are still in force as regards posted ensigns,) are admirably adapted to effect all that would remain to be done for young officers after their arrival in India. We would however suggest, that, in cases where no steamer might be available to take them towards their destination within a week of their landing from England, it would be better to send them off by dawk instead; for we

must repeat, that a prolonged stay in Calcutta on first arrival in India is a great evil, and that the effects of it generally make themselves felt for many a long day, in the shape of an empty purse, and numerous entries on the wrong side of the shop-keepers' ledgers.

We sincerely hope, that some one of the Directors, who reads the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, may be struck with the simplicity, no less than the desirableness, of the change we advocate. But in the meanwhile, we would fain hope, enough has been said to bespeak the attention of the authorities in India—Lord Dalhousie, and Sir Charles Napier—to the case of the unposted ensigns ; and that, pending any better and more final arrangement regarding them, the privilege, which they enjoyed until lately, may be restored to them, of choosing, through the entire length and breadth of the land, the station at which they will do duty. So far indeed from limiting them to two stations, and thus giving them the choice of only five regiments, as at present, we would absolutely prohibit more than *two* from doing duty at the same time with the same regiment. With this remark we close this portion of our subject.

It now remains for us to fulfil our promise of showing how greatly the evils, attendant upon a young man's early military career in India, are enhanced by the injudicious way in which it is usual for parents to apply the pecuniary assistance essential to ensure the young officer a fair start in India.

Allusion has already been made to the practice of supplying cadets with letters of credit upon mercantile houses in Calcutta, under the mistaken idea, it would seem, that they are subject to heavy expenses immediately on landing. The fact is, that nothing can be more injudicious, or less calculated to serve any useful end, than this practice. The time when money is really required is, when the cadet or unposted ensign is finally posted, and has joined his regiment; and this is the very time that, at present, he has it not. From the moment the cadet lands in Calcutta, his ensign's pay commences, and it is fully adequate to the expenses of his living in Fort William. He is carried, be it remembered, from Fort William to the regiment with which he is to do duty, at the public expence,—that is, the hire of his cabin on the steamer is paid for him, and all for which he is chargeable, is his table expenses on board. We are aware that the charge for the latter is exorbitant : it amounts to three rupees a day for living, exclusive of liquors, which are charged for at the rate of one rupee for a bottle of beer, and so in proportion. Still, as an ensign's daily pay in India is between six and seven rupees, and as on board the

steamer he has no extra expenses, except perhaps for one servant; it is clear, that whilst in progress from Calcutta to his station, he can live like a gentleman upon his pay. On arriving at Dinapore or Benares, as the case may be, it becomes necessary for him to expend a small sum in furnishing his quarters, and the purchase of a pony; and this sum, it must be admitted, his pay is unequal to furnish. His pay is however adequate to all ordinary and reasonable expenses whilst doing duty with a regiment; and, as the cost of his journey from Dinapore or Benares to his final destination is again defrayed by Government, the letter of credit ought to have remained all but intact, until he actually joins his own regiment.

We maintain then, that supposing a young officer to come out from England with a complete 'kit' (as all do), the only expense necessarily incurred, up to the time of joining his regiment, which his pay is inadequate to meet, is that of furnishing a subaltern's quarters at Benares or Dinapore, and purchasing a pony; and if we allow 150 rupees for these two purposes, we are liberal. But how stands the case at present? Why, thus: that the young officer having access, in nine cases out of ten, to the full amount of his letter of credit the moment he lands, makes such good use of his time, that the greater part of it is squandered away before he leaves Calcutta, and the whole expended before he has been a month at Benares: and this often without his being chargeable with any gross acts of extravagance or folly, but simply because he does not know the value of money in general, and of his letter of credit in particular, and applies the proceeds of the latter to meet every casual expense, for which other funds are not available at the moment.

We believe that the following may be taken as affording a tolerably fair specimen of the entrance fees to regimental institutions, and of the other charges, which an Ensign is called upon to pay on joining most of our Bengal regiments:—

Mess donation,.....	Rs.	250
Band ditto, ...	„	100
Book-club, ...	„	25
Purchase of a tent, ...	„	250
Trifling alterations of uniform, such as new buttons, facings, &c., &c.,	„	100
Total, Rs....		725

Now we must premise that the pay of an ensign in the Honorable Company's service is, in round numbers, two hundred rupees a month, *and is, when received clear, and free of any deductions, just enough, with great prudence and self-denial, to support the recipient of it as a gentleman.* From the moment however that any portion of it is stopped, it becomes inadequate: of this there can be no doubt. Let the situation then of a young officer be conjectured, who, having squandered away his letter of credit, and perhaps run deeply into debt besides, finds himself called upon, on joining his regiment, to defray out of his bare pay a sum of between seven and eight hundred rupees. And yet this is the state to which the ignorance of parents, in a great measure, reduces at least nine out of ten of our young military heroes at the present day. A few of them eventually perhaps obtain additional assistance from home, which enables them in the end to pay up, and commence again with their pay clear: but the majority have nothing for it, but to apply forthwith to our convenient Mofussil Banks, from whose bonds they do not escape for years, or perhaps not at all during life-time.

We need not stop to point out the moral of the foregoing remarks, which must be sufficiently obvious, but shall proceed to say a few words on one point more—the last to which we desire to direct attention—because it appears to us to be generally misunderstood.

It is a common notion at home, that once shipped off to India, in the Honorable Company's military service, a lad is provided for life, and can never have any future claim upon the paternal purse-strings. This notion, it is true, receives an occasional rather rude shock, as, for instance, when Ensign A. writes to his father, that he is five thousand rupees in debt, and, if not immediately relieved, expects to be dismissed the service, for not taking up his promissory notes. Still, as a general rule, the notion prevails to this day; and many fathers feel fearfully outraged, if they happen to receive from India a modest intimation, that Major B. is about to give the regiment a step, and that the gift—or say the loan—of the amount of the writer's quota will be highly acceptable. Now, after what we have written, we do not fear to be accused of being the apologists of cadet or subaltern extravagance; and therefore we have no hesitation in affirming, that such requests are highly reasonable, and should be granted, whenever circumstances will admit. We entreat the patience of our Indian (and of course initiated) readers, whilst, for the benefit of the uninitiated at home, we devote a few lines to an expla-

nation of this purchasing of steps, which would be otherwise unintelligible to many. Let it be known then, that the Indian military service is one of pure seniority, just like the Royal Artillery, or Royal Marines. Each officer enters his regiment as junior ensign, and rises to the majority, step by step, as casualties occur amongst those above him. The faster therefore those above him can be prevailed upon to die, invalid, or retire, the more rapid will be his promotion. Hence, for many years, a practice has prevailed in the service of offering the seniors of a regiment heavy sums to induce them to relinquish their profession. Thus the Major of an infantry regiment, who is willing to retire on obtaining his promotion to that grade, can generally command thirty thousand rupees from his juniors; which sum is levied proportionably, according to certain scales in use, due reference being had to the exact advantage each is calculated to derive. The senior Captain's share of the thirty thousand rupees, thus levied, is generally set down at twelve thousand,—that of the senior Lieutenant at three thousand five hundred,—of the senior Ensign at twelve hundred,—of the second Ensign at four hundred,—and of the third and fourth Ensigns at two hundred and fifty, and one hundred and fifty, rupees respectively. If then, as we have stated (and our statement may be fully relied upon), an ensign's pay, when received unencumbered, is only just sufficient to keep him free of debt, it is plain that he cannot, without borrowing, raise even the least of these sums, and that, whatever sum he borrows, he must go into debt elsewhere to pay. Under this view of the case, we strongly recommend to all who have sons in the Indian service, and whose means will allow them to do so, to take upon themselves the payment of all "steps," at least as long as their lads remain ensigns; and if the same assistance is continued whilst they remain in the other subaltern grade, we will engage, that the money so spent shall be money well laid out. A Lieutenant, it is true, may contrive, on his increased allowances, to pay off, without incurring debt elsewhere, any sum he is compelled to borrow to defray his quota of "steps"; but he cannot do so, and hope to save also for furlough. Let no parent then, we would say, whose means are ample, shelter himself from reasonable applications of this kind, under the plea that the Indian service is a complete provision for all emergencies; on the contrary, let him take our word for it, that Indian subalternhood at least is but a prolonged and dreary struggle against poverty and debt, where occasional assistance of the kind in question is not forthcoming.

ART. III.—1. *First and Second Reports on the Grand Ganges Canal. By Major P. T. Cautley, Bengal Artillery.*

2. *Report of Committee on the Grand Ganges Canal.*

3. *Instructions to the Executive Officers of the Ganges Canal. By Major Baker, Bengal Engineers.*

4. *Report of Canal Medical Committee. By Major Baker, Engineers, and Dr. Dempster, B. M. S.*

5. *Report on the Eastern Jumna, or Doab Canal. By Major Cautley, Bengal Artillery.*

6. *Report on the Western Jumna, or Delhi Canals. By Major Baker, Bengal Engineers.*

7. *Notes of Watercourses in the Deyrah Dhoon. By Major Cautley.*

8. *Report on the Nujufghur Jheel. By Captain Durand, Bengal Engineers.*

9. *Printed Papers on Canals of Irrigation in Italy.*

10. *Report on Projected Canals in the Delhi Territory. By Major Baker, Engineers.*

11. *Reports on the Ravee Canal, &c. MSS. By Major Napier, Engineers.*

12. *Memorandum on the application of the waters of the Punjab to Agricultural Purposes. MSS. By Lieut. R. Baird Smith, Engineers.*

IN a former number (No. IX. for 1846), we presented to our readers a sketch of Canal Irrigation in Rohilkund. We now propose to enlarge our field of view, and, by the aid of the mass of valuable canal literature specified above, to detail what the British Government has done, and what it proposes to do, for the extension of irrigation throughout the North-Western provinces.

To dwell on the importance of an abundant supply of water to the progress of tropical agriculture is unnecessary. Without it produce is inferior alike in quality and quantity; and, of such vital necessity is it among a people whose social framework is essentially agricultural, that public opinion has attached no higher fame to states or individuals, than that, by devoting their resources to the construction of tanks, or bunds, or canals, they have extended cultivation, and relieved it from dependence on variable and uncertain seasons.

The first Indian canal dates from a reign distinguished

by many improvements in legislative and fiscal policy: and although the primary object of its construction seems to have been the increase of imperial luxury, rather than the advancement of the prosperity of the country, yet Feroze Toghlak* was too enlightened and benevolent to have been indifferent to the wants of the people over whom he reigned, The monarch, of whom it is recorded, that he built "fifty dams across rivers to promote irrigation; forty mosques; thirty colleges; one hundred caravanserais; thirty reservoirs for irrigation: one hundred hospitals; one hundred public baths; one hundred and fifty bridges: besides many other edifices for pleasure or ornament," is not likely to have constructed with great labour the canal that bears his name, solely to supply the fountains, or water the gardens, or fill the wells, around his favourite hunting palace of Hissar. His good intentions however appear to have been early frustrated, since, in not much more than half a century after his death, the waters of his canal ceased to flow beyond the lands of Khythul, and the neighbourhood of Hissar returned to its original sterility.

The position of the head and the source of supply of Feroze's canal are matters of some doubt. The united testimony of the historians of the period, and uniform tradition, would lead us to believe that the supply was drawn from the Jumna, at its debouchment from the range of the Sewalik Hills. But a most interesting and hitherto unknown document, obtained by Lieutenant S. A. Abbott from Abdul Saiwad and Abdul Mustakim, Pirzadas of Dhatrat, a town on the western boundary of the district of Khythul, and published with a commentary by Lieutenant Yule of the Engineers, tends to prove that Feroze drew his canal from the Chetang Nala, one of the drainage lines from the Sub-Himalayas, west of the Jumna. The document in question

* In his most interesting preface to the Index of Mahommedan Historians we observe that Mr. H. M. Elliott is disposed to attach but little credit to the works of the Mahommedan Emperors, believing them in all cases to have originated in motives of personal luxury, rather than of general benefit. We do not however see any just reasons assigned for depriving sovereigns like Feroze Shah, or Shah Jehan, or Akbar, of the merit commonly assigned to those whose reigns have been signalised by such works as the canals east of the Jumna. It is very certain that if the restoration and extension of these works had not promised an increase of revenue to the British Government, they would never have been undertaken. To suppose that a disinterested regard for the welfare of the country alone was the actuating motive for these, or any other, works we have executed, would indicate but a limited knowledge of their history. Mr. Elliott claims high credit for the British Government on account of its works for irrigation; and we cordially grant it: but at the same time we see no reason for exalting it at the expense of those of its predecessors, who have distinguished themselves by their works of general utility. The time has not yet arrived when Government will act on any higher principle than that of a selfishness more or less enlightened, and we believe that due credit may fairly be assigned both to the few good Mahommedan rulers India has had, and to the British Government, without invidious contrasts, or nice analysis of actuating motives.

which is a Sunnud of the Great Akbar, dated in the month of Shawal A. H. 978 (A. D. 1568) states that "The Chetang Nuddi, by which Feroze Shah Badshah, two hundred and ten years ago, brought water from the nalás and drains in the vicinity of Sudhoura, at the foot of the Hills, to Hansi and Hissar, and by which, for four or five months of the year, water was then available, has, in the course of time, and from numerous obstacles, become so choked, that, for the last hundred years, the waters have not flowed past the boundary of Khythul,—and thence to Hissar the bed has become so choked that it is scarcely discernible:" in consequence of which state of affairs, the Emperor declares that his Fírmán had gone forth during the previous year (A. H. 977, or A. D. 1567) that the waters of the nalás and streams at the foot of the hills at Khirzabad (a town near to the present Delhi canal head), which are collected in the Sombe river, and flow into the Jumna, be brought by a canal, deep and wide, by the help of bunds, &c., into the Chetang Nuddi, which is distant from that place about 100 kos, and that the canal be excavated deeper and wider than formerly, so that all the water may be available at the abovementioned cities (Hansi and Hissar) by the year 978." It is a singular and somewhat unaccountable circumstance connected with Akbar's canal labours, that no mention of them is made by any of the historians of his reign; and that there is no tradition even, connecting his name with any of these ancient excavations, all of which are attributed to Feroze Toghlak: yet the Sunnud is said to present no good ground for suspicion, and its genuineness appears to receive confirmation from incidental circumstances. It would therefore appear that, while Feroze constructed in 1351 the first Indian canal, drawing an intermittent supply from the Chetang, it was to Akbar that the country west of the Jumna was indebted for a perennial stream drawn from that river.

It is impossible to read the "Canal Act," from which this information has been obtained, without regretting that it tells us but little more. At a time when problems, connected with the most important points of canal management, are pressing for solution upon ourselves, it would have been most interesting, it might have been most valuable, to have learned from an authoritative source, how such questions were decided by a mind like Akbar's, so comprehensive in its general views, so judicious in its minor details. The indications given, however, of his canal system are faint and feeble, and may be condensed into few words. A superintendant of canals was nominated under the title of "Mir-ab," the chief of the waters, with absolute autho-

rity throughout his jurisdiction. In his hand were vested the charge of the works, the distribution of the water, in short, all executive, revenue, and police details connected with the canal. The works would appear to have been constructed by forced labour, since all local officers are enjoined to furnish labourers, &c., without delay. To those however who complied with this requisition, water is promised during the season of cultivation and for the entire year. How this water was distributed is but faintly indicated. The Mir-ab is to determine the number of cuts necessary for each Pergunnah, and, in a spirit of equal justice, he is directed to be careful that all parties, rich or poor, weak or strong, share alike. From other sources of information it is supposed that the amount of water rent was rated according to the time the heads of the cuts, probably of fixed dimensions, remained open. While the necessities of the zemindars were thus ministered to, the comfort of travellers was not forgotten; and it is directed, "that on both sides of the canal down to Hissar, trees, of every description, both for shade and blossom, be planted, so as to make it like the canal under the tree in Paradise; and that the sweet flavour of the rare fruits may reach the mouth of every one, and that from these luxuries a voice may go forth to travellers calling them to rest in the cities, where their every want will be supplied."

With these brief and imperfect notices, our sketch of the Western Jumna canals to the time of Akbar terminates; and we pass over the succeeding 60 or 70 years, during which history is silent, to the reign of Shah Jehan, when we find new works undertaken and completed with characteristic magnificence. The foundation of Shahjehanabad, and the natural desire to secure for his new capital and favourite residence the benefit of an abundant supply of water, induced the Emperor to project the Delhi canal. In Ali Murdan Khan, so distinguished for his architectural taste and skill, he found an agent admirably qualified to give effect to his wishes; and, although the first attempt proved a failure, the error was ably rectified by the ultimate selection of the best course which could have been adopted. Ali Murdan Khan's first line parted from Feroze's canal at a place called Madlonda, and, pursuing a southerly course to Korana, it there entered an extensive natural hollow, the head of a great drainage line, and following that, in a highly embanked channel, as far as Gohana, it turned thence to the south east by Intoula, and, nearly on the existing line, entered Delhi. On the first opening of the new canal it was found that the embankments

near Gohana were inadequate. The water, entering the great hollow there, found no efficient line of escape: it gradually rose over, and ultimately burst, the banks, and, committing fearful devastation, destroyed the town of Lalpur, the extensive ruins of which are still to be seen in a hollow near Rohtuk. The inefficiency of the line having been thus fatally demonstrated, an entirely new channel was excavated from Rehr to Intoula, traversing the anticlinal ridge, or natural water-shed of the country, until it reached the vicinity of Bowana. Between this point and the city of Delhi, very low land intervenes; and, to carry the canal successfully across this hollow, much caution and skill were required. To give command over the supply, an escape or outlet was constructed at the upper extremity of the line of embankment, by opening which the surface level of the canal could be greatly reduced. Over the lowest part of the hollow the canal was carried by a masonry aqueduct, beneath which the drainage water of the country found escape. Clearing the low land, the canal wound for some distance along the base of the Aravulli Hills, and, at a favourable point, boldly crossed this ridge by a channel cut through the solid rock, no less than sixty feet deep at the crest. It then flowed through the city in a masonry bed, throwing off to the right and left innumerable minor streams, by which the residences of the nobles, and the various divisions of the city, were abundantly supplied. Throughout the great halls, and courts, and private apartments of the imperial palace, the plentiful stream was carried in numerous channels both above ground and below, supplying the graceful fountains, filling the marble baths, watering the rich fruits and flowers of the adjoining gardens, and adorning throughout its entire extent that truly regal abode in a manner worthy of the magnificent taste of its great architect.

The success of Ali Murdan Khan's labours was complete. The immense number of old water-courses along the whole line of the Delhi canal shew to how great an extent the agriculture of the country benefitted by its existence. Traditions of incredible amounts of revenue having been realized from villages on its banks still linger among the people there; and a proverbialism, current at Delhi, intimates that the clear returns from the canal were sufficient for the maintenance of 12,000 horsemen. The permanent establishment, maintained for purposes of police and repair, consisted of numerous bildárs (diggers), 1,000 armed peons, and 500 horse, stationed under their officers at points three or four miles apart.

For about a century and a quarter after its original construction in 1626, the Delhi canal continued efficient; aged zemindars informed a British officer, on survey duty in the neighbourhood in 1807, that they were finally deprived of canal water about the year 1753, in the reign of Alumgir II. The canal of Feroze had ceased to flow in Hurriana about 1707, and at Suffidún about 1740; so that the Mogul canals became practically extinct nearly in the middle of the 18th century. The causes of this were simple. The general disorganisation of society, consequent on the decadence of the empire, rendered all measures of conservancy impossible; the irrigated country was the constant battle-field of contending parties; the works fell gradually into decay, and, amidst the struggles for existence that marked the reigns of the feeble successors of Aurungzeb, internal improvement was forgotten, and the system of irrigation, which, with greater or less efficiency, had existed for about four hundred years, became finally extinct.

Crossing now to the left bank of the Jumna, we have to sketch rapidly the ancient history of the Eastern Jumna, or Doab, canal. In common with the Delhi branch, the construction of this canal is ordinarily attributed to Ali Murdan Khan. Its head was established immediately under the Sub-Himalayan, or Sewalik Hills, possession having been taken of an old bed of the river, bearing at this day the name of the "Búdha Jumna." Passing by the hunting palace of Shah Jehan, called Badshah-mahal, it entered the bed of the Raipur nala, and, carried thence in an excavated channel across the Intunwala and Nowgong mountain torrents, it was thrown into a low ravine, near the town of Behut, which it followed until it reached the bed of the Muskurra river, near the village of Kulsia. Entering there upon the high land, the canal was carried past Saharunpur, Rampur, Jellalabad, Shamli, and other large towns, until it descended again into the valley of the Jumna, and, passing another imperial palace at Ranup, fell into the river nearly opposite the city of Delhi.

Although there is every reason to believe that the canal was excavated on the line described, it is very doubtful whether a supply of water was maintained in it for more than one season, if indeed for so long. There are remains of old embankments and aqueducts in the vicinity of Badshah-mahal; and the palace itself was abundantly supplied with interior and exterior channels, with marble fountains of great beauty, and with suites of rooms adapted for cold and hot baths. But if there is any faith to be placed in local traditions, the Emperor's visit to this de-

lightful retreat was exceedingly brief, and was curtailed for reasons amusing enough to be worth noting.

The visit of an Emperor and his suite was no more agreeable in those days to the inhabitants of the adjoining country, than the presence of like high functionaries is now. An effort to relieve themselves from the infliction was therefore determined on. To have used force would have been folly, so stratagem was resorted to. Along the base of the lower hills, the goitre of the Alps is by no means an unusual disease. A large number of women afflicted with it were collected, and, when supplies were required for the Emperor's zenanah, these women carried them in. The ladies naturally enquired concerning the cause of the shocking deformities presented to them, and the village women, as previously tutored, told them they would soon discover it for themselves, as no one could breathe the air, or drink the water, of these parts, without immediately having swellings of the same kind. There was instant commotion in the zenanah: the Emperor was summoned, and entreated by the alarmed ladies to permit them at once to leave such a dreadful place. So earnest were they, that (the tradition says) the Emperor at once sent them away, remaining himself for about a fortnight, hunting tigers in the great forests around. This was his first and last visit to Badshah-mahal.

The great difficulties at the head of the canal were doubtless beyond the skill of the Mogul engineers: and, as there are no signs of irrigation in the southern part, and no masonry works of any kind, it may be concluded that, after the first opening, which is said to have been followed by great injuries to the towns of Behut and Saharunpur, the attempt to maintain the supply was abandoned.

About 1780, Zabita Khan, Rohilla, is said to have re-opened the channel, and to have brought a stream of water, through the bed of the Kirsunni River, to the site of the great city projected by him in the neighbourhood of Jellalabad, Thanah Bhown, and Lohari, in the district of Muzuffer-nuggur. But his canal could have been open only for a few months; and with the first rain-floods, it was doubtless seen that the difficulties were too formidable to be overcome.

We are now prepared to pass onwards to the consideration of the canal works of the British government, but we pause a moment to notice one most interesting result, to which investigation of the historical records of the ancient canals has led. When describing the excavations of Feroze, Ferishta mentions incidentally that the work-people, employed upon them, found

near the lower hills quantities of "giants' bones." For nearly two centuries and a half this seemingly fabulous statement passed unnoticed. To minds familiar with discoveries in fossil geology the old chronicle had however a faint gleam of significance; and, guided by its feeble light, English officers of the canal department re-examined the localities indicated, and found, associated with others of different dimensions, not "giants' bones," but bones most gigantic, from which, in course of time, they were able to add to the system of nature many new and strange animals before unheard of. Pursuing their labours at remote stations in Upper India,* drawing their materials for comparison from the forests and rivers around them, denied many of the facilities for research which happier local positions would have afforded, they yet won for themselves European fame, and rewards ranked among the highest which the courts of science in their own land had it in their power to bestow.

Soon after these provinces came under the British government, the propriety of restoring the Mogul canals began to be agitated. Attention was first drawn to the subject, it is said, by the offer of a gentleman (Mr. Mercer) to re-open the Delhi canal at his own expense, on being secured the whole proceeds from it for twenty years. This offer was declined, and, about the year 1810, several officers were deputed to survey and report upon the lines both East and West of the Jumna. The reports however, when submitted for the consideration of the Chief Engineers and Surveyors General of the time, elicited such a variety of opinion from these officers, that the government was paralysed, and the question dropped into temporary abeyance. It was resumed, however, with characteristic vigour during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, who, in 1817, appointed Lieut. Blane of the Engineers to superintend the restoration of the Delhi canal, and in 1822, Lieut. Debude, of the same corps, to survey and report upon the Doab canal. The works were carried forward with energy from these periods; and we have now to detail their nature and their results.

Commencing then with the Western Jumna canals, as the earliest in date and largest in dimensions of now existing canals, we find that Lieut. Blane judiciously established the head of supply at the highest possible point on the right bank of the

* Saharunpur and Dadupur, the head quarters respectively of the Eastern and Western Jumna canals.

Jumna. Taking possession of a deserted bed of that river, he carried the canal through it, and across a perfect net-work of minor channels, whose heads were closed by earthen bunds, until it reached the Patrala river, one of the Sub-Himalayan drainage lines. Following the Patrala for a short distance, it left this river by an excavated channel; and, crossing the bed of the Sombe, another first class mountain drainage line, it pursued its course through a new channel to the town of Búrea, where it fell into a natural hollow; and, skirting the high land westward of the Jumna, it followed the old line to Kurnaul, and thence to Delhi.

The original views of Government and of its officers were very restricted. Doubts were entertained of the ultimate success of the restored canal. Expensive works were discouraged; and the only object contemplated in Lieut. Blane's time was to maintain a small supply in the Delhi branch. All the works undertaken were accordingly of a temporary and most imperfect character; earthen bunds were used for carrying the canal across the beds of the intersecting mountain streams: few, if any, bridges were considered necessary, the canal being fordable throughout; and natural channels were invariably taken possession of, in spite of their defective levels, and tortuous courses.

Labouring however with great zeal, and struggling with many difficulties, Lieut. Blane had the satisfaction of seeing the canal re-enter Delhi after a suspension of more than half a century. He lived however only to complete his project, and, dying in 1821, was succeeded by Captain, (now Major General) Tickell, who maintained and improved the works executed by his predecessor.

The development of the Western Jumna canals, on the scale to which they have now attained, is however due to Colonel John Colvin, C. B. late of the Bengal Engineers, an officer of eminent professional talent, of great energy of character, and of unwearied zeal, whose memory is still affectionately cherished among the people, for whom he laboured so long and so ably. Appointed in May 1820 to superintend the restoration of Feroze Shah's canal, (an extension of Lieut. Blane's project, which had been favourably received by Government) he subsequently in 1823 succeeded to the superintendency of the works of irrigation generally, throughout the Delhi territory.

A period of great activity now commenced. The evils due to the imperfections of the original design for the restored canals had already declared themselves: the increased supply required

for Feroze's canal being brought by the same main channel, as that for the Delhi branch, to their point of separation at Rair, it had become necessary to construct numerous bridges, and to raise massive embankments north of this point. The increased demand for water on both branches having at the same time led to their supplies being enlarged, the cross communication could no longer be maintained by fords; and these had to be replaced by bridges, built without interruption to the supply of water for irrigation, which could not be interfered with, without great injury to the people and to Government.

The grand difficulties however were experienced in the northern division of the canal, where the drainage waters of the upper and lower Himalayas, collected in the beds of the Jumna, the Patrala, and the Sombe, had to be controlled and regulated. The inefficient system of carrying the canal across the beds of the drainage lines by means of earthen bunds, liable to be swept away by every flood, was a constant source of heavy expense and irretrievable delay. Yet so powerful in those days was the spirit of false economy, so decided the preference of temporary expedients to permanent remedies, on the part of the Government and the controlling authorities, that ten years were allowed to elapse, before sanction was granted to the project for substituting an efficient masonry dam, in place of the sand and gravel bunds previously in use.

The history of this dam (situated at Dadupur, the head quarters of the Western Jumna canals) given by Major Baker in his excellent report, is a most interesting sketch of the varied difficulties and dangers entailed upon it by its peculiar position in the midst of a knot of powerful torrents; and, although to describe them at length would occupy more space than we can afford, we commend his narrative to the notice of all who take pleasure in learning how means, simple in themselves, have been employed by skilful men to produce great results, in controlling fierce floods, in protecting most important and expensive works, and in maintaining uninterrupted the supply of the canal, on which the prosperity of the country and the revenue of the state are equally dependent.

Although the ultimate issue of the struggle between the canal officers and the three great rivers encompassing the Dadupur works has been to vindicate the usual supremacy of mind over matter, and to place these unruly enemies under control,—it must be remembered that they are ever ready to rebel

and to renew their attacks; but the mischief they can effect is foreseen, and, if the executive officers are duly supported, the result will not long be doubtful. They, however, must not be harrassed by ignorant interference, by restricted means, by useless distractions of their thoughts and time to meet petty objections, or to conform to a mistaken economy; but they should be controlled wisely, and supported cordially, in the execution of duties in themselves often wearisome and harrassing enough both to body and to mind.

In nothing has the spirit of false economy more perniciously affected the prosperity of existing canals, than by preventing the executive officers from submitting any comprehensive plans for remedying the evils of the original designs of the works. It was felt to be useless to submit plans which, entailing considerable expense, would inevitably on that ground alone have been rejected. The accidental circumstances of Lord William Bentinck's presence in the North Western Provinces, and of his having taken a personal interest in canal works, led to the sanction of the Dadupur dam in 1830.

Not so fortunate was the project, submitted by Colonel Colvin five years later, for excluding the floods of the Sombe and Patrala from the bed of the canal, by means of a regulating dam, built across the latter, and connected with the west flank revetement of the Dadupur dam. The Military Board of the day rejected this most essential work because of its cost: and, ten years afterwards, in consequence of the enormous evils, due to the free entrance of masses of silt-charged water into the canal, having forced themselves into notice anew, a work of the same class, but of far greater cost, and executed under difficulties of the most serious character, which in the first instance scarcely existed at all, was of necessity authorized, and is only now advancing very slowly towards completion. When this regulating dam is finished, the control of the drainage will be as perfect as circumstances will permit: but it is somewhat melancholy to reflect, that it has taken a quarter of a century to accomplish what might have been effected in less than half the time, had Colonel Colvin's plans been duly appreciated.

The defects of alignment and level in the southern parts of the Western Jumna canals have exhibited themselves in a manner sufficiently well known. The increase of silt deposits in some parts, and of supply of water in all, requiring the formation of high embankments, has led to the interception of the natural drainage of the country, and to the consequent forma-

tion of many unseemly and malarious swamps. Most vigorous efforts have, however, of late years, been made to remedy these evils, and none can be more anxious for their removal than the canal officers themselves. If we find, from occasional references in Major Baker's Report, that the remedial measures adopted have not at all times been either so judicious, or so successful, as might have been desired, we still see that the march of improvement has been but little impeded by such partial failures, and that, if the same general system of intelligent activity prevails, many, (if we cannot say all,) of the admitted evils now existing will be removed before many years pass by.

For perhaps the worst part of the whole canal, a remedial project is adverted to in the 87th paragraph of Major Baker's Report. It is to abandon entirely the existing main line, from Dadupur to about six miles south of Kurnaul, and to carry the canal in a new channel, with a correctly regulated slope, through the "Baugar," or high land, bordering the Jumna, instead of as now through the "Khadir," or valley of that river. The rectification of alignment and profile thus effected would of necessity entail considerable expense, as involving the formation of about fifty miles of new bed, and the construction of a number of bridges, aqueducts, and falls. On the score of this expense Major Baker condemns the project, unless it could be satisfactorily proved that a great saving of water would be effected by its successful completion. As we demur to this conclusion, we shall briefly discuss the question.

It is admitted that although the defects of the canal between Dadupur and Kurnaul may be palliated by the consolidation and improvement of the embankments, they can never be wholly removed. They are due almost entirely to the existence of the canal, which has super-saturated the naturally spongy and pervious soil, has intercepted the natural drainage of the country, and has led to the formation on both sides of noisome and pestilent swamps. These store-houses of evil have been entailed on the adjoining country by the hand of Government; and, unless the Government interferes to rectify the mistake, they must remain a perpetual heritage of sickness and suffering to the neighbouring people. We regard it, therefore, as a primary duty of the state to spare no cost to shorten the existence of such a condition of affairs; to look beyond its own interests, to which Major Baker's view of the case is restricted, and to have regard to the interests of the people also; and to reflect that although the expenditure required may produce no

direct return to the Government, it would relieve the community at once and for ever from numerous admitted, and otherwise irremediable, evils. The question is one less of finance than of humanity and justice. An accumulated surplus revenue of sixteen lacks of rupees, or £160,000, has accrued from the canals west of the Jumna; and the annual income is at least twice the expenditure. Government is therefore supplied with abundant resources, wherewith to effect improvements, and can afford to apply a portion of these, without rigidly exacting a proportionate pecuniary return. The ambition of all interested in these canals should aim at making them, so far as professional skill and liberal outlay can, sources of unmixed good to the people, as well as of profit to the State; locally unexceptionable, as well as generally beneficial. We therefore conclude, that, although we could not hold out the prospect of the smallest return from the money invested in carrying out the measure referred to, the broad and simple fact, that it would remove effectually the many and serious evils of the existing line, seems to us sufficient justification for the outlay. That such a view would be taken of the question by the local Government and revenue authorities of the North Western Provinces, we believe to be nearly certain: and even for those whose views do not rise higher, or range farther, than to small economies, arguments are not wanting. That the passage of the canal through a firm soil, and in a carefully regulated bed, would lead to a very large saving of water by decrease of absorption, actual leakage, and evaporation, is unquestionable, and, although it may be difficult, perhaps impossible, to estimate the amount so as to make it matter of calculation, we entertain no doubt of its being found sufficient to ensure a fair and moderate return on the funds expended. This return would be farther increased by the restoration of portions of land now lost to the cultivator from excess of water, and by such extension of irrigation on the new line as the saving of water would justify. Motives for minds of various capacities being thus provided, we trust, that the project is not destined to be strangled at its birth,—a species of infanticide, too often, it must be confessed, practised on schemes of improvement by those who ought to be their natural protectors.

We annex a tabular abstract of works of various kinds on the Western Jumna canals, which will give the reader an idea of their nature and extent; and with this they must be satisfied, as details would occupy more space than we can afford.

1.—*Abstract of works on the Western Jumna canals.*

	Masonry Dams.	Stop Dams.	Escapes.	Lock Gates.	Overfalls.	Weirs.	Aqueducts.	Bridges. Suspension.	Bridges. Masonry.	Bridges. Timber.	Chokies. 1st Class.	Chokies. 2d Class.	Depôts.	Grain Godowns, &c.	Mills.	Workshops.	Rajbuhas.*	Irrigation Outlets. Single.	Irrigation Outlets. Cistern.	Drains and Inlets.	Masonry Channels.	Revetements to Canal.	Arched Channel.	Bridges, for mill streams, Escapes, and Jheels. Timber.	Bridges, for mill streams, Escapes, and Jheels. Masonry.	Bridges, for mill streams, Escapes, and Jheels. Aqueducts.
Main Canal from Head to River	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	4	6	10	11	1	1	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	9	...
Delhi Branch	...	...	2	...	1	...	2	...	34	33	7	12	...	5	9	...	10	147	144	...	at 1	De 3	lhi 1	1	6	3
Bulla ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	4	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hansi ditto.....	...	3	...	2	...	1	...	...	41	2	7	11	...	1	1	2	4	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	5	...
Bahadera ditto	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	116	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Durba ditto.....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	76	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rohtuk ditto	...	3	...	...	7	...	...	...	21	12	4	4	...	...	...	...	2	33	56	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Butana ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	1	2	5	...	...	...	...	...	49	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total...	1	12	4	2	8	1	2	1	159	54	34	49	1	7	11	4	18	425	247	36	1	3	1	3	20	3

* *Rajbaha.* A large cut for irrigation.

The main source of revenue from the canals, west of the Jumna, is of course the water rent. This rent is levied in two ways; 1st, on the area of the opening of the irrigation outlet at a certain rate, usually two rupees per annum per square inch, for what is locally called "Shor," that is natural irrigation, and half that sum for "Dahl" or artificial irrigation.

2d. On the area of land irrigated, the rates are discriminating, both as regards the nature of the crop grown, and the kind of irrigation, whether natural or artificial, employed. On measured land, they are as follow :—

	Natural irrigation per acre.	Artificial irrigation per acre.	
1. Fruit Gardens ..... Rs.	5 0 0	4 0 0	per annum.
2. Vegetable Gardens, Indigo, Sugar Cane, Tobacco, cultivated Grasses, and Herbs.....	2 0 0	1 8 0	per crop.
3. Rice, Cotton, Wheat, Oats, Indian Corn, Gúchnee, Vegetables, (single crops) Safflower.....	1 0 0	0 10 8	ditto ditto.
4. Gram, Barley, Oil Seeds, Chunnahs, Jowar, Pulse of all kinds	0 10 8	0 8 0	ditto ditto.

There are also variable rates for the different forms of irrigating machines used by the native agriculturists, so regulated as to give irrigation at the general cost of 8 annas per acre.

Any discussion of the principles of the canal assessment system may be advantageously postponed, until we have described other existing canals; and we therefore in the meanwhile restrict ourselves to the facts of the case. The following statement shews the gradual development of the revenue from water rent up to the present time :—

2.—*Statement of annual amount of water rent on canals west of the Jumna.*

Previous to 1820...	876	4	0	1834-35...	1,14,065	8	3
1820-21...	14,646	2	1	1835-36...	1,10,602	11	3
1821-22...	24,618	8	11	1836-37...	1,53,176	15	1
1822-23...	21,458	5	0	1837-38...	2,72,377	13	5
1823-24...	36,015	6	1	1838-39...	1,89,644	15	3
1824-25...	26,646	9	7	1839-40...	2,24,382	15	3
1825-26...	48,374	6	9	1840-41...	2,25,817	15	3
1826-27...	33,975	0	0	1841-42...	2,63,068	13	0
1827-28...	34,160	14	7	1842-43...	2,79,300	10	11
1828-29...	52,952	10	7	1843-44...	2,60,555	8	9
1829-30...	53,375	0	0	1844-45...	2,31,022	8	9
1830-31...	57,700	0	5	1845-46...	2,60,693	13	2
1831-32...	51,016	4	11	1846-47...	2,62,529	13	8
1832-33...	65,804	11	3				
1833-34...	1,48,783	2	6	Grand Total...Rs.	35,47,643	8	8

Reference to this statement will show that the growth of the revenue from water rent was very slow. It was not indeed until the year 1833-34 that the income covered the expenses. The exceedingly unsettled state of the agicultural population, the constant fluctuations of the summary settlements of the government land revenue, and the novelty in many localities of canal irrigation, were the chief causes of this slow progress. The permanent settlement of the land revenue gave a great impetus to the extension of canal irrigation: and 1837-38, the year of the great famine, fatal as it was to districts not protected by canals, exhibits a remarkable increase,—a fact pregnant with meaning. To illustrate the benefit, on this sad occasion, of the canals to the community, we subjoin a calculation of the gross value of agricultural produce saved by irrigation in the districts of the Delhi territory.

3.—*Statement of the gross value of crops grown on land irrigated from the Western Jumna canals in* 1837-38, *the greater part of which land would have been totally unproductive without the use of canal water :—*

KHURIF, OR RAIN CROPS.			
12,806.25 acres of Sugar Cane and Indigo, at Rs. 80 per acre.....	10,25,500	0	0
47,026.25 acres of Cotton at Rs. 48 per acre	22,57,260	0	0
46,256.25 acres of Rice, Jowar, &c., at Rs. 38-4 per acre.....	17,76,240	0	0
RUBI, OR COLD SEASON CROPS.			
199,375 acres of wheat, barley, gram, mustard, &c., at Rs. 48 per acre.....	95,70,000	0	0
Total.....Rs.	1,46,28,000	0	0

This return is compiled from one given by Major Baker, and is founded on actual measurement. The rates are very moderate, less indeed than might have been assumed with perfect impartiality; and the result shows that nearly £1,500,000 sterling, in agricultural produce, was saved by the canal; of which about one-tenth, or £150,000, was paid to Government as land and water rent, while the remainder supported in comfort, during a period of devastating famine, the inhabitants of nearly 500 villages.

Any more striking illustration of the social and fiscal value of canals could not be given; and its force is enhanced, so far as the state is concerned, by the fact that the entire cost of the works (not including ordinary repairs and establishment) on the canals west of the Jumna, up to the present time, amounts to only £119,474; so that the returns of the year 1837-38 in land

and water rent have covered the whole expenditure, leaving a surplus of nearly £26,800 from this source alone.

The next important item of canal revenue is the rent from flour mills. These mills consist of substantial buildings of masonry, located near the large towns of Kurnaul, Delhi, and Hissar. The machinery is of the most primitive kind, being a small vertical wheel, with oblique horizontal spokes, slightly hollowed, on which the water impinges. Although these machines do not economise more than 30 per cent. of the effective power of the water, and are liable to be interfered with during the rainy season by back water, yet they are so much preferred by the native community to any more complicated arrangement, that every attempt to supersede them by machinery of European forms has signally failed. The only one of the latter, which appears likely to compete successfully in native estimation with the present form of wheel, is the turbine, which it is intended to introduce into general use.

The following statement shews the annual income from mills :—

4.—*Statement of annual mill rent on canals west of the Jumna.*

1822-23	3,026	13	6	1836-37	26,894	10	3
1823-24	6,868	10	0	1837-38	5,782	0	9
1824-25	3,964	5	4	1838-39	9,732	7	10
1825-26	2,991	3	11	1839-40	14,566	8	8
1826-27	3,682	13	2	1840-41	9,524	0	6
1827-28	11,676	10	9	1841-42	8,203	14	3
1828-29	16,267	0	6	1842-43	9,882	11	9
1829-30	19,786	3	0	1843-44	12,598	13	3
1830-31	19,464	0	0	1844-45	8,220	6	3
1831-32	19,002	3	7	1845-46	13,250	7	11
1832-33	19,238	2	3	1846 47	14,709	15	5
1833-34	13,882	4	6				
1834-35	18,294	9	9	Grand Total...Rs.	3,14,348	4	2
1835-36	22,837	3	7				

Mill rent, it will be seen, varies much. It is mainly dependent on the demand for irrigation, and when that is great, the supply of water for the mills is necessarily small. The return to the state on capital invested in mills has however been very greats—the total expenditure having been Rs. 53,410-8-7, and the average revenue, as shown in the statement, being nearly 23 per cent. per annum.

The pastoral villages in the district of Hissar depend entirely on the canal for the means of watering their cattle ; and a small revenue is derived from this source. All irrigating villages, paying revenue above 100 rupees per annum, are allowed to water their cattle, and to fill their village tanks, free of charge. The revenue from watering cattle is shown in the following statement:—

5.—*Statement of annual rent from watering cattle on the Western Jumna canals.*

1828-29	3,772	10	8	1839-40	2,286	13	2
1829-30	3,568	7	10	1840-41	1,955	13	2
1830-31	2,968	12	2	1841-42	1,554	1	8
1831-32	4,210	9	7	1842-43	1,172	5	2
1832-33	3,396	2	5	1843-44	1,680	4	9
1833-34	1,257	3	11	1844-45	2,979	7	2
1834-35	1,669	6	7	1845-46	2,293	3	3
1835-36	2,145	15	6	1846 47	1,687	0	0
1836-37	2,197	1	7				
1837-38	760	3	6	Grand Total...Rs.	43,394	9	4
1838-39	1,838	15	3				

Although the Western Jumna canals are not used for boat navigation, a large quantity of timber, the produce of the forests of Deyrah Dhún, is annually rafted from the head to different points along the canals. The transit duties are exceedingly moderate; and the improvement in the condition of the people in the canal districts is very strikingly illustrated by the largely increased consumption of timber among them, in the construction of substantial and comfortable dwelling houses. The interruption of the free course of the Jumna by the bunds for maintaining the supply of the canals, east and west of the river, forces the whole of the river traffic into the Western Jumna canal for some months of the year. A considerable portion returns to the river by a short land carriage at Chilkanah Ghát, and the remainder passes southward. It is proposed by Major Baker to make a branch, so as to connect the canal and the river, and thus secure continuous water carriage for the rafts,—an unexceptionable proposition, provided the arrangement could be effected by means of a still water channel, thereby reducing the waste of water to a minimum. Water is however so precious for irrigation, and the supply of the Jumna is so closely adjusted to the demands of the canals for this purpose, that any plan which involves the loss of water ought not to be thought of. The detail of transit duties is shewn in the following statement:—

6.—*Statement of transit duties on the Western Jumna canals.*

1820-21	14	4	0	1836-37	3,365	0	0
1821-22	84	4	0	1837-38	6,048	9	5
1822-23 to 1825-26	0	0	0	1838-39	8,228	11	4
				1839-40	6,539	5	1
1826-27	500	4	0	1840-41	9,730	4	3
1827 28	1,013	1	10	1841-42	11,505	15	3
1828-29	1,187	1	10	1842-43	7,934	14	9
1829-30	1,932	10	4	1843-44	5,570	12	6
1830-31	2,132	8	4	1844-45	6,398	10	8
1831-32	2,061	15	0	1845-46	7,830	0	4
1832-33	1,611	8	7	1846-47	6,799	9	1
1833-34	2,950	1	6				
1834-35	3,238	9	5	Grand Total	98,911	10	6
1835-36	1,993	9	0				

The eastern appreciation of the luxury of shade, as evidenced in the Sunnud of the Emperor Akbar quoted before, led to the banks of the canals being planted with trees of various kinds; but with the exception of a few varieties of ficus, these have all now perished, thus sharing the fate of those which lined the great imperial road from Agra to Lahore.

The formation of plantations early occupied the attention of the British superintendents. Something was done by Captains Blane and Tickell; but it was left to Colonel Colvin to proceed systematically in this useful duty. An allowance originally of 2,000 Rupees, afterwards increased to 3,000 Rupees, per annum, was allotted to the plantations; and they have been spread over all parts of the canals to which water could reach. The trees planted are chiefly the Sissú, the Toon, the Kíkur, the Cirrus, the Saul, and the Teak, all furnishing wood of value for economical purposes. The revenue derived from the plantations by sale of produce, although not large, has more than covered all expenditure upon them; and their ultimate value will be very considerable. The details of the kind, number, and estimated present value of the trees on the 30th April, 1847, are shewn below :—

Kíkur	91,520	Cirrus	13,966
Bambus	4,420	Sissú	1,84,252
Jamun	6,914	Toon	35,487
Kutchna	1,771	Sundry	9,990
Mangoes	1,060		
Mulberry	18,746	Total...	3,75,252
Nim	7,126		

The estimated value of these trees is Rs. 5,66,998-5-4, and the total expenditure by Government up to the present time amounts to only Rs. 27,363-5-7, or about $\frac{1}{4}$th of the revenue derived from the plantations, as shewn in the annexed statement :—

7.—*Statement of Revenue from sale of Wood, Grass, &c., from the Plantations of the Western Jumna Canals.*

1820-21	635	11	0	1828-29	1,289	8	8
1821-22	1,180	9	4	1829-30	1,142	15	4
1822-23	741	7	11	1830-31	1,265	4	8
1823-24	656	0	10	1831-32	2,127	7	0
1824-25	545	7	7	1832-33	2,651	2	11
1825 26	370	9	9	1833-34	3,894	6	11
1826-27	713	13	11				
1827-28	1,460	13	9	Carried over...Rs.	18,675	7	7

Brought forward...	18,675	7	7
1834-35	3,682	2	10
1835-36	4,957	11	9
1836-37	2,245	6	0
1837-38	5,221	8	8
1838-39	6,171	4	2
1839-40	4,822	14	10
1840-41	5,481	6	0
1841-42	5,607	3	7
1842-43	6,756	12	2
1843-44	4,827	5	3
1844-45	5,149	11	1
1845-46	7,056	0	1
1846-47	10,167	10	4
Grand Total...	90,822	6	4

The only remaining source of revenue is from fines levied for breach of Canal Regulations. The value of water, especially during seasons of drought, leads to frequent infractions of the rules for protecting it, and for insuring its equable distribution, while the natural carelessness of native cultivators causes constant wastage, by neglect of their water-courses or other means. For the punishment of offenders in these and other ways, the Superintendent of the Canal and his assistants are vested with the powers of Joint Magistrates under Act VII. of 1845. The annual amount of fines is given below :—

8.—*Statement of Fines for breach of Regulations on Western Jumna Canals.*

1820-21	504	8	5
1821-22	911	8	2
1822-23	1,939	2	10
1823-24	1,882	3	8
1824-25	1,082	8	8
1825-26	2,423	4	4
1826-27	3,283	1	6
1827-28	4,471	1	6
1828-29	2,847	6	2
1829 30	2,801	12	4
1830-31	2,508	9	6
1831-32	2,463	2	10
1832-33	3,410	4	5
1833-34	6,064	11	3
1834-35	4,303	2	10
1835-36	2,603	13	4
1836-37	2,930	5	3
1837-38	9,480	8	9
1838-39	5,783	12	0
1839-40	6,188	2	2
1840-41	6,077	13	0
1841-42	4,632	9	6
1842-43	6,218	1	0
1843-44	5,760	14	3
1844-45	6,341	3	2
1845-46	7,753	4	6
1846-47	6,991	2	9
Grand Total...	1,11,658	2	4

Having now given sufficient details of the revenues of the Western Jumna Canals, we must notice the expenditure upon them. This is divisible under three heads, viz. original works, including all new works of every kind ; the regular establishment, being the salaries of the various classes of officers, employed in the executive, revenue, and police departments ; and current repairs, which are the expenses incurred in the maintenance of the works in a state of efficiency. We annex a statement of the expenses under these heads, from the restoration of the canals to the present time, adding for comparison a column showing the total direct revenue for the same time :—

9.—Statement of Expenditure and Revenue on the Western Jumna Canals.

	Original works.			Establishment.			Current Repairs.			Total Expenditure.			Total Revenue.			Deficiency.			Surplus.		
To end of	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.
May 1821.	1,42,164	10	9½	52,264	9	11	5,319	13	7½	1,99,749	2	4	16,876	4	...	1,82,872	14	4	.....	...	...
1821-22	...	...	...	19,095	9	4	6,586	11	6	25,682	4	10	26,794	14	5	...	...	...	1,112	9	7
1822-23	...	...	...	27,612	15	6	9,303	2	3	36,916	1	9	26,265	13	3	10,650	4	6	.....	...	...
1823-24	...	...	...	43,815	5	7⅓	6,743	10	6	50,559	0	1⅓	45,422	4	7	5,136	11	6⅓	.....	...	...
1824-25	...	...	...	53,381	2	5⅔	4,181	12	5	57,562	14	10⅔	32,238	15	2	25,323	15	8⅔	.....	...	...
1825-26	...	...	...	59,029	9	2⅓	4,580	4	5	63,609	13	7⅓	54,159	8	9	9,450	4	10⅓	.....	...	...
1826-27	4,141	10	...	64,484	13	2	6,830	12	5	75,457	3	7	42,155	...	7	33,302	3	...	.....	...	...
1827-28	18,145	9	10	73,141	7	7	7,288	13	8½	98,575	15	1½	52,782	10	8	45,793	4	5½	.....	...	...
1828-29	...	...	...	74,216	1	1	9,661	9	1	83,877	10	2	78,316	6	5	5,561	3	9	.....	...	...
1829-30	4,938	14	...	74,851	15	7	10,435	9	3	90,226	6	10	82,607	...	10	7,619	6	...	.....	...	...
1830-31	...	...	...	77,121	1	1	16,252	14	2	93,373	15	3	86,039	3	1	7,334	12	2	.....	...	...
1831-32	...	...	...	79,718	14	7	20,401	5	11	1,00,120	4	6	80,881	10	11	19,283	9	7	.....	...	...
1832-33	...	...	...	82,242	5	7	22,959	8	5	1,05,201	14	0	96,111	15	10	9,089	14	2	.....	...	...
1833-34	72,010	15	4	81,100	...	3	21,402	14	8	1,74,513	14	3	1,76,831	4	7	.....	...	...	2,317	6	4
1834-35	90,278	8	8	77,646	8	4	36,165	5	3	2,04,090	6	3	1,45,253	14	8	58,836	7	7	.....	...	...
1835-36	6,22,222	9	3½	78,949	5	...	25,657	8	6½	7,26,829	6	10	1,45,141	..	5	5,81,688	6	5	.....	...	...
1836-37	3,383	7	8	65,492	5	5	21,892	14	10½	90,768	11	11½	1,90,809	6	4	.....	...	...	1,00,040	10	5½
1837-38	31,743	2	1	58,727	7	2	34,804	7	4	1,25,275	...	7	2,99,670	12	6	.....	...	...	1,74,395	11	11
1838-39	46,044	...	11	57,201	10	4	21,073	11	5	1,24,319	6	8	2,21,400	1	10	.....	...	...	97,080	11	2
1839-40	5,562	14	...	54,855	13	10	27,758	...	8	88,176	12	6	2,58,826	10	9	.....	...	...	1.70,649	14	3
1840-41	31,181	1	7	57,066	8	5	25,785	11	3	1,14,033	5	3	2,88,587	4	2	.....	...	...	1,74,553	14	11
1841-42	12,120	15	9	55,425	14	8	28,197	9	7	95,744	8	0	2,94,572	9	3	.....	...	...	1,98,828	1	3
1842-43	25,115	14	...	53,104	15	11	43,915	4	5	1,22,136	2	4	3,11,265	7	10	.....	...	...	1,89,129	5	6
1843-44	8,408	11	9	59,721	3	0	31,712	15	9	99,842	14	6	2,90,993	10	5	.....	...	...	1,91,150	11	11
1844-45	2,639	6	3	67,069	11	3	89,689	14	5	1,59,398	15	11	2,60,311	15	1	.....	...	...	1,00,912	15	2
1845-46	17,184	...	5	68,238	1	4	62,559	2	4	1,47,981	4	1	2,98,876	13	3	.....	...	...	1,50,895	9	2
1846-47	56,769	6	4	71,859	4	0	53,976	10	6	1,82,605	4	10	3,02,885	3	3	.....	...	...	1,20,279	14	5
Total...	11,94,055	14	8	16,87,434	11	7⅓	6,55,138	2	8	35,36,628	12	11⅓	42,06,077	14	10	10,01,798	6	½	16,71,347	8	0½

The Establishment of the Western Jumna Canals is necessarily large. Their united length is 445 miles, exclusive of the main or first class water-courses, commonly called Rajbuhas, which, as well as the branch canals, are under the executive charge of the Canal Officers. With the minor, or village, water-courses no farther interference is exercised, than to require the proprietors to maintain them in such condition, as that no wastage of water, or interruption to the communications of the country, shall take place.

The general control in all departments is vested in the Superintendent, whose duties are of a very miscellaneous description. As the Executive Engineer, all works are designed and constructed by him under the authority of the Military Board, and of the Superintendent of Canals in the North Western Provinces. As Collector of Revenue, he realizes by means of native local Agents, the various rents, formerly detailed, under the authority of the Sudder Board of Revenue, and of the Commissioner of the division, to whom, in his capacity of Deputy Collector, he is subordinate: and, as Canal Magistrate, he has to protect the water and works under his charge from injury, his orders in this department being subject to appeal to the Sessions Judge. He has therefore many masters and many duties; but the former are generally liberal in their views, and, so far as may be, indulgent in their control, while the latter, though sometimes harrassing and always laborious, are most interesting and attractive to all who love their profession. The combination of powers in the person of the Superintendent is found to be productive of the best possible effects; his control of the revenue re-acts in the department of works, by securing for him a legitimate influence among the people; and the entire separation of the canal from the local civil jurisdictions prevents, except in extreme cases, all collision, and secures cordial but independent co-operation. It might to a certain extent simplify accounts, and be a slight relief to the people in a single form, to consolidate the land and canal revenues, and to collect them by means of the civil establishment; but this arrangement is open to so many objections, and would produce so much embarrassment and difficulty in carrying on the duties of the canals, that, we are certain, its introduction would be followed by consequences far too injurious to the interests of the state and the people, to be in any degree compensated for by the trifling benefit to be anticipated from it.

Three assistant superintendents are in subordinate charge of divisions of the canal; and under them nine or ten European overseers, with the requisite native establishments, carry on the executive duties.

For revenue purposes the canals are divided into ten districts, to each of which a native officer, called a Zilladar, with an adequate establishment, is appointed. The extensive introduction of the contract system, whereby the water rent is fixed for twenty years, reduces the interference of these revenue officers with the people to a minimum. Their pay is however much too small, considering the powers with which they are invested; and however strongly amiable enthusiasts in high places may urge the selection of incorruptible men, it is not in human nature that power and poverty should co-exist, and Government has no right to expect integrity without paying for it.

The surplus revenue of the canal could be drawn upon in no more beneficial manner, than to brighten the prospects of this class of men, by making their incomes commensurate with their responsibilities and position.

The subordinate police establishment consists of chokidars, stationed at intervals of two or more miles on the canal banks. These men have charge of the works and the water, and it is their duty to see that neither sustain any damage. The chokidars in charge of irrigation have great opportunities of illicit gain; and to mention that they receive from Government the bare subsistence of 4 or 5 Rupees per month, is sufficient to prove that such opportunities are not neglected.* They are in fact just a scorrupt as all our other subordinate native establishments, and are neither better nor worse than their neighbours.

We annex a condensed abstract of the establishment of the Western Jumna Canals :—

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* It would indeed be preposterous, either to expect, or to believe, that men, invested with the prestige of office, and having opportunities to make illicit gain with impunity, should keep their hands clean, on a monthly salary of 5 Rs.: but recent and flagrant examples have shown that, whether Government give five Rupees or five thousand, whether it employ poor native chokidars or European gentlemen high in place, it must find some more searching process, than any increase of salary, for ascertaining which of its servants it can trust and honor,—and which of them it should forward to Botany Bay. The cry of oppression, and the tears of the widow and the orphan, should give energy to the search.

10.—*Abstract of Establishment of Western Jumna Canals.*

EXECUTIVE.				REVENUE.				POLICE.			
Europeans.	Rs.	A.	P.	*Europeans.*	Rs.	A.	P.	*Europeans.*	Rs.	A.	P.
1 Superintendent.....	600	0	0	1 Superintendent.....	0	0	0	1 Superintendent.....	0	0	0
1 First Assistant	300	0	0	3 Assistants	0	0	0	3 Assistants	0	0	0
1 Second ditto.....	200	0	0	*Natives.*				*Natives.*			
1 Third ditto.....	325	0	0	3 Writers	150	0	0	3 Naib Jemadars	27	0	0
2 Conductors.....	371	12	0	2 Darogahs	145	0	0	9 Duffadars	54	0	0
2 Overseers.....	170	0	0	10 Zilladars	320	0	0	4 Chokidars	20	0	0
5 Assistant ditto.....	325	0	0	1 Treasurer	20	0	0	76 Burkundazes.....	304	0	0
Natives.				1 Múnshí	50	0	0				
3 Writers.....	225	0	0	3 Accountants	42	0	0				
3 Accountants.....	45	0	0	7 Assistant ditto	80	0	0				
7 Assistant ditto.....	70	0	0	8 Measurers	48	0	0				
11 Sowars.....	170	0	0	32 Sowars	480	0	0				
27 Chuprassís	138	0	0	58 Chuprassís.....	313	0	0				
10 Chokidars.....	41	0	0	129 Chokidars	513	0	0				
35 Klassies	176	0	0								
8 Bricklayers.	82	0	0								
8 Carpenters	78	0	0								
7 Blacksmiths	70	0	0								
4 Boatmen.....	28	0	0								
4 Dâk Hurkurahs.....	96	0	0								
2 Bunneas.....	15	12	0								
Total monthly expenses	3,526	8	0		2,161	0	0		405	0	0

We have been favoured with copies of recent statistical statements of the districts through which the Western Jumna Canals are carried, prepared by the Collectors under orders from Government, and in these we find details of so much interest and value connected with canal irrigation, that we must advert to them here. For facility of reference we have condensed the different returns into one form.

11.—*Comparative Statement of population and Government Land Revenue (Jumma) in the portions of the districts of the Delhi Divisions, Irrigated, and not Irrigated, by the Western Jumna Canals.*

District.	Description.	Area in acres.	Area in geographical square miles.	Total area in square miles.	Population of each.	Total Population.	Jumma of each in Rs.	Total Jumma in Rs.	Population per square mile.	Jumma per square mile.	Average population per square mile.	Average Jumma per square mile in Rs.
Paniput..	Irrigated at Settlement...	3,41,483	404	...	1,39,938	...	4,74,996	...	347	1,179	...	...
Delhi	Ditto	78,406	92	...	41,683	...	1,29,683	...	448	1,394	...	...
Rohtuck..	Ditto	2,10,953	249	...	68,724	...	1,96,461	...	276	789	...	...
Hissar ...	Ditto	2,09,416	247	992	35,202	2,85,547	1,19,720	9,20,860	142	485	288	999
Paniput..	Irrigated since Settlement	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi	Ditto	7,500	9	...	3,719	...	10,237	...	413	1,137	...	...
Rohtuck..	Ditto	9,319	11	...	2,167	...	6,215	...	197	565	...	...
Hissar ...	Ditto	2,825	3	23	138	6,024	600	17,052	46	200	262	741
Paniput..	Unirrigated.	2,83,856	335	...	95,681	...	3,23,591	...	285	966	...	...
Delhi	Ditto	2,14,510	253	...	74,301	...	2,15,021	...	290	850	...	...
Rohtuck..	Ditto	6,15,914	727	...	1,88,293	...	3,51,868	...	259	484	...	...
Hissar ...	Ditto	18,10,212	2,136	4351	1,86,176	5,44,451	3,33,906	12,24,386	87	156	158	355
	Grand Total...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21,62,298	...	...	...	...

The first point of interest this statement enables us to determine is the proportion of the irrigated to the unirrigated areas in the different districts to which it applies. We will refer this proportion to the total areas, as being most convenient, and we find it to be as follows :

	Total area in acres.	Irrigated area in acres.
In Paniput, as	625,339	to 341,483 or, as 1 to 0.52
Delhi, as	300,407	to 85,906 or, as 1 to 0.28
Rohtuck, as	836,186	to 220,272 or, as 1 to 0.27
Hissar, as	2,022,453	to 212,241 or, as 1 to 0.1

From these results it appears that a little more than one-half of the whole district of Paníput is under the influence of the canals, while in Delhi and Rohtuck the proportion is reduced to one-third, and in the great sterile tract of Hissar it amounts to one-tenth.

It is curious to compare these results from Indian canals with those obtained in Austrian Italy, the only part of the world where canals strictly similar to those of the North Western Provinces are found. Referring to printed papers on irrigation in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, obtained from the India Board, and now before us, we learn that, in the country between the rivers Ticino and Adda, the land is irrigated to the extent of 8-tenths of its surface ; between the Adda and the Clisio, about 5-tenths ; and lower down, towards the junction of the Po and the Mincio, about one-tenth. While therefore the first-mentioned Italian tract exceeds in extent in irrigation, as compared with surface, any of our districts west of the Jumna, the second corresponds closely with zillah Paníput, and the third with Hissar. Delhi and Rohtuck are intermediate between the two latter of the Italian districts, being irrigated to the extent of nearly 3-tenths of their surface.

The irrigated areas above referred to include the total areas of all villages using canal water. But no village actually waters its whole area, parts being in fallow or waste, or occupied by inferior crops not requiring water. The proportion of the total area of an irrigated district actually watered is a point of much interest ; and, as we shall have occasion to employ it hereafter as a means of estimating the capabilities of projected canals, we give here the result of our enquiries on the subject.

Canal revenue being levied only on land actually watered, the measurements for this purpose are available as guides, and where contracts exist and no measurements are required, the money value of these contracts furnishes the means of making a fair approximation to the watered area. On these data our calculations are based, and we find the results to be as follow :—

	Total irrigated area in acres.	Area actually watered in acres.	
In Paníput, as	341,483	to 127,100	or, as 1 to 0.37
Delhi, as	85,906	to 34,686	or, as 1 to 0.4
Rohtuck, as...	220,272	to 84,653	or, as 1 to 0.38
Hissar, as.....	212,241	to 105,062	or, as 1 to 0.49

From these rates we may therefore conclude, that, as an average result, irrigating villages west of the Jumna actually water annually from one-half to one-third of their total areas. The best watered of all in proportion to its irrigable area is the once sterile district of Hissar, the chief towns of which were found in 1807 to be literally without an inhabitant. The canal here has almost called into being an active, contented, and prosperous peasantry.

In passing now to the consideration of the Government revenue, and the population, we have to note first, that the calculations of these are based on the total areas of villages of the different classes, as shewn in the statement. Their results exhibit in a very clear and decided manner the beneficial influence of canal irrigation. The Western Jumna Canals had so nearly attained their maximum of irrigation before the land settlement took place, that but few villages have been brought under their influence since that event. Still, the increase of land revenue due to the use of irrigation is to be traced, as we find the average per square mile on villages irrigated since the settlement to be Rs. 741, while that in unirrigated villages is only Rs. 355.

We are also enabled for the first time to give form to a claim, always made by Canal Officers—to have credit given to their works for whatever increase of land revenue may be derived from canal villages, as compared with villages not enjoying the same advantages. The claim is a perfectly legitimate one, as the increase in question is due solely to the existence of the canals. Its amount in the case of the Western Jumna Canals may be calculated readily from the data in the statement; and the calculation is of sufficient interest to warrant our giving it here.

12.—*Statement of increase of Land Revenue due to the Western Jumna Canals.*

Paníput...	404	Sq. miles, at	1179—966 =	*213	Rs. per square mile,	Rs. 86,052
Delhi.....	92	„	at 1394—850 =	544	„ „	50,048
„	9	„	at 1137—850 =	287	„ „	2,583
Rohtuck...	249	„	at 789—484 =	305	„ „	75,943
„	11	„	at 565—484 =	81	„ „	891
Hissar	247	„	at 485—156 =	329	„ „	81,263
„	3	„	at 200—156 =	44	„ „	132
Total increase of land revenue, *(Jumma)*.....						Rs. 2,96,912

* On referring to the Statement, p. 103, it will be seen that for Panípat the average Jumma per irrigated square mile is Rs. 1,179, and per unirrigated square mile, Rs. 966, &c. The difference therefore, Rs. 213, is the increase per square mile.

This sum, added to the direct canal revenue as shown in Statement 9, gives a total increase of Rupees 5,99,799, or very nearly £60,000 per annum; and, supposing £17,000 to be expended in the canal and civil department, we have a net income of £43,000 on an invested capital of £119,400, being 36 per cent.

Of the total land revenue of the four districts of which returns are before us, the sum of Rupees 9,37,912, out of Rupees 21,61,298, is derived from canal villages, and may be regarded as beyond all risk; the remainder, Rupees 12,24,386, is subject to the vicissitudes of the seasons, and, in the event of a failure of the periodical rains, would be much decreased, if not wholly annihilated; and the population, from whom it is drawn, must be supported by the Government, migrate, or perish.

The excess of population in irrigated over unirrigated villages is very marked. The rate per square mile in Paníput and Delhi is high,* but not higher than in the analogously situated plains of Austrian Italy, where in the Delegation of Milan the rate per square mile is 471-6, and but litte inferior in Pavia, Lodi, and other richly cultivated and well-irrigated localities.

The rates in the Western Jumna districts are given below:—

In Paníput, as	347 to 285	or, as 1 to 0.8
Delhi	448 to 290	or, as 1 to 0.67
Rohtuck	276 to 259	or, as 1 to 0.9
Hissar	142 to 87	or, as 1 to 0.6
Average rates	275 to 158	or, as 1 to 0.57

Thus villages irrigating from the canal support on an average a population nearly 2-5ths greater than that of villages not so irrigated.

We have now completed our account of the canals west of the Jumna. We have shewn them to be equally profitable to the Government, and to the community, securing the revenue of the one, and the permanent prosperity of the other; we have adverted to the sole drawback on their utility, namely, their being occasional causes of local sickness, to the precise extent of which as developed by the canal medical committee we will hereafter have occasion to give our attention. Taking them however, all in all, we have no hesitation in stating our conviction that they are works of which the British Government may well be proud; and its pride in them will best be shewn by pressing forward every feasible improvement, until they shall be made in all respects, what they now are in many, material blessings of the highest order to the people of the districts through which their fertilising waters flow.

The Eastern Jumna Canal, which we have now to describe, was surveyed, with a view to active operations, in 1822, by Lieuten-

* See Statement 11, p. 103.

ant Debude of the Engineers. This officer however was removed to other duties immediately on the completion of his field work, and was succeeded by Colonel Robert Smith of the Engineers, under whose orders the various works on the canal, as originally projected, were completed in the year 1830.

The Eastern had so far the advantage over the Western Jumna Canals, that all the work considered necessary, the dams, bridges, escapes, &c. were finished, before any water was admitted. It is not, however, to be concealed that Engineer officers had at that time most imperfect ideas of hydraulic works, and had no expectation of the difficulties in store for them.

The general alignment of the Eastern Jumna Canal was good: it occupied the highest land between the rivers Jumna and Hindun; it avoided entirely the "Khadir" or valley of the former river, and, in its northern and southern portions, attention was paid to avoiding tortuosities of channel as much as was considered practicable. In the central part, however, the ancient bed was merely cleared out, and nearly all its vicious twists and turns left as of old.

As to the regulation of the slope of the bed, it was not thought of, or, if thought of, was not attempted; and the method of excavation was on that primitive plan, of which an apposite illustration will be found in the following anecdote. Some four or five years ago, during one of our many wanderings through canal districts, we came, one pleasant morning, to the banks of a small stream, on which we found a Civilian, now in high office, but then the active Joint Magistrate of the zillah. He was looking with no very agreeable expression of face at a new cut for the stream which he had made, but apparently without success. "What is wrong with your work?" we asked. "I don't know," was his reply; "but this perverse river won't run in the course I have made for it. I am sure it is wide enough." "True," we remarked, "but that is not the only thing necessary."

"Oh! but" said he, interrupting us hurriedly, "I have laid it out with this"—pointing to a scientific looking surveying compass, with which he was begirt.

"Even that," we returned, "is not enough, have you thought of the slope?" "Slope!" he replied, "what do I know about slopes?"

"They are useful however when you want water to flow. What orders did you give to your work people about the depth of the cut?"

"The depth? Oh, I told them to *dig a yard*—that's all."

Precisely thus were the original excavations of the Eastern

Jumna Canal carried on. The bottom of the bed was fixed at four feet beneath the surface level of the country, without reference to the natural fall, which in the northern and southern parts of the canal was excessive. The case of the canal was the converse of that of the river; as the water, once admitted into the bed of the former, flowed only too rapidly.

On the 3rd of January, 1830, the canal was opened for the first time; and by the 20th of that same month, nearly every bridge, north of Saharunpúr and south of Surrowli, was in imminent peril of total destruction. Rapids established themselves at different points on the steep slopes between the bridges; and working back, as such rapids invariably do, they exposed the foundations, and in course of time would have completely undermined the works.

In addition to the injuries threatened to the masonry works, an evil even more formidable exhibited itself in the deposit of immense quantities of sand and river silt, brought from the upper portion of the canal, along the whole line of lower levels. The bed of the canal was here being rapidly elevated, and, as the mischief was a progressive one, continual raising of the embankments was necessary to maintain the canal in its bed.

The task of rectifying these evils had devolved upon Lieut. (now Lieut.-Col.) P. T. Cautley, who, being assistant to Colonel Smith, had succeeded that officer on his departure for Europe in bad health.

Checking the effects of the retrogression of the levels on the bridges by means of rafts of timber moored in rear of such of these works as were most immediately threatened, Lieut.-Col. Cautley lost no time in submitting a comprehensive project for remodelling the slope of the canal by the introduction of masonry descents, or falls. Looking to the general distribution of the slope of the country on which the Eastern Jumna Canal is carried, it was found that, while the total fall from the head of the canal to Selimpúr, where it rejoins the Jumna, was 421.07 feet in a distance of nearly 134 miles—186.37 feet of this fall occurred in the first 28½ miles, and 45.6 feet in the last 11 miles, the remaining 189.11 feet being distributed over the intermediate distance of nearly 94 miles. There were therefore two steps of descent, the northern, dependent on the vicinity of the Himalayas, and the southern, on the drop of the canal near its terminus into the valley of the river Jumna.

The first object was of course to regulate the excessive slopes of these two steps.

In determining the rate of inclination to be given to the bed of the canal, two points had to be considered: 1st, That the

slope should be sufficiently rapid to ensure such velocity of current as would prevent the growth of aquatic plants in the canal, an evil of a serious nature in a tropical country; and 2d, that it thould not be too great for the adhesive powers of the bed itself, lest violent erosive action should result, and the very evil it was desirable to remedy should continue to exist. It was found that, on such soil as the canal bed presented, a slope ranging from 17 to 24 inches per mile would meet both these contingencies.

With exception of the first ten miles from the head, on which no danger was anticipated, the bed of the canal being there of boulders or hard shingle, the slope of the northern step was regulated by the construction of nine masonry falls, of which one had a descent of 15 feet, three of 8, two of 7½, and three of 4 feet each.

The excess of slope in the southern steps was overcome by 4 falls, two being of 8 feet, one of 7½, and the last of 6 feet.

At a later period the slope of the portion of the canal, intermediate between the two steps, was regulated by two falls of 4 feet each; and in course of time the construction of four more will perfect the regimen of the canal bed.

The construction of these works was attended with the most gratifying success. Colonel Cautley's theory was that the sand or silt, whereby the lower levels of the central portions of the canal were being raised, was derived entirely from the erosive action of the stream on the bed in the northen division; and, that so soon as this action was checked by the masonry falls, the silt deposits would be carried forward by the force of the current, and ultimately discharged into the Jumna. This theory was satisfactorily verified: all deposits have long since ceased, and those formerly in existence have on a distance of nearly twenty miles entirely disappeared. In the southern part of the centre division of the canal, the movement of the deposits is checked by the tortuosities of the channel, and other circumstances; but no very serious inconvenience is caused thereby.

The embankments raised to retain the canal in its bed are of the most massive proportions. They are about thirty or forty miles in length, and the canal flows between them at heights from 6 to 10, and even 12 feet, above the surface of the country. It was no unusual thing in former times for the canal to burst these embankments, and to convert the whole adjoining country into one wide waste of waters. Now, happily, such accidents are exceedingly rare, although they do still occasionally occur to keep the Canal Officers on the alert.

The northern division presented its own peculiar difficulties, in the control of the mountain drainage which crossed the canal; and here the struggle to maintain the works was even more arduous than on the Western Jumna Canals.

In addition to the floods, which entered the canal heads from the Jumna and the lateral Himalayan drainage north of Nyashur, the point at which the excavated channel commences, the course of the canal was intersected by four first-class rain-torrents, the Raipur, the Intunwala, the Nowgong, and the Muskurra rivers.

The floods of the Jumna and the lateral drainage from the Sub-Himalayas, north of Nyashur, were disposed of by means of the Fyzabad and Nyashur dams—works similar to that at Dadúpúr, described in Major Baker's report. The Raipur nala had an escape outlet, provided for it in the canal bank. The Intunwala and Nowgong rivers, uniting in front of the Nowgong dam, passed over that work; while the Muskurra was disposed of by a fourth dam at Kulsia.

To each of these works a long and interesting history is attached; but we must content ourselves with stating here that, amidst many difficulties and not a few formidable accidents, they were maintained in a state of perfect efficiency by Colonel Cautley up to 1843, and subsequently, on this officer's removal, to the higher appointment of Superintendent of Canals in the North West Provinces, by his assistant and successor, Lieutenant R. Baird Smith of the Engineers.

Colonel Cautley's valuable report abounds with suggestions for the improvement of the Eastern Jumna Canal, nearly the whole of which have been carried into effect since his executive charge of it ceased.

Much still remains to be done in restoring the drainage of the country in the centre division, which for about five and twenty miles is the blot on the fair face of this beautiful canal; for most beautiful in all other parts it truly is, with its broad road smooth as an English lawn, its double rows of trees drooping over the stream, its long graceful sweeps, its rich bordering of most luxuriant crops, its neat station houses, and the peculiar care with which all its works are maintained. It is certainly one of the most interesting and attractive of Indian sights. The gem of the whole is the southern division, where, for nearly sixty miles, the visitor passes through a country which is the Garden of the North West, and finds constant cause to admire the beautiful, although limited, scenes, that every turn of the canal brings before him. Some of the old trees, cherished and preserved with an almost religious veneration, are the finest we have ever seen.

Of these some are doubtless contemporaries of the original constructors of the canal, as they were of large dimensions when it was re-opened by our Government. We hope that all these "our ancient friends" are destined to live and die where they now are, even although some *may* think them too near the water's edge; and we trust that no Canal Officers will ever be found so mercilessly utilitarian, so dead to all sense of the beautiful in nature, or the suggestive in thought, as to lay axe to the root of one of these noble old trees, linked as they are, and in all sensitive minds ever must be, to the memories of great men and remarkable times.

The state of efficiency, in which this part of the canal is maintained, is due to its excellent local officer, Mr. H. B. Brew, who, commencing life in the ranks, has by pure force of character, high professional qualifications, and unimpeachable integrity, earned for himself the respect and friendship of every officer under whom he has served, and such reward as Government, ever slow to acknowlege "the gold" that has not the "guinea stamp," has thought fit to grant.

The assessment system of the Eastern Jumna Canal is based exclusively on measurement. No contracts have yet been introduced, for the sufficient reason, that while such incessant changes of the levels of the bed were in progress, no contract could be maintained with even an approximation to justice. The water is distributed to the zemindars, partly by cuts from the main canal, but chiefly by means of what are locally called "Rajbuhas," or principal water-courses, the joint property of the different villages, which have combined to pay for their construction.

Rajbuhas are originally constructed and subsequently maintained by the Canal Officers. The requisite funds are supplied in the first instance by the Government, and are recovered from the villages by one or more payments, proportionate in amount to the benefit each proprietary community derives from the work.

The system originated on the canals west of the Jumna, where however it has never been carried to any great extent in consequence of local obstructions. East of the Jumna it was peculiarly successful; and, from its commencement in 1836, it continued to extend as speedily as the sum allowed by Government for annual advances would permit. This sum was at first very small, being only 5,000 Rupees per annum; but subsequently it was increased by degrees until, on Major Cautley's delivering over charge of the canal in 1843, it had attained to 30,000 Rupees. Shortly after-

wards a farther increase of 15,000 Rupees per annum was authorized, and, with these enlarged resources, Lieutenant Baird Smith continued to carry on the system, until in 1849 about 400 miles of these main channels had been completed.

Meanwhile the advantages of the Rajbuha system had exhibited themselves so clearly, and had received such confirmation from the researches of the medical committee, which established the fact, that irrigation so conducted was liable to none of the evils traceable to the use of private water courses from the main canal—that the superintendent was encouraged to mature and submit a project for the immediate completion of the general plan, of which the existing channels were unconnected portions. This plan involved the establishment of two chains of Rajbuhas, one on each side of the canal, and parallel to it throughout its entire course. The terminus of each Rajbuha was connected with the channel next to it, so that all surplus water from each was carried forward into the others, and brought into use without any loss.

The project received the cordial support of Major Baker, then Superintendent of Canals in the N. W. Provinces, and of the Military Board; Government authorized the necessary advances, amounting to Rs. 4,20,000, with an additional sum of Rs. 30,000 for mills; and the various works were shortly afterwards commenced and carried on with all practicable vigour.

When completed, the Rajbuha system of the Eastern Jumna Canal will consist of 500 miles of channel with all the needful works for cross communication, control of water, regulation of slope, &c., as on the main canal, although on a miniature scale. The canal will then be complete so far as its irrigating capabilities are concerned; and it is calculated that the extent of land actually watered by it will amount to 2,56,000 standard bigas, or 1,60,000 English acres.

The manner, in which the cost of the Rajbuhas is distributed among the proprietors, is described in Major Cautley's Report, Para. 239. This however has since been somewhat modified, in accordance with the wishes of the zemindars themselves. The original cost continues to be recovered by letting off a certain number of shares valued at 25 Rupees each to the villages, in proportion to their irrigable areas; but the annual expense of repairs and establishment is recovered by a rate on the land actually watered. Many years often elapse before a village can bring its whole irrigable area under the influence of the canal, and objections were made to paying annual expenses on this total area. The first modification of the system, described by Major Cautley, was

to recover the advances half-yearly, by a rate on the land watered during each Fusil, or harvest. But it was soon found that by far the heaviest share of the expenses fell on the Khurif, or rain crop, and the system was therefore unfair. The advances were then recovered yearly; and this system works to the perfect satisfaction of all the parties interested in it. One farther modification ought to be introduced, by equalizing the rate over the whole canal, instead of having a separate rate for each Rajbuha—especially as these separate rates are very nearly equal in all cases. The average of them might therefore be taken without practical injustice to any one, and with great diminution of the labour in preparing the accounts of between 40 and 50 Rajbuhas, supplying upwards of 500 villages. A general rate of 3 annas per biga, or about 7 pence per acre, per annum, would cover all expenses of maintaining the Rajbuhas; while it is found that the original construction of these works has been effected at a total cost to the proprietors of no more than Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$, or nearly 5 shillings, per acre. The cost of exactly the same class of works on the Italian canals amounts to Rs. 156, or £15-12, per acre. The cultivator in the Milanese therefore pays above sixty times more for his minor works of irrigation, than his Indian brother in the Doab.

The general advantages derived from this system of restricting irrigation to principal channels may be condensed under the following heads:—

1. The delivery of water on the best lines and levels.
2. Efficiency of control over the water by the reduced number of outlets from the main canal.
3. Economy of supply from the prevention of wastage of water by neglect of the zemindars.
4. Maintenance of the drainage lines of the adjoining country.
5. Extension of irrigation to localities to which no private water-courses could reach.
6. Prevention of village disputes by the entire charge of the channels being in the hands of the Superintendent of the Canal.
7. Combination of the full benefit of irrigation with the least possible unhealthiness.

We close our account of the works of the Eastern Jumna Canal, by annexing the accompanying abstract of them:—

1.—*Abstract of Works on the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

	Dams.			Aqueducts.		Bridges.						Chokies.					Rajbuhas.		Canal Irrigation outlets.
	Masonry.	Box works.	Drainage outlets.	Masonry.	Masonry Piers with Iron Channels.	Regulating.	Masonry.	Masonry with Timber Superstructure.	Inlets.	Canal Escapes.	Workshops.	1st Class.	2d Class.	Office Barracks, Guard Room, &c.	Falls.	Mills.	Number.	Length in Miles.	Masonry.
North Division.	4	4	1	3	..	3	8	..	6		1	3	5	1	6	3	2	21	12
Centre Division.	3	..	..	1	3	..	11	13	9	1	..	4	11	1	5	6	22	247	64
South Division..	..		..	..	..	..	34	2	9	1	1	5	10	1	3	3	23	197	60
Total..	7	4	1	4	3	3	53	15	24	2	2	12	26	3	14	12	47	465	136

The sources of revenue on the Eastern are the same as on the Western Jumna Canals; the most important being, of course, the water rent. The gradual increase of this from the opening of the canal in 1830-31 is shewn in the following statement:—

2.—*Statement of Annual Revenue from Water Rent on the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

1830-31.....	6,083	5	9	1840-41.....	89,135	14	6
1831-32.....	7,551	2	2	1841-42.....	78,885	8	5
1832-33.....	22,107	0	0	1842-43.....	1,05,064	0	8
1833-34.....	46,964	15	2	1843-44.....	86,147	1	3
1834-35.....	37,918	5	6	1844-45.....	84,786	2	0
1835-36.....	37,081	5	3	1845-46.....	96,534	4	4
1836-37.....	44,308	6	0	1846-47.....	1,07,725	1	8
1837 38.....	91,315	9	1				
1838-39.....	73,014	15	10	Grand Total...Rs.	10,95,166	11	6
1839-40.....	78,543	9	11				

In February 1842, the respective discharge of the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals were measured by their Superintendents acting together, and the results were as follow:

	Cubic Feet per second.
Discharge of Western Jumna Canals	2,277
„ Eastern, ditto ditto	538
Total discharge of canals	2,815
Total discharge of River Jumna....	3,489
Available Surplus..	674

For the year 1842-43, the revenues of the canals from water rent were respectively Rs. 2,79,300, and Rs. 1,07,064. While the discharges therefore were in the proportion of nearly 4 to 1,

the revenues were only as 2½ to 1; or, in other words, while a discharge of 538 cubic feet per second in the Eastern Jumna Canal realized to Government a water rent of Rupees 1,07,064 per annum, the same quantity of water in the Western Jumna Canal produced only 65,992 Rupees, being a difference in favour of the former of nearly 8,000 Rupees per 100 cubic feet. If the water employed in the Western were to be economised to the same extent as that in the Eastern Jumna Canals, the revenue of the former, instead of being about 2,80,000 Rupees, would rise to 4,53,000 Rupees per annum. It farther appears that of the total supply of the Western Jumna Canals, upwards of one-third, or 869 cubic feet per second out of 2,277, is absolute waste, producing no revenue to Government; making every allowance for this difference between the two canals, it must still be apparent that the wastage west of the Jumna is excessive, and the fact of its existence will strengthen the hands of those who advocate every improvement in the works that can diminish its quantity. Even on the Eastern Jumna Canal there is more waste water than there ought to be; and we do not doubt that in course of time the water now drawn by both canals from the Jumna will be rendered much more valuable to Government than it is at present.

The influence of the famine year, 1837-38, is as marked on the Eastern as we found it to have been on the Western Jumna Canals; and we subjoin a calculation of the gross value of the agricultural produce saved to the community on that occasion by the use of the canal water.

3.—*Statement of Gross value of Crops grown on land irrigated from the Eastern Jumna Canal in* 1837-38, *the greater part of which land would have been totally unproductive without the use of the canal water.*

KHURIF, OR RAIN CROPS.

12,986	acres of Sugar cane, &c., at Rs. 80 per acre	10,37,440
4,500	acres of Cotton, at 48 Rs. ditto	2,16,000
13,500	acres of Rice, Jowar, &c., at Rs. 38-4 ditto	5,16,375

RUBI, OR COLD SEASON CROPS.

65,431	acres of Wheat, Barley, &c., at Rs. 48 per acre..	31,40,688
	Total value of crops, Rs..	49,10,503

The gross value therefore of the produce saved by irrigation was nearly half a million sterling, of which about one-tenth, or £50,000, was Governmentrevenue, and the remainder the property of the agricultural community. The united Jumna Canals therefore saved, during the year 1837-38, property to the value of nearly two millions sterling.

The next item of revenue is from mill rent, of which a statement is here annexed:—

4.—*Statement of Annual Revenue from Mills on the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

1830-31	884	12	5¾	1840-41	3,297	9	2
1831-32	2,476	10	2	1841-42	3,733	12	6
1832-33	4,902	15	10¾	1842-43	6,194	0	9
1833-34	4,435	13	4½	1843-44	8,178	13	0
1834-35	3 335	6	5	1844-45	6,045	4	3
1835-36	4,728	0	7¼	1845-46	8,121	15	8
1836-37	5.154	11	2½	1846-47	7,838	0	6
1837-38	5,001	6	9				
1838-39	4,358	4	6	Grand Total...Rs.	82,975	12	4¾
1839-40	4,288	4	2				

The Eastern Jumna Canal mills are precisely the same as those formerly described on the Western Jumna Canals, and have been equally profitable to Government and convenient to the people. The Saharunpúr mills, for example, which were built at a cost of about 4,500 Rupees, are rented by public auction at 12 Rupees per day, and return about 3,000 Rupees per annum to the state, or nearly 67 per cent. The mills are left entirely in the hands of the parties renting them. No interference of any kind is exercised by the Canal Officers; but all questions of price, &c., are left to be adjusted between the renters and the parties using the mills.

The rapid fall of the country, through which the Eastern Jumna Canal passes, renders the water peculiarly available as a prime mover; but as yet corn mills only have been introduced. It is proposed to establish sugar, oil, and saw mills, and although we are not very sanguine as to the result, the experiment is worthy of trial. One thing is certain, that a great deal of valuable time will be lost in the first efforts of officers, who have but the imperfect descriptions in books to refer to as guides in the construction of machinery. Goverment should assist them by procuring working models of the most approved forms; and with these their progress would be more satisfactory to themselves, and more useful to the parties concerned, than if they are left to blunder on through numerous failures to a success ultimately imperfect, or at least only equal to what their first attempts, aided by good models, might have led to.

The revenue from watering cattle is very trifling, as but few villages irrigate to a less extent than 100 bigas per annum, and all above this standard are free from any charge.

The following statement shows the annual amount of this item:—

5.—*Statement of Annual Amount of Revenue from watering cattle on the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

1830-31	2	4	4½	1840-41	97	14	0
1831-32	107	3	2	1841-42	153	14	0
1832-33	88	14	5	1842-43	32	10	0
1833-34	52	5	6½	1843-44	137	4	0
1834-35	100	12	5	1844-45	217	15	0
1835-36	63	13	0	1845-46	103	8	0
1836-37	61	10	0	1846-47	305	0	10
1837-38	189	13	0				
1838-39	104	0	0	Grand Total,. Rs.	1,884	11	9
1839-40	65	14	0				

One of the first effects of the silting up of the bed in the centre division of the canal, formerly described, was to close the water ways of all the bridges, the water standing in all cases above the crowns of the arches; in not a few, above the road ways, and only kept from submerging the works by the parapets. With such obstructions, navigation by boats was of course impracticable, and even for rafts the difficulties were very great; not so great however as totally to stop the transit. On the contrary, when in 1833, the Superintendent issued an order prohibiting the passage of rafts in consequence of the injury they did to the bridges when being forced through the submerged arches, the remonstrances of the merchants and others were so decided, that the order was cancelled in 1836, and rafting again permitted, on the consideration that the amount of the transit duties would defray the cost of renewing the bridges. In 1846, the whole of the bridges in the centre division, and some in the south, were so remodelled as to give abundant waterway for boats and rafts. The transit duties have since risen, and continue to rise. Boats ply between Delhi and Saharunpúr, as yet only for canal purposes, in carriage of stores of all kinds, but it is hoped that the arrangements for opening the line to the community may soon be perfected.

To combine, in such manner as that both shall be efficient, irrigation and navigation on the Eastern Jumna Canal is not to be expected. The first is so incalculably more important than the second, that when demand for water on the part of the zemindars exists, navigation must yield to it; and there will always consequently be a degree of uncertainty, connected with the use of this line as a navigable one, which will impair its value.

The following statement shows the amount of transit duties:—

6.—*Statement of Annual Revenue from Transit Duties on the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

1831-32	9	7	9½	1841-42	963	2	11
1832-33	11	12	3½	1842-43	522	2	8
1833-34	7	5	2½	1843-44	351	5	11
1834-35	0	0	0	1844-45	280	14	5
1835-36	0	0	0	1845-46	414	10	9
1836-37	88	12	4½	1846-47	609	2	1
1837-38	262	3	0				
1838-39	426	8	1	Grand Total...	4,513	0	1
1839-40	566	12	7				
1840 41	0	0	0				

The plantations on the Eastern Jumna Canal were commenced simultaneously with the canal itself, and have been extended systematically from that period up to the present time. The kinds and numbers of the trees in the canal plantations are shewn below:—

Sissú	209,870	Teak	1,158
Cirrus	8,058	Toon	15,967
Kikur	28,501	Sundry	7,416
Nim	6,799		
Mulberry	9,305	Total...	291,,754
Bambus	1,906		
Lullow	2,774		

The estimated value of the plantations is 1,46,793 Rupees; and the total expense incurred by Government in their formation, up to April 1847, is Rupees 22,142-1-2, which sum, as will be seen by the following statement, has been very nearly covered by the sale of wood, &c. from the banks:—

7.—*Statement of Annual Revenue from sale of Plantation produce on the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

1830-31	592	15	3	1840-41	2,470	0	5
1831-32	606	6	2	1841-42	1,645	3	5
1832-33	665	7	7½	1842-43	1,940	7	6
1833-34	773	11	8	1843-44	1,413	12	9
1834-35	815	15	5¼	1844-45	1,704	1	11
1835-36	1,034	9	4	1845-46	1,725	11	1
1836-37	1,168	5	2	1846-47	1,842	0	11
1837-38	1,222	5	2				
1838-39	1,073	9	1	Grand Total...Rs.	21,977	2	10¾
1839-40	1,282	8	0				

In addition to the plantations of forest trees, grafted mango gardens have lately been established with the view of introducing a superior fruit into the country adjoining the canal. Of these gardens five are in existence, containing about 300 trees each, and being from three to five acres in extent. The result of their establishment has been very satisfactory; and, although only one of the number has yet arrived at maturity, they have proved very successful,—the demand for grafts and fruit being much in excess of the means of supply. The native community, for whom they were chiefly intended, have shewn their appreciation of them by purchasing a large number of grafts; and there is every probability that the intention of Government in sanctioning the project will be fully realized.

We close the details of the revenue of the Eastern Jumna Canal by giving the accompanying statement of the amount of fines imposed for breaches of canal regulations:—

8.—*Statement of Annual Revenue from Fines on the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

1830-31	730	0	3½	1840-41	4,322	8	11
1831-32	1,209	0	8	1841-42	3,785	6	1
1832-33	1,075	13	0	1842-43	3,683	0	3
1833-34	1,270	1	5	1843-44	4,535	4	4
1834-35	1,250	12	1	1844-45	5,736	4	7
1835-36	1,325	1	4	1845-46	3,086	6	11
1836-37	735	10	7	1846-47	3,434	6	7
1837-38	2,847	14	6				
1838-39	2,967	13	0	Total.. Rs.	45,807	15	3½
1839-40	3,812	6	9				

We have now to exhibit the expenses incurred in making and maintaining this canal, and shall adopt the same form as was employed for the canals west of the Jumna:—

9.—*Comparative Statement of Annual Expenditure and Income on the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

	Original Works.			Regular Establishment.			Current Repairs.			Total Expenditure.			Total Income.			Deficiency.			Surplus.		
To April	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.
1830.	3,11,239	12	4¼	1,26,755	12	6	...	...	...	4,37,995	8	10½	.....	..	...	4,37,995	8	10½	.....	...	...
1830-31	.....	...	...	29,658	10	2¾	3,958	1	9½	33,616	12	8/3	8,293	6	1¾	25,323	5	10½	.....	...	...
1831-32	12,022	4	9¼	47,905	11	2½	4,476	...	9¼	64,404	...	9	11,959	14	1½	52,444	2	7½	.....	...	...
1832-33	11,153	7	5	27,870	5	9	10,929	13	½	49,953	10	2½	28,846	15	2¾	21,086	10	11¾	.....	...	...
1833-34	19,370	13	10	31,767	14	5	20,517	13	½	71,656	9	3½	53,504	5	4½	18,152	3	11	.....	...	...
1834-35	40,256	10	6	30,999	10	7	24,295	8	3½	95,551	13	4½	43,421	3	10¼	52,130	9	6¼	.....	...	...
1835-36	36,583	7	...	29,870	1	11	24,238	8	...	90,692	0	11	44,232	13	6¼	46,459	3	4¾	.....	...	...
1836-37	26,599	7	10	41,044	4	8	30,274	...	5½	97,917	12	11½	51,517	7	4	46,400	5	7½	.....	...	...
1837-38	8,744	8	10	32,727	8	...	24,909	11	5	66,381	12	3	1,00,839	3	6	.....	...	...	34,457	7	3
1838-39	33,208	1	10	33,820	2	1	33,453	9	9	1,00,481	10	8	81,945	2	6	18,536	11	2	.....	...	...
1839-40	1,138	14	6	33,462	7	10	40,518	8	4	75,119	14	8	88,559	7	5	.....	...	...	13,439	8	9
1840-41	25,168	5	8	34,479	2	...	34,642	5	1	94,288	11	9	99,323	15	...	.....	...	...	5,034	3	3
1841-42	99,396	10	3	34,794	10	1	30,644	11	9	1,64,836	...	1	91,166	15	4	73,671	...	9	.....	...	..
1842-43	10,609	4	9	33,971	13	9	37,740	2	7	82,321	5	1	1,19,436	5	10	.....	...	...	37,115	...	9
1843-44	1,19,605	1	3	31,230	7	1	35,876	7	11	1,86,712	...	3	1,00,763	9	3	14,051	9	...	.. ...	...	...
1844-45	30,385	2	5	30,733	11	...	30,931	12	1	92,055	9	6	98,770	10	2	.....	...	...	6,715	...	8
1845-46	11,427	2	...	33,900	10	8	34,054	2	6	79,381	15	2	1,09,986	8	9	.....	...	..	30,604	9	7
1846-47	17,683	2	1	34,588	9	...	38,807	9	...	91,079	4	1	1,21,752	12	7	.....	...	...	30,673	8	6
Total...	8,14,592	5	3¾	6,99,586	8	9¼	4,60,268	13	9¾	19,74,447	11	10¾	12,54,318	11	11	9,06,251	7	8¾	1,58,039	6	9

From the first column of this statement it will be remarked how continually, from the first opening of the canal up to the present time, new works have been in progress. Nor is the expenditure on this account at an end. The thorough drainage of the centre division, with several minor works, have still to be accomplished. When these are finished however, the Eastern Jumna Canal will be nearly as perfect as a canal, with some irremediable defects of original construction, admits of being made. Comparing it with the Western Jumna and the first class Italian canals, the following are the results.

Original cost of Western Jumna Canals per mile		Rs.	2,557
Ditto first class Italian Canals	„	„	72,580
Ditto Eastern Jumna, ditto	„	„	5,640
Current expenses of Western Jumna Canals, per mile		„	310
Ditto of Italian Canals	„	„	444
Ditto of Eastern Jumna Ditto	„	„	477

The very much higher cost of Italian canals is supposed to be due to the necessity for a greater number of bridges and masonry works connected with the distribution of the water, and also to the high price paid for land in Italy—an item which does not appear in the account of the canals of British India, although our mission land revenue is granted by the Government on account of all ground occupied for canal purposes.

That the current expenses in establishments and repairs on Italian, do not exceed those on British Indian, canals in the same proportion as the original cost, is to be traced to the large number of officers of different grades employed in revenue duties on the latter, and also to the much greater difficulties experienced in carrying our canals across the beds of the mountain torrents under the Himalayas.

The duties of the different officers on the Eastern Jumna Canal are similar in all respects to those required from the establishment of the Western Jumna Canals formerly described; and we need not therefore do more now than annex the following abstract:—

10. *Abstract of Establishment of Eastern Jumna Canal.*

EXECUTIVE.				REVENUE.				POLICE.			
Europeans.				*Europeans.*				*Europeans.*			
1 Superintendent	600	..	..	1 Superintendent		..	..	1 Superintendent	..	..	..
1 First Assistant	300	..	..								
1 Second Ditto	200	..	..	*Natives.*				*Natives.*			
4 Assistant Overseers	260	..	..								
				1 Darogah	70	..	..	1 Jemadar	9	..	..
Natives.				1 Treasurer	25	..	..	3 Duffadars	18		..
				4 Zilladars	140	..	..	18 Burkundazes	72	..	..
4 English Writers	195	..	..	4 Naib Ditto	54	..	..				
1 Múnshi	30	..	..	5 Mútsuddis (Temporary)	35	..	..				
10 Mútsuddis	79	..	..	24 Chupprassis	118	..	..				
1 Duffadar	20	..	..	3 Ditto (Temporary)	15	..	..				
10 Sowars	150	..	..	5 Sowars	75	..	..				
2 Native Doctors	30	..	..	7 Measurers	35	..	..				
1 Jemadar Chuprassi	8	..	..	6 Ditto (Temporary)	30	..	..				
10 Chuprassis	55	8	..								
19 Ditto Mate	76	..	..								
2 Bricklayers	21	..	..								
3 Carpenters	29	..	..								
4 Blacksmiths	32	..									
86 Chokidars	344	..	..								
3 Klassis	14	..	..								
48 Dam Bildars	190	8	..								
Total Monthly Expenses	2,634	..	..		597	..	..		99	.	..

The statistical researches carried on west of the Jumna were at the same time in progress east of the river; and we shall now, as

briefly as may be, exhibit their results, and the conclusions, as connected with the Eastern Jumna Canal, to which they lead. The following table shows at one view the different details of the subject:

11. *Comparative Statement of Population and Government Revenue (Jumma) in the portions of districts in the Meerut Division, irrigated and not irrigated from the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

Districts.	Description.	Area in Acres.	Area in square mile.	Total area in square miles.	Population.	Total Population.	Jumma in Rupees.	Total Jumma in Rupees.	Population per square mile.	Jumma per square mile in Rs.	Average population per square mile.	Average Jumma per square mile in Rs.
Saharunpúr	Irrigated at Settlement ...	76,802	91	.....	79,488	.....	87,165	.....	873	957	.....	.....
Muzuffernuggur..	Ditto.....	85,567	101	.....	58,479	.....	1,24,937	.....	579	1,237	.....	.....
Meerut	Ditto.....	71,920	84	276	46,064	184,031	1,35,195	3,47,297	548	1,610	666	1,259
Saharunpúr	Irrigated since Settlement.	94,275	111	.....	49,593	.....	1,02,328	.....	446	922	.....	.....
Muzuffernuggur..	Ditto.....	15,249	18	.....	7,956	.....	21,133	.....	442	1,174	.....	.....
Meerut	Ditto.....	78,062	92	221	49,739	107,288	1,39,824	2,63,285	540	1,520	485	1,191
Saharunpúr	Unirrigated	1,009,362	1,192	.....	4,14,564	.....	8,77,941	.....	348	737	.....	.....
Muzuffernuggur..	Ditto.....	879,393	1,038	.....	4,28,694	.....	9,25,896	.....	413	892	.....	.....
Meerut	Ditto.....	458,896	541	2,771	2,45,047	10,88,305	6,35,893	24,39,730	452	1,175	371	772
Grand Totals.....		27,99,526		3,268		13,79,624		30,50,312	4,641	10,224	42,216	933-6-2½

The proportions of irrigated to unirrigated areas in the districts of the Meerut Division, as deduced from this table, are as follow :—

	Unirrigated acres.	Irrigated acres.
In Saharunpúr, as	1,180,439 to	171,077 or as 1 to 0.14
Muzuffernuggur, as	980,209 to	100,816 or as 1 to 0.11
Meerut, as...	598,878 to	149,982 or as 1 to 0.25

Thus Saharunpúr and Muzuffernuggur are irrigated to the extent of one-tenth, and Meerut to one-fourth, of their total areas, as given in the table. This proportion will be much increased when the Grand Ganges Canal is completed, as the irrigation of the eastern portions of these districts will then be provided for.

The proportions of the total areas of the irrigating villages actually watered are as below:—

	Irrigated acres.	Actually watered acres.
In Saharunpúr, as	171,077 to	32,780, or as 1 to 0·2
Muzuffernuggur, as.....	100,816 to	25,950, or as 1 to 0.25
Meerut, as.....	149,982 to	47,975, or as 1 to 0.32

The villages of these three districts therefore actually water annually nearly one-fifth, one-fourth, and one-third, of their total areas respectively. As a general rule the cultivators in the irrigated portion of the Saharunpúr district are decidedly inferior to those in Muzuffernuggur, and these again to those in Meerut—the western portion of which latter zillah is scarcely less thoroughly irrigated than the best tracts west of the Jumna.

Very nearly one-half of the area, now irrigated from the Eastern Jumna canal, has come under its influence since the settlement of the land revenue; and the effect of canal irrigation in increasing the income of Government is therefore very clearly proved. While the tracts of country, in which irrigation has longest prevailed, yield to Government an average revenue of 1,259 rupees, those, to which it has been more recently introduced, give 1,191 rupees, and the unirrigated lands only 772 rupees, per square mile.

We give also for the Eastern Jumna the same calculation of the total increase of the land revenue as we before gave for the Western Jumna Canals:—

12.—*Statement of Canal increase of land revenue due to the Eastern Jumna Canal.*

Saharunpúr	91	square miles at	957—	737=	Rs. 220	per square mile	=	20,020
	111	„	„ 922—	737=	„ 185	„	=	20,535
Muzuffernuggur	101	„	„ 1,237—	899=	„ 345	„	=	34,845
	18	„	„ 1,174—	892=	„ 282	„	=	5,076
Meerut	84	„	„ 1,610—1,175=		„ 435	„	=	40,540
	92	„	„ 5,520—1,175=		„ 345	„	=	31,740
Total annual increase due to the canal								1,52,756

If to this sum the annual direct revenue of the canal is added, we have the total returns equal to very nearly £27,500 per annum. The expenditure has been £81,460; and, supposing the current expenses to be £8,000, it appears that Government receives a net annual income of £19,500 on a capital of £81,460, or nearly 24 per cent.

There is the same marked difference in the returns of the two Jumna canals, as measured by their influence on the land revenue, which we formerly found in their direct incomes. While the quantity of water absorbed by them respectively, is as 4 to 1, the increase of land revenue is only as 2 to 1. Were the discharge of the Western Jumna Canal to be made efficient in the same degree as that of its sister work, the Eastern, the increase of land revenue, instead of being as now Rs. 2,96,400, would rise to Rs. 6,46,490, being an increase on this account alone of 3,50,090 rupees; to which if we add the increase in direct canal revenue formerly calculated, it will be seen that Government has the prospect of an enhancement of the income of the canal, to the extent of upwards of 5,23,000 rupees, or about £52,000 per annum. Surely if this anticipation is to be realised to even half its extent, no expense, necessary for the purpose of economising the supply of the Western Jumna Canals ought to be spared.

Of the total land revenue of the three districts traversed by the Eastern Jumna canal, about one-fifth, or Rs. 6,10,581 out of Rupees 30,50,311, is secured by it from risk of loss.

About one-fourth of the total population, or 291,319 out of 1,379,624 souls, occupy the canal villages; and the excess of rates per square mile in irrigated over unirrigated areas, is as marked east, as it was found to be west, of the Jumna. The proportions are as below :—

	Irrigated per Square mile.	Unirrigated per Square mile.	
Saharunpúr, as	604 to 348	or as 1 to	0.57
Muzuffernuggur, as.....	510 to 413	or as 1 to	0.8
Meerut,as	544 to 452	or as 1 to	0 8

Saharunpúr is exaggerated in consequence of the population of the city of that name, the lands of which are irrigated, being included in the return; but the general result appears to be that the irrigated villages support a population about one-fifth greater than those which are unirrigated.

A startling result of the statistical enquiries east of the Jumna is said to have been the discovery, from the detailed returns of population, of the continued prevalence to a formidable extent of the crime of infanticide among the different tribes of Goojurs. We have not had it in our power to examine these returns, but the subject has been repeatedly mentioned to

us on both European and native authority. Many villages are said to have been found with scarcely a female child in them, while the proportion of boys was as usual; and this striking anomaly was found only among tribes of imperfect Rajpút descent, Mahommedan and other villages exhibiting the ordinary proportions between the sexes. The crime appears to have eluded the vigilance of the local European police authorities, who were ignorant of its existence, until the population returns brought it to light. Our object in alluding to the matter is not however to find fault with the police, but to suggest to those who have the power of making it, a comparison between the returns from irrigated and unirrigated Goojur villages, with the view of discovering whether the greater increase of material comforts, and the larger amount of wealth possessed by the former, have had any effect in checking infanticide among them. Some of the finest and most prosperous villages on the Eastern Jumna canal are in possession of Goojurs, who, from having been robbers and reivers, the true congeners of the old border cattle lifters of Liddisdale and Teviot, have now become steady, settled agriculturists, scarcely inferior to the modern representatives of their ancient brethren in the West. If female infanticide is to be traced to the heavy expences attendant on the marriage of daughters, it seems not unreasonable to infer that, where increased means of meeting such expenses have been obtained, the powerful law of love of offspring should have again asserted its sway. And if our inference is supported by the facts of the case, a reason for the extension of canals of irrigation, appealing with irresistible might to every man of humanity, will have been elicited. We know the inveterate obstinacy of the prejudices of tribe,—we see how in the present instance they have evaded for years the keen eye of the law; but the removal of their first cause may have proved more effectual in destroying them, than all the repressive power of the Government or its local agents would have been.

We have now but to notice, and that very briefly, the small canals or water-courses in the valley of Deyrah, as being the only other completed works at present in existence.

These are small but most interesting canals, by which a portion of the great natural facilities for irrigation possessed by the beautiful valley of Deyrah has been taken advantage of.

The Bíjapúr watercourse, finished in 1841, is derived from the Tonse, a drainage line of one of the valleys of the great Himalayan range, and irrigates a triangular tract of country about 7,500 acres in extent, to the westward of the town of Deyrah, and bounded by the Bindal, Tonse, and Asun

rivers. The channel, after leaving the Tonse, is carried boldly along the faces of the cliffs forming the sides of the ravine in which the river flows; and, sometimes by cutting through the rocks, sometimes by raising foundations from the bottom of the ravine, by tunnels in some places, by aqueducts in others, it is brought through most difficult ground to the high land at Dhakra, whence it proceeds to Gurki, and is there divided into two branches, one to the eastward, the other to the westward. For the first mile and a half the channel is of masonry, five feet wide, and three feet deep, and the remaining distance of eight or nine miles is an earthen excavation. The supply of water is about twenty-four cubic feet per second; the original cost of the works was Rs. 15,926-14-7; and the present net income is about Rs. 2,000 per annum, or about twelve per cent.

The slope of the country over which the water-course passes is enormous, and is regulated by ninety-six masonry falls, varying from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 feet in height. Mills are established at favourable points, and return considerable profits to Government. The zemindars have not yet availed themselves, to the full extent, of the irrigating capabilities of the water-course, the country being but thinly populated and the necessity for irrigation variable.

The works were designed by Colonel Cautley, and executed, with much credit to himself, both as regards efficiency and economy, by Captain Henry Kirke, 12th Regiment N. I.

The Rajpúr watercourse, designed and executed by the same officers, is intended chiefly to supply the town of Deyrah with good drinking water, although it has a branch for irrigation extending from the cantonments over the high land by the village of Dhurrumpúr, and irrigating a triangular tract of land to the eastward of the town of Deyrah, bounded by the Bindal, Ruspunnah, and Súswa Rivers.

The masonry channel extends from the Ruspunna, some distance above the town of Rajpúr, to the large tank attached to the Sikh temple in the town of Deyrah, a distance of about seven or eight miles. North of the cantonment of Deyrah, before the irrigation branch leaves the main line, it is 4 feet wide, 18 inches deep, with a slope of 18 inches in every 160 feet, and a discharge of nearly 18 cubic feet per second.

Ten corn mills have been constructed near Rajpúr, and a circular saw mill at the village of Dhurrumpúr. The latter has however proved as yet a total failure, from causes which we do not very clearly understand, but chiefly, we believe, from imperfections in the machinery, which local resources do not appear to be adequate to vanquish.

The channel through the cantonment and town of Deyrah is 2 feet wide and 18 inches deep, opening at short intervals into tanks and reservoirs for the convenience of the inhabitants. The excessive slope gives every facility for the construction of fountains; so that, under the guidance of a local officer of taste, tact and energy, the town of Deyrah might be made one of the most beautiful and most cleanly in India. We cannot say that its present appearance is worthy of its magnificent situation, and almost unlimited capabilities; its beauties are nearly all due to nature, and very few to art. Colonel Cautley gives, in his Report, a design for a large octagonal bazar of characteristic architectural style, and ornamented by central fountains, which, if carried into effect, would have been worthy of the place; but nothing has yet been done towards the execution of the plan, although the people themselves give numerous evidences of a spirit of improvement, which requires only to be properly directed and systematised, to produce all the result desired.

The total cost of the works on the Rajpúr water course was Rs. 42,984-11-9: the net annual returns are about Rs. 3000.

These miniature canals in the Dhoon afford an excellent field for hydraulic experiments, and, in the hands of an officer, whose mind had been directed to such questions, might be made to furnish data of an invaluable character. The manageable supply, the long lines of masonry channel, the varieties of slope and head waters, furnish facilities for investigation which are not elsewhere to be met with; and, although these have not yet been taken advantage of, they probably will be, in course of time.

We have now completed our account of existing Canals of Irrigation in the provinces subject to the Government of Agra. We find that since these works first occupied the attention of the British authorities, they have expended upon them a sum of nearly £557,000, and have drawn from them in direct canal revenue nearly £546,000. They have brought under the influence of irrigation, and secured in a condition of the highest productiveness, an area of nearly 1,300,000 acres, yielding produce to the annual value of not less than 2½ millions sterling, and supporting a population of 600,000 souls, of which a considerable proportion has been reclaimed from habits subversive of all good government, destructive to themselves, and mischievous to their neighbours. Great tracts of land, formerly waste, now sustain a dense, industrious, and thriving peasantry, well supplied with every material comfort they desire, placed beyond the reach of the vicissitudes of the seasons, bearing with ease to themselves a proportion of the state burdens considerably in excess of that imposed upon their less

favoured fellow-subjects, and so sensible of the advantages they enjoy, that, even in the very worst of those localities, where inconvenience has arisen from the imperfections of the canal works, the general superiority of their circumstances is willingly admitted, and the desire for canal irrigation unhesitatingly expressed. So long as the control of the canals is vested in the local Government, the progress of improvement will be encouraged to its utmost extent; and we doubt not but that as each year passes by, the admitted evils will gradually become less and less in number and extent, until, under the skilful employment of liberal expenditure, they shall have entirely disappeared.

Before quitting the subject of existing canals, we desire to say a few words on the important question of the assessment systems now in use—a question important not merely on account of present, but far more so of prospective, canal interest.

We have already mentioned that two systems of assessment are at present employed: 1st, the measurement system, which entails the actual measurement of the crops after each harvest, according to which discriminating rates of water rent are levied. This system is employed exclusively on the Eastern Jumna and Dhún canals, and partially on the canals west of the Jumna, to the extent of nearly one-third of the land irrigated. The objections to this arrangement are palpable: its tendency is to impede, instead of to promote, the extension of irrigation, to deteriorate, rather than improve, agricultural operations, to introduce an incessant, minute, and harrassing, interference of the Government establishments with the cultivators, and to make irrigation rather a species of gambling, than a steady uniform part of the zemindar's measures. Every cloud in the sky is watched, every symptom of rain checks irrigation; and, in the hope of being able to dispense altogether with canal water, cultivators will occasionally allow their crops to be seriously injured by the delay. There is but one argument in favour of the system, which is, that if a canal is incessantly altering its levels, as the Eastern Jumna canal has hitherto been doing, or if the supply of water is exceedingly uncertain, as is the case in those parts of the Western Jumna canal, where measurement continues to be employed, no permanent settlement could be effected, the terms of which could be maintained. We believe that, west of the Jumna, justice requires that the partial use of measurement should be continued, as great limitations being made to it is possible. east of the Jumna, the time has, we think, arrived, or is near at hand, when the measurement system may, with justice to the state and the community, be entirely remodelled.

The second system is the permanent settlement by contracts

for 20 years, by which about two-thirds of the Western Jumna Canal irrigation is secured. In adjusting this contract system it is admitted that very little aid was sought from science: the average revenue paid by the various villages for the three years previous to the time of settlement, checked by reference to maximum years, was assumed for the permanent annual demand of the Government; and it was found that, in the formation of contracts with villages for which such data did not exist, a rate, per square inch of area of outlet, of from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8, was a fair approximation to the value of the water; the Superintendent however had large discretionary powers in the matter.

It is evident that this contract system is a marked advance upon the method by measurement, some of the most objectionable features of which are obviated by it. But it is still imperfect. It is founded on no certain basis, and involves the necessity of first determining by measurement what the irrigating capabilities of villages are, before data for permanent settlements can be procured. It could not therefore be employed in any new field with any degree of confidence; and, although there is good reason to believe that it has worked well in its own sphere, it cannot be carried beyond that. But the real importance of the question of assessment arises from the vast scale on which it will be necessary in a few years to entertain it in an entirely new sphere, when the Grand Ganges Canal shall be opened for irrigation; and for this it is absolutely essential that we should make early preparations.

We have thought much and often on what these preparations should be, and we give our conclusions, more in the hope that they may prove suggestive, than in the belief that they meet adequately all the difficulties of the case.

The settlement of so large a portion of the Western Jumna Canals does not admit of their being employed as so direct a field of improvement. But the Eastern Jumna Canal is untrammelled; its system of irrigation by Rajbuhas is the same as that designed for the Ganges canal; its levels may now be considered as practically fixed; and we see no reason why its system of assessment should not be made the model for that of the Ganges canal, as its works have been the models for those of that great undertaking. Our subsequent remarks will therefore apply exclusively to the Eastern Jumna Canal.

The desiderata in a satisfactory system of assessment are, that, while it secures to Government the rapid realization of the just value of the water, it should adopt itself freely to all the necessities of the cultivation; should contain within itself the principle of free expansion to the full extent of the capabilities of

the canal; should provide against wastage, while it encouraged economy; and should leave the Zemindars as free as possible from all interference in the use of the water, after they had once paid the value which Government had put upon it.

The problems that arise are therefore to establish the just value of the water, and to determine the best method of issuing it. And here, at the very threshold of the subject, we are met by the unquestionable fact, that, in the present state of our information, we possess no means whatever of settling either of these points in any other way than that of the rudest approximation. Our enquiries must therefore begin at the very beginning, and to conduct these with success we believe that no other measure will be really effective than the appointment of a canal settlement officer, who may be able to give his undivided attention to the subject. Most willing, as we know the present Superintendent of the Canal to be, to undertake this or any other duty required of him, we believe that no man can efficiently settle the present question, whose mind is distracted by the unceasing demands a large executive charge involves. To suppose that the problem is an easy one—that the data for its solution may be collected in a haphazard way—that it may be taken up or laid down as other engagements permit, is mere ignorance. It is a question on which the undivided energies of an active and competent mind must be concentrated, and the amount of labour involved is neither small in kind nor extent.

The first duty of the settlement officer would be to cover the country under the influence of the canal with a net work of sections, parallel, and at right angles, to the canal. It would require no great amount of ingenuity to devise such a method of protracting the results of these sections, and of connecting them with the levels of the canal itself, that, by a glance at the map, the *irrigability* of any required locality might at once be ascertained.

The next step would be to determine, by careful, detailed, and varied experiments in different localities, the actual quantity of water required to give full and efficient irrigation to the various crops grown in canal villages. This quantity of water must be ascertained by measurement under circumstances as they actually exist, not by the use of formulas calculated from inapplicable data. Simultaneously with the above, equally careful and detailed experiments must be made on the actual discharges of principal and subordinate water-courses, under varying circumstances of opening of outlet, depth of head water, difference of slope, and such other points as may be found to exist. We do not advocate any extreme accuracy in these investigations; we are well

aware of the difficulties they will present; but at the same time we feel certain that results of the utmost practical value may be obtained from them; and in short, until they are made, we do not see how any system of assessment really efficient can be devised.

With data of this practical character, regarding the quantity of water required for irrigating given areas of land, and the dimensions of outlet necessary for given discharges, we are prepared to establish a fixed standard, by which the distribution of the water to the cultivators may be regulated.

The standard of the Italian system of assessment is the "Oncia," or Milanese inch, which corresponds with the quantity of water passing through an aperture 6 inches high, 8 inches wide, and open 2 inches below the surface of the water, giving a discharge according to the ordinary formula of nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ cubic feet per second.* The discharge is supposed to be regulated by a machine, called a "Modulo;" but we have no reason to believe that the regulation is very rigidly exact.

What the Indian standard should be, is a point requiring careful investigation. It must be adapted to the circumstances and necessities of the cultivators: and we do not find the existing information regarding these sufficiently exact to warrant us in expressing any decided opinion on the question. We may say however, in general terms, that we should be disposed to recommend the adoption of such an area of outlet, as would give a quantity of water sufficient for the irrigation of a certain minimum extent of land. This minimum can only be determined after careful enquiry as to the actual wants of the zemindars. When so determined, some simple vernacular name should be attached to it, corresponding to the "Oncia" of the Italians; and all irrigation outlets should be made to consist of a certain number of these standard inches, or whatever they may be called. The reasons for making a minimum standard are so evident that we need not dwell upon them.

The question of the regulation of discharge next presents itself. To attempt to regulate all village water-courses, numbering (as these do) several thousands, we regard as impracticable, and, even if practicable, most unadvisable—in as much as it would place an enormous degree of power in the hands of a corrupt, because under-paid, establishment, and would lead to much harassing interference with the agricultural community. We are therefore of opinion that regulation should be restricted to the central points furnished by the heads of Rajbuhas, or princi-

* The Oncia varies somewhat in different localities. The above is the most general, and best known.

pal channels ; and that, for village water-courses, it should be sufficient to make masonry outlets, which would not admit of being tampered with, and the discharge from which would be practically fixed.

The details of regulation must occupy the attention of the settlement officer ; he must determine whether any, and what, form of measuring apparatus will be best ; the best positions, and the number, of such apparatus for each main channel ; and such other points as the course of the investigation may suggest. There are no difficulties, connected with any of these points, which may not be overcome ; and much of the success of the system will depend on the arrangements made for the distribution and regulation of the supply. It would occupy too much space and time to give in this place the details which present themselves to us on the present branch of the question ; and we must content ourselves by stating, that to give efficiency to the arrangements, which the settlement officer may find it best to adopt, a native establishment will be required of higher qualifications and purer morality, than any at present available. We may look to the College of Civil Engineering at Rurkhi to furnish the men, and to Government to grant them suitable remuneration.

Finally, it will remain to determine the just value of the water issued under the new system. This is a question of some difficulty, and involves several considerations. The rate must not be too high, lest the use of canal water should be found unprofitable ; neither must it be too low, since there would then be no check upon wastage, and no motive for economy in the consumption of the supply.

The same quantity of water is not equally valuable under all circumstances, and it would be necessary to devise some scale of ready application to the different cases that occur in practice. It would be part of the settlement officer's duty to collect information on this point ; to compare the expenses of canal, with those of other kinds of, irrigation ; and, with the light which experience of the measurement system affords, to determine a rate, or rates, by which the fair claims of the state may be made compatible with the interests of the people.

We have dwelt too long we fear on this assessment question ; but it is THE question of the present stage of canal progress, and this must be our excuse. Its satisfactory adjustment will be as important to the canal department, as the land settlement was to the general revenue of the country ; and as this latter measure has, by its admirable elucidation of all rights in land, raised the value of property in a remarkable degree, so, we believe, is the

former measure, by its establishment in equal detail of all rights of water, calculated to produce results of corresponding importance. It would have been out of place to have entered upon minute details here; but our suggestions as to the general features of the plan, imperfect although they are, may perhaps be found useful. We have invariably objected to the crude and immature projects, which from time to time have been advanced by zealous, but imperfectly informed, advocates of improvement; and we shall therefore rejoice all the more to see the measures necessary for setting this question on a comprehensive and satisfactory basis, in active progress at the earliest possible period.

In passing now to the consideration of projected canals, we find these naturally subdivide themselves into two classes. 1st, canals projected, and in progress of execution; and 2nd, canals projected, but not yet commenced. It will be most convenient to dispose of the latter class first.

The most important projected canals are those designed for the irrigation of the country between the Jumna and Sutlej, and drawing their supplies of water, either directly, or indirectly, from these rivers, or rendering available the minor streams by which the tract is traversed. Details of these various projects are given in the reports on canals in the Delhi territory by Major Baker of the Engineers, Captain Brown of the Revenue Survey, and other officers of whose labours these gentlemen have availed themselves.

The first in order is a project for rendering available for the irrigation of a part of the districts of Hissar and Bhuttiana, the waters of the Cuggur* river, the most important of the Sub-Himalayan drainage lines. This river, rising in the Pinjúr valley, traverses in a south-westerly direction the protected Sikh states, the British territories in Hissar and Bhuttiana, the Bikanír state, and may be traced to the Sutlej in the Bhawulpúr country. During the cold season, its supply is very small; so small indeed as to be of but little value in the upper part of its course, and of none in our own territories, the whole of the water being absorbed before it reaches there. It is upon the rain-floods that the irrigation of the adjoining country depends; and it is to regulate these, and to facilitate their progress through our own districts, that the project under description is directed.

The Cuggur river, like nearly all other Sub-Himalayan drainage lines, may be described generally as a stream flowing in a defined and very tortuous bed through a wide valley, vary-

* Otherwise Ghuggur.

ing in breadth from half a mile to three, or even four miles. The transverse section of the defined bed is of course exceedingly variable ; but it is generally from about 100 to 150 feet in width, and from 6 to 14 feet deep, in the part comprehended by the present project. The whole of the valley is usually submerged, or means are taken to cause it to be so, during the rainy season ; and, from the effects of the saturation thus produced, the land bears a good cold weather crop.

The Cuggur leaves the protected Sikh states in the vicinity of the village of Phúlund. During its passage through these territories, its waters are rendered available for irrigation by means of "Bunds," or earthen embankments carried across the bed of the river. To this most injudicious and destructive system the gradual deterioration of the bed of the river is principally due. North of each embankment, the silt charged waters deposit annually new layers of sand, which in many places have already obliterated the defined bed, and caused the stream to spread over the valley, and to lose its power of forcing its way to the lower portions of its course. The wastage of water, so valuable in these arid tracts, is also frightful, from the total absence of all means of regulation, or control. With the increased facilities late events have afforded us, measures ought to be taken to regulate the consumption of the waters of the Cuggur before they enter the British districts, so as to secure for the inhabitants of these their just share of the stream.

South of Phúlund, the Cuggur throws off a branch, called the Choya, Chonya, or Cuggur nala ; and all officers, who have directed their attention to the question, agree in considering that this branch is in all respects more favourable for purposes of irrigation than the main stream.

Major Baker's project accordingly consists of two masonry dams, or regulators, connected by a revetement wall. One dam, of 78 feet waterway, crosses the bed of the main stream ; the second, of 52 feet, will regulate the discharge into the Choya. Means are provided for distributing the flood waters between the two channels, the first floods of the season being passed down the Cuggur so as to fill the various jhíls, or depressions in its course, on the contents of which the people depend for water during the dry season.

The channel of the Choya is to be remodelled by straightening its tortuous course, and so increasing its effective fall.

The expense of these measures is estimated at no more than Rupees 34,265-4-10, while the return to Government, by merely insuring the land rent from the fluctuations caused by deficiency of the ordinary supply of water, exceeds *two-thirds* of the esti-

mated expense, being Rupees 24,330-15-4 ; while the increase of supply, insured by the new arrangements, would provide irrigation for an additional extent of land amounting to 78,097 acres, and furnishing, at the very moderate assessment of 8 annas per acre, a revenue of Rupees 39,048½ per annum.

Obstacles would appear to have arisen to the execution of this promising project; the chief of which seems to have been the fact, that certain villages in the vicinity of the site of the dam at Phúlund, including this site itself, were claimed by, and would probably be granted to, the Rajah of Pattiala. Still there could have been no practical difficulty in securing the management of the dam, and indeed the general regulation of the whole course of the river in the hands of English officers ; and it can scarcely be doubted that the result would have been to improve greatly its capabilities.

A suggestion has been made to furnish to the Cuggur river a regular supply during the rainy months from the Delhi canal, from which the water can then, without difficulty, be spared. The scheme is practicable ; and the propriety of its execution is simply a question of comparison between the expense of the works, and the benefits to be derived from them. As yet no measures seem to have been taken to procure materials for such comparison ; but the plan is worthy of investigation, and should not be lost sight of.

The practicability of turning the waters of the Sutlej to use for purposes of irrigation early attracted the attention of our Mahommedan predecessors, and several traces of ancient canals from that river still exist. Such historical records as are available attribute most of them to the period of Feroze so fruitful in works of irrigation : but it must be confessed, that the allusions to his Sutlej canals are so indistinct, and in some cases so irreconcilable with the topographical features of the country, that it is almost impossible to make any thing satisfactory out of them. We need not therefore do more than allude to these old works ; and we now proceed to detail what has been done by the British Government.

To Major W. E. Baker of the Bengal Engineers belongs the merit of having first clearly and satisfactorily established the perfect practicability of a canal of irrigation from the Sutlej, and of having supplied such data as admit of a fair approximate estimate of the probable expense and returns from such a work being made.

Major Baker's project does not affect to be the best that could be framed. The brief period allowed for his survey made it impossible for him to examine the country in that degree of

detail, which is a necessary preliminary to the actual execution of a great canal. But he has proved in the clearest manner the following most important facts; that an immense tract of British territory, now a desert, is admirably suited, both by the nature of its soil, and the profile of its surface, to take the fullest advantage of any means of irrigation that may be placed within its reach; that the introduction into this tract of a stream of water from the Sutlej is physically practicable; and that the probable benefit is so great, as to warrant Government in undertaking the work, when means are available.

The tract of country, whose improvement is contemplated by the Sutlej canal, consists of part of the district of Hissar, and nearly the whole of Bhuttiana, called commonly the "Hard Desert." It is a bleak, wretched, and (without water) most sterile land. The wells are so deep that artificial irrigation is impossible: the water is so brackish and impure, that none, save natives of the tract, can drink it with impunity; rains are scanty, and precarious vegetation is represented by a few stunted thorn bushes, or a temporary crop of grass over the great parched plains. Under circumstances so ungenial, the population is necessarily scanty and lawless, deriving their subsistence chiefly from herds of cattle, and addicted to the marauding habits common to pastoral tribes.

The question here is, therefore, not to improve agriculture, but to create it; not to provide, as in the Doab, for the casual occurrence of an unfavorable season, but to supply by the resources of science a substitute for that deficiency of rain, which is the rule, and not the exception; and finally, to enable an extensive and capable province to become, by its increased resources, and the progressive improvement of its inhabitants, a source of strength and revenue to the state, instead of being, as now, a burthen and weakness.

These are noble aims, worthy of an enlightened and Christian Government, and we shall now briefly detail the measures by which it is proposed to attain them.

The river Sutlej, after flowing for between 300 and 400 miles within the Himalayan range, breaks through the low hills on the southern face of these mountains at the town of Roopur. For twelve or fourteen miles above this point, the stream flows through a valley, varying from 1 to 4 miles in width, bounded by low ranges of hills, consisting generally of unconsolidated strata of clay and sand, intermixed with kunkur. The discharge is estimated at 5,100 cubic feet per second; the fall is about 4 feet per mile; and the bed is generally sandy, with occasional layers of shingle.

On judicious and satisfactory grounds, the head of the proposed canal is fixed at a place called Búnga, 13 miles above Roopur.

At this point traces of an ancient canal, said to have been excavated by Mirza Kúndí, the Governor of Sirhind under Mahommed Shah (probably IV.), were found, and with occasional interruptions were observed as far to the southward as Sirhind.

To restore this old line, connecting it with the Sirhind Nala, whereby the stream would be carried in one main channel to Sungrúr, a total distance from the head of nearly 90 miles, appeared to Major Baker to be the most economical plan of delivering the water at a point from which it might be favourably distributed, by two branch canals, to northern Hissar, and the Bhuttí states.* The Hissar branch would be forty miles, the Bhuttiana branch 100 miles in length.

The chief, indeed the only, difficulties occur in the first forty miles from the head. These are three in number. The 1st, is the want of permanence in the bed of the Sutlej, giving cause to anticipate some difficulty in maintaining the canal supply. This it is proposed to remedy by building a masonry dam across the bed of the stream, whereby considerable security against alteration would be obtained. The 2nd, is the deficiency of fall in the country from Búnga to Sirhind. This fall is only 40 feet in forty-one miles; and, as the depth of digging at the canal head is 6 feet, the effective fall available for the canal channel is only 34 feet in forty-one miles, or 9.9 inches, say 10 inches, per mile. This is a small slope certainly for an Indian canal; but it might be increased to 12 inches, by adopting planks, or gates, to the piers of the masonry dam, so as to obtain during the season of irrigation 5 or 6 feet of additional head water. With even the lower regimen of slope, however, we believe the canal would be found efficient; and we hold the difficulty to be of no great importance. The 3rd, is the very deep excavation, ranging in the first fifteen miles south of the Sissúwala Nala, from 32 to 20 feet. It is considered probable that farther examination might lead to a better line being found, south of Roopur—a very likely result; but, even if unattained, the deep digging is not without its advantages, inasmuch as it admits of the hill drainage being all passed *over* the canal instead of through it,

* That the plan proposed by Major Baker would be the cheapest available may be true, but that it would be the best is, we think, open to question. Nothing is more certain than that the occupation of old lines, and the employment of existing river beds, have proved fruitful sources of evil on canals now in operation, and we believe that it would be true economy to avoid them. The levels are almost universally low, and the channels tortuous, both objections of serious importance in canals of irrigation; and we therefore trust the Sutlej canal, if ever undertaken, will be constructed independently of former lines, or nalas, even although this should entail some additional expense.

as is the case on the Jumna canals, where it is the source of so much evil and expense. On the whole therefore the difficulties of the project are not of serious consequence at their worst; and we doubt not but that the resources of the officers, who may be employed on the works, will prove adequate to vanquish them all.

The estimated expense of the Sutlej canal, with works on such a scale as to make it competent to a discharge of 2,500 cubic feet per second, is Rupees 25,00,000, or £250,000. This estimate is a liberal and sufficient one, and would probably be found to exceed considerably the actual cost.

The probable returns, so far as the Government is concerned, will consist of water rent, and such increase of land rent, as irrigated tracts under similar circumstances have been found to yield. As regards the first item, it is calculated that 2,000 cubic feet of water will reach the irrigating districts; and, assuming the low average rate of the Western Jumna canals as the standard, this discharge is competent to the irrigation of 312,000 acres. The average water rent, west of the Jumna, is exactly one rupee per acre; consequently the return to Government from this source would amount to Rupees 3,12,000 per annum.

To form an approximate estimate of the increase of land revenue which Government may anticipate, we avail ourselves of the statistical table of the Western Jumna canals formerly given; and we assume that the influence of these canals on the district of Hissar may be taken as a guide in forming an opinion as to the influence of the Sutlej canal on the same district, and the adjoining one of Bhuttiana.

From the table we accordingly find that, while the rate of land revenue per square mile of unirrigated localities in the district of Hissar is Rs. 156, that for irrigated tracts is Rs. 485, giving a difference in favour of the latter of Rs. 329 per square mile. Again, we find that the area on which the increased land rent is calculated, bears to the area actually watered the proportion of 2 to 1; hence, as the Sutlej canal actually waters 312,000 acres, the increased land revenue must be calculated on twice this area, or 624,000 acres, being 737 square miles. The increase of land revenue may therefo re at once be shown as below: 737 square miles of irrigated land at Rs. 329 per square mile = Rs. 2,42,473.

The total direct pecuniary return to Government from both the preceding sources would accordingly be Rs. 5,54,473 per annum, on an invested capital of Rs. 25,00,000, or nearly 22 per cent.

We must not however restrict our views to the benefits Government will derive from the project. We must consider also the gain to the community, by bringing so large a surface of country, now a desert, under cultivation to the same extent as we find it on the Western Jumna canals. The benefit to the community will be represented by the gross value of the agricultural produce, which the Sutlej canal will admit of being obtained from land which now yields none. Taking the results on the Western Jumna canals again as our guides, we estimate the value of the produce alluded to as below :—

KHURIF CROPS

13,000	Acres of	Sugar Cane,	at Rs. 80	= 10,40,000
52,000	„	of Cotton	at „ 48	= 24,96,000
52,000	„	of Rice, Jowar, &c.,	at „ 38-4	= 19,89,000
		RUBI CROPS.		
195,000	„	of Wheat, Barley, &c.,	at Rs. 48	= 93,60,000
Total Gross value of Crops on Sutlej Canal...Rs.				1,48,85,000

Time will, of course, be required to create this property of the value of nearly one and a half millions sterling per annum ; but it is only necessary to compare the state of the Hissar district, before the Western Jumna canals were restored, with its condition in its irrigating villages for the last ten years, to be satisfied that, with the supply of water, the first necessity of agriculture in North Western India, there will come a population able and willing to use it.

The benefits of the proposed canal now mentioned are such as admit of being approximately estimated in money ; but there are others which are measurable by no such standard. Among these are the moral benefits to be derived from introducing agricultural habits among a lawless and semi-barbarous people, converting them from wandering shepherds into settled, contented, and prosperous cultivators ; and the physical benefits to be anticipated from restoring fertility to a large tract of country, the increased moisture of which may probably so re-act, as to secure more constant and more abundant supplies of rain over the adjoining districts, and thus improve the condition of those who cannot directly benefit by the canal. The numerous traces of former rivers unconnected with any mountain ranges, and the ruins of towns along their banks, show that these desert regions once enjoyed a far more generous supply of rain than they now do. We may hope again to re-establish this happier state of things, and thus to check that deluge of sand, which threatens to submerge so large a portion of their surface.

The Secretary to Government (N. W. P.) in the correspondence before us, justly characterises the Sutlej canal as "a splendid undertaking." When the time arrives at which Government can carry the project into effect, we trust it will be made even more "splendid," by such an extension of its dimensions, as will admit of its bringing into use the entire supply of the Sutlej at Roopur. The sole objection to this is, that for three or four months of the year, the navigation between Ferozepúr and Lúdiana would be impeded; but the extent of this navigation must be trifling indeed, in comparison with the advantage to the state and the community from doubling the effective discharge of the canal. Major Baker's estimate for the original project is so liberal, that we believe the proposed extension would be effected for about one-half more than the sum he mentions, while all returns would be doubled. We are therefore disposed to hope, that as the Grand Ganges canal will render memorable in these provinces the civil administration of Lord Auckland, so the Grand Sutlej canal may illustrate that of Lord Dalhousie

A canal having its head of supply to the westward of Lúdiana, near a place called New Tiharah, has also been projected, with the view of bringing into use the water of the Sutlej during the rains. This work has, however, on more careful examination of the country proved to be, although practicable, so little likely to be profitable in comparison with its cost, that it has for the present been abandoned; and we need therefore only mention it here.

Crossing the Jumna, to the eastward, the only projected works are measures to take advantage of the streams which, rising in or near the Siwalic range, traverse the districts of Saharunpur and Muzuffernuggur. It is very desirable to subject these streams to professional control, so that their waters may be rendered available for irrigation, without entailing the evils we have seen to prevail on the unregulated rivers west of the Jumna.

The extension of irrigation in the eastern portion of the valley of Deyrah, and the drainage of those great swamps which at present render this tract so fatal to human life, are also projected, but have not yet been undertaken. There is here a great and most interesting field for improvement, and, until the projected drainage arrangements are carried into effect, this portion of the Dhún must continue, as now, to be worse than useless to the State and community. The facilities for drainage in the vicinity of the great swamps are remarkable; there are numerous channels of escape connected with the Ganges, the rapid slopes of the beds of which would make them most efficient; and nothing more is required than to select the most convenient of

these, and to connect them with the swamps by drainage cuts of adequate dimensions, and properly adjusted levels. The work will not, it is true, advance very rapidly, as men can exist in these jungles only for three or four months of the year; but as each swamp is drained, the salubrity of the adjoining country may be expected to improve, and with each year of progress a larger period of time for active operations would be made available. It is now some years, we believe, since the Court of Directors expressed their wish that the preceding operations should be set in progress; but the want of qualified men to superintend them has apparently prevented their being undertaken. It is trifling with the question to call upon the local civil officer to devise plans for works which, simple although they are, require some professional knowledge and experience to secure their being designed efficiently, and executed economically. This duty properly devolves on the executive officer of the canal department in the Dhún; and to him we may look for the detailed plans required to carry into effect the general design already sketched out by Colonel Cautley in his "Memoranda on the Dhún water-courses."

It remains for us now to notice the third and last class of the canals of the British Government, those namely, which at this time are in course of execution.

Although it is in some degree transgressing the strict limits we had prescribed to ourselves, we shall first briefly describe the canals of the Punjab, now in progress under the superintendence of Major Napier of the Bengal Engineers, the Chief Engineer to the Lahore Government.*

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* It will readily be discovered that the above account of canals in the Punjab was written prior to the Campaign of 1848-49, which has just terminated in the extinction of the dynasty of Runjit Sing, and the extension of the frontier of British India to the base of the Suliman mountains. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the conduct of the long series of operations which have thus closed, there are, we believe, very few who do not heartily rejoice in their consummation. Whatever power may be paramount in the country, our remarks on the means available for its agricultural improvement retain all their force. Under these impressions we leave them, although written as far back as April 1848, untouched.

It may be well however to note that the last paper on the list heading this article deals with the question of canals in the Punjab in greater detail than we attempted, and with advantages of personal knowledge of localities, which we did not possess.

Lieut. Baird Smith proposes to apply very nearly the whole available waters of the Punjab to agricultural purposes. This supply, amounting, according to the best data procurable, to about 12,000 cubic feet per second, would furnish sufficient irrigation for a tract of country, containing upwards of 8 millions of acres. The method of distributing the waters proposed is to carry a main line of canal through each of the three Doabs included in the project, the Bari, Richna, and Jetch. From these main lines branches would be carried to the right and left wherever required; and, as water is the only element of agricultural prosperity now wanting, there can be little doubt that the completion of the series of works suggested would render the Punjab one of the most profitable acquisitions ever made by the British Government. The utmost limit of the expenditure required has been fixed, on liberal

The extraordinary facilities for irrigation possessed by the land of the five rivers, in its abundant supply of water, its wide plains sloping gently from the base of the Himalayas, and the natural fertility of its irrigated soil, would lead us to anticipate the existence of canals, dating from the period of the Mahommedan empire. And so it is; for there are numerous traces of ancient canals, and old systems of irrigation, which had been in existence long previous to the time of Sikh superiority. Of these the most important, and indeed the only one, which has continued to flow perennially amidst all the distractions of that harassed land, is the "Shah Nuhr," which, leaving the Ravi at its debouchement from the hills, brings water to Amritsir and Lahore, supplying the sacred tank of the one, and the Shalimar Garden at the other of these cities, and ultimately, after flowing for nearly 110 miles, returning to the Ravi near the latter.

The alignment of this canal is good, and crosses only two easily manageable mountain torrents, the Jena and the Chukhi. Its supply has hitherto, however, been only about 200 cubic feet per second, and has been liable to occasional diversion from purposes of irrigation, when water was in request at Amritsir and Lahore. Of this supply a large portion is wasted by neglect, the dishonesty of the native establishment, and other causes, so that the present revenue is little more than one-third of what a similar canal in the British Provinces would produce, although the rates of water rent are double of those which our Government levies.

The means available for the improvement of the Punjab canals are very limited, being only Rs. 1,38,000 per annum. But even with this sum, judiciously expended, much may be done.

The total discharge of the Ravi, when at its minimum in

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estimates, at nearly Rs. 60,00,000 or £600,000; and it is calculated from official data that, when the proposed system had attained its full development, the land revenue of the three Doabs would amount to Rs. 3,40,00,000, or nearly 3½ millions sterling per annum. The land revenue of the Sind Sagur Doab, the Peshawur, Derajat, and Hazareh countries, not included in the project, with the miscellaneous revenues of the state, are supposed to add about half a million to the above estimate, making the total revenue of the Punjab about 4 millions annually. We cannot of course enter into the details of the calculations from which the preceding results are obtained; but they are carefully derived from official documents, and there seems to be no good reason for questioning their general correctness. We are certain that the subject is one which will receive early attention from the present Lahore Government; and we earnestly hope that the necessary measures will be undertaken in a liberal spirit, and with comprehensive views. Imperfectly executed canals of irrigation are of questionable benefit to a country; when efficiently constructed, and judiciously administered, their beneficial influence is well nigh without alloy.

January 1848, was found to be 2,718 cubic feet per second, the whole of which Major Napier's remodelled canal would ultimately bring into use for irrigation.

Now a canal having a discharge of 2,718 cubic feet per second is capable, according to the Eastern Jumna canal standard, of actually watering 500,112 acres each year, and of furnishing sufficient irrigation for a tract of country three times this area, or 1,500,000 acres in extent, being nearly 1,900 square miles. The influence on the prosperity of the Bari Doab, or the country between the Beas, the Sutlej, and the Ravi, by bringing so large a portion of its surface under the influence of irrigation, would be, as in all similar cases, great and immediate. The discharged soldiers of the Sikh army, now swarming in the poverty-stricken villages of this tract, would find in agricultural occupations a means of existence, and in the increased value of their property a source of interest in the stability of our rule. That in the villages, on the banks of the "Shah Nuhr," Major Napier and the officers under his orders should not have found a single soldier, all having passed back into their original condition of agriculturists, is a fact so full of meaning, as to merit the careful consideration of those to whom the permanent settlement of the Punjab has been committed. We believe that, in the increase of wealth and all personal enjoyments, the improvement in the value of property, the security from all the ordinary contingencies to which agriculture is exposed, which invariably have followed the introduction of canals of irrigation, our Government would find its best guarantees for peace and quietness among a warlike people, who will always prefer the chances of a state of disturbance to the certainties of such a state of repose as now exists, in which they are mere excrescences on the body politic, without occupation, without resources, and without hope.

The remodelled "Shah Nuhr," or Ravi canal, will consist of one main channel from the head to Dínanuggur. From this point a branch will strike off to the eastward for the irrigation of the Eastern Manjha country. The main canal, continuing its southern direction, will throw off another branch for the irrigation of the Western Manjha, while minor channels will supply the wants of the cities of Lahore and Amritsir.

The total length of the Ravi canal will be about 340 miles. To form an idea of its cost we may compare it with the Western Jumna canal, which has a nearly equal discharge. This canal, including all the masonry works executed upon it up to the present time, has cost 2,557 rupees per mile of its total length. The expense of the Ravi canal would therefore be Rupees

10,69,380 We have before mentioned that Rupees 1,38,000 are available for canal operations in the Punjab annually. It would consequently require upwards of eight years to complete this one canal, supposing the whole available sum were appropriated to it, which is more than could be expected. The prospect is therefore not a very cheerful one ; but are there no means of facilitating the execution of a work, the importance of which to the prosperity of the country is undeniable? We believe there are, and that it would be to the interest of our Government to advance to the Lahore state, as a loan, the funds requisite for carrying on the canal. Leaving out of consideration the political motives for such a step, let us, in a few words, exhibit the pecuniary relations of the question.

We have seen that the Ravi canal will be competent to irrigate 500,000 acres, on which a water rent of Rs. 1 per acre—being the average rate of the Jumna canals, and only half of the present Punjab rate—would secure an annual revenue of Rs. 5,00,000: we leave out of present consideration the increase of land revenue, which might at the same time be anticipated.

The annual repairs and the expenses of establishment on the Western Jumna Canals amount to Rs. 310 per mile. Consequently the total annual expenses of the Ravi canal would be Rs 1,05,400, and, supposing that Government claims five per cent. on the advances made, an additional annual expenditure of Rs. 53,469 would be incurred on this account. The case would therefore stand thus—

Total Estimated Annual Income,.....	5,00,000
Ditto do. do. Expenses,.....	1,58,869
Net Annual Income available for repayment of advance,.....	3,41,131

These results allow a wide margin for possible disappointment, yet we feel as sure as one can be on such a subject, that, within ten years from the commencement of the work, the debt would be cleared off, and the revenue secured intact to the Lahore Government, while the land would be improved, and the people made prosperous and contented. To the latter the work would be most acceptable, as they shewed by accompanying the Survey Officers in crowds, pointing out the ground to them, and expressing the utmost anxiety to be supplied with the means of bringing their lands under cultivation. More would be done to settle the Punjab by such works of internal improvement as the Ravi canal, than by ten thousand British bayonets.

Passing to the westward of the Ravi, or into the Richna

Doab, we find the "Shekúpúr canal," derived from an affluent of the river Chenab, and furnishing irrigation to a considerable tract of country during the rainy season. The original object of the canal appears, however, rather to have been to supply water for the imperial palace and hunting grounds at Shekúpúr, than for purposes of irrigation.

To make the waters of the Chenab available to a like extent, as is proposed in the case of the Ravi, will be an object worthy of attention, when funds are made available. By means of a Chenab canal, the Ríchna Doab might be converted into a garden, and its great jungles replaced by sheets of the most luxuriant cultivation.

The Jhelum does not appear to have ever furnished any means of irrigation; although in the hands of English officers we doubt not that it would contribute its quota to the general improvement of the Punjab.

From the Indus, above Dhera Ghazí Khan, a considerable canal has been drawn. It is reported to be about 21 miles in length, 30 feet in breadth, and 8 feet in depth. It is however employed at present only when the river is swollen by the melting of the snow on the hills, or by rains; but a perennial stream could doubtless be established.

There are many canals in the Múltan country, to which much attention was paid by Dewan Sawun Mull and his son Múlraj.

Along the whole of the country at the base of the hills, from the Beas to Peshawur, irrigation is practised by means of cuts from the numerous small streams which are met with there.

We have said sufficient to give an idea of the capabilities of the Punjab—a territory neither prosperous, nor profitable, at this present time, but possessing within itself the latent elements of a state of the highest agricultural prosperity, which require only to be developed by the efforts of energetic men, furnished with adequate means. From twenty to thirty lakhs of rupees would suffice for the construction of a canal in each of the Doabs; and no state could take upon itself a debt to this amount with greater certainty of repaying it, or of reaping advantage from it more than sufficient to warrant its having been incurred.

Returning now to our own provinces, the first works that claim notice are those for the drainage of the Nujufghur Jhíl, and the irrigation of the lands now covered by this great sheet of water.

The Nujufghur Jhíl, or Lake, extends from near the city of Delhi to some distance beyond Dholkote, and may be described as consisting of a main trunk, of extremely irregular outline, and

having a general southwesterly direction, about 24 miles in length, and from a quarter of a mile to three miles in breadth; and of two branches thrown off from the western border, the most northerly of which is about seven and a half, the other about fourteen miles, in length, each being about half a mile in width.

The southern extremity of the main trunk expands into a large basin about 3 miles in diameter, into which the rivers supplying the jhíl discharge themselves. These rivers are two in number, the Badshapúr Nala, which receives the drainage of the hilly country southeast of the basin, and the Sahibí Nala, which drains from the westward.

Professional attention appears to have been first turned to the improvement of the Nujufghur Jhíl about 1838, when Captain H. M. Durand of the Engineers was appointed to survey the ground, and to report upon the subject.

The project submitted in May 1838 by this able officer was simple in design, and efficient in detail. It contemplated the regulation of the floods of the Badshahpúr Nala by means of a properly situated dam; the entire division of the waters of the Sahibí Nala from the jhíl basin, except in years of extraordinary floods, and the excavation, through the high land at the north-eastern, or Delhi, extremity of the jhíl, of an escape cut to the river Jumna, of such dimensions, and such level at the head, as would admit of its draining the whole surface of the jhíl. This cut was of peculiar form, having a wide and shallow section in its upper portion to admit of the rain-floods passing off easily, and a narrow and deep one below to secure the ultimate drainage of the most depressed portions of the jhíl bed. The project contemplated also the construction, across this drainage cut, at a favourable point, of a regulating bridge, by adjusting the gates or sluices of which such quantity of water, as was necessary for cultivation, might be retained in the jhíl, and gradually discharged, as the zemindars were prepared to cultivate the land laid dry.

This system was in exact accordance with the practice of the people in the jhíl villages from time immemorial. Long experience had taught them the usual levels of the jhíl waters; on the ground just beyond the limit of continued submersion they planted sugar-cane, which ordinarily was luxuriant. As the waters of the jhíl dried up at the termination of the rains, the submerged ground was ploughed, and wheat was sown, and in this manner the cultivation followed the retiring waters, until the whole land usually laid dry was covered with crops.

In case of a failure of the rains, and to maintain the supply in the jhíl to the full extent required, Captain Durand proposed

to carry a cut from the Delhi branch of the Western Jumna canal, and to depend upon it in cases of emergency.

Had this project been carried out, as originally designed, its success would have been certain; but unfortunately, when it was submitted to the Military Board, that body so altered it, that it proved a total failure: and, during the preceding four or five years, the last state of the unlucky zemindars has been worse than the first, as while their land rent had been enhanced to the extent of upwards of Rs. 10,000, their crops perished from want of water at one time, and from too much at another.

The expense incurred in the execution of such portions of Captain Durand's project, as were authorized, appears to have been about Rs. 58,000; and, as Government had made these works the grounds for enhancing the land revenue, common justice required that efforts to render them efficient should be continued.

A new project was accordingly prepared in 1847 by Mr. Battie, the executive officer of the works, which, after being approved of by Major Baker and Colonel Cautley, was immediately commenced, and is now in progress.

According to this project, an embanked channel, 40 feet in width, will be carried along the lowest levels of the jhíl from the Delhi extremity to the gorge of the Dholkote basin. On reaching this point, the embankments turn to the right and left to meet the high land bordering the basin, which is thus entirely isolated from the main trunk of the jhíl; and the waters entering it have no other means of escape than through the embanked channel. From the main channel two subordinate lines are carried along the lowest levels of the Bahadûrghur and Bussunnia branches of the jhíl; and means are adopted for collecting the country drainage water into these different channels by means of duly adjusted catch drains. At the Delhi, or northern, end of the main channel, the regulating bridge is placed, by which the water can be maintained at any desired height, the surplus being passed off by an escape cut to the river Jumna.

This project, it will be observed, differs from Captain Durand's in contemplating the entire recovery of the land forming the bed of the jhíl and its branches, with the exception the space occupied by the embanked channel; and in substituting for the submersion of the land for a certain time, irrigation in the ordinary manner from a canal supplied by a large reservoir.

The contents of the Dholkote basin are calculated to be sufficient for the irrigation of 24,000 acres, and the quantity of land to be permanently redeemed is estimated at 12,800; so that

there will be but little risk of want of water except in extraordinary seasons, for which provision may be made by a cut from the Western Jumna canal.

There is every prospect of Mr. Battie's design being a successful one; and, should it be so, it will secure to Government an annual revenue of about Rs. 17,000. The estimated cost of the new works being Rs. 60,000, and the total expenditure from first to last Rs. 1,18,000—supposing the cost of repairs and establishment to amount to Rs. 6,000 per annum, the Nujufghur jhíl works will return to Government about 9 per cent. on the capital invested in them.

There are several other large jhíls in the Delhi territory, which have been to a certain extent made available for cultivation, as the Chundaure, Kotillah, &c.; but these need not now detain us, as they are of no special importance. It is however most interesting to trace the extraordinary extent to which irrigation has in former times been carried on in this part of the country. Incredible numbers of ancient bunds exist, and, wherever there was a possibility of collecting even the smallest body of water, there an embankment seems to have been formed, and a plot of ground of proportionate extent brought into cultivation. The immediate vicinity of the imperial city, with its court and army, probably gave an excessive stimulus to local agriculture, and led to these numerous works being constructed.

Continuing now our progress to the eastward, the next work we find in course of execution is the Kutta Puthur canal, intended for the irrigation of the western portion of the valley of Deyrah.

This work was originally designed by Colonel Cautley in 1841, and was then laid aside on account of the financial pressure of the times. In 1847 the practicability of the work came again under discussion, and Lieutenant Baird Smith was directed to superintend a new survey and design of the proposed work. The services of 2d Lieutenant Hutchinson of the Engineers were made available for the field work, and the new design, differing from that of Colonel Cautley only in details, is thus summarily described by Lieutenant Baird Smith.

"The Kutta Puthur canal, leaving the Jumna at a point on the left bank of that river, immediately under the village whence the canal derives its name, is 10 miles and 3,712 feet in length. Its fixed supply of water is 80 cubic feet per second, and its fall from the head to the bed of the Sitwala river, in which it terminates, is 52·59 feet, whereof 19.59 feet are absorbed by the initial digging and the slope of the channel, and 33 feet disposed of by masonry falls of 10, 5, 12, and 6, feet in depth

respectively. In its course it traverses 19 mountain streams, being drainage lines from the southern slope of the Himalayas. These streams are annuals, being full only during the rainy season, and the canal crosses them by seven dams with waterways varying, as detailed in Lieut. Hutchinson's report, from 10 to 100 feet, and 12 aqueducts varying similarly from 10 to 90 feet. Its masonry channel, 10 feet in width, and 3 feet in depth, extends for 19,713 feet (or nearly 4 miles) from the head, the remainder of the course being in earthen embankments, or excavations, as necessary. Three bridges for cross communication, two mill houses for double sets of stones each, one first class and three second class chokies, are provided for; and it is supposed that the whole series of works will be finished, and the canal opened, at the end of the year 1849. The estimated expense is Rs. 88,902-11-1."

This canal has the same general characteristics as the other Dhún canals formerly described. It is carried along the faces of the cliffs rising over the Jumna, in a masonry channel, until it debouches, on the up-land of the western Dhún, at a place called Ambarí, from whence it is carried to the eastward, in a direction generally parallel to the main range of the Himalayas, and as near to its base as the levels permit, so as to bring the largest possible extent of land to the southward under irrigation. About 17,000 acres of the richest soil will ultimately be brought under the influence of the Kutta Puthur canal. This beautiful tract of country is now almost a waste; a few miserable looking villages are scattered throughout it, but the population and cultivation are alike checked by the want of water for the common purposes of life. There is no adequate supply of drinking water for man or beast, and, until this first necessity is supplied, any hope of improvement is of course vain. With it, and an abundant additional supply for irrigation, this part of the Dhún ought to be one of the richest in India. It is not improbable that, in the course of a few years, it may become our great Tea plantation, the locality having been pronounced peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of the Tea plant. If so, we hope Government will not itself absorb all the ground, but rather give a fair field to individual enterprise and capital, by dividing it into grants of a moderate and manageable area, for which grantees would doubtless be found in abundance.

The return to Government on the Kutta Puthur canal from water rent alone is estimated at about 8 per cent. on the capital invested. What the increased land revenue would be it is difficult to say. At present this revenue is nominal; and whatever the amount of future assessment may be, it will be due entirely to the canal.

The waters of the Jumna have proved inadequate, during certain seasons, to supply fully the demands of the existing canals, east and west of that river. It may seem therefore a somewhat rash undertaking to establish a new drain upon them for the Kutta Puthur canal. But, in point of fact, the seasons of great scarcity of water are rare; and a system of expanse-reservoirs attached to the new canal will be sufficient to meet this contingency, which is always of limited duration, extending from about the middle of December to the middle of March. We do not therefore think that any practical difficulty will be experienced in arranging this matter satisfactorily.

It only now remains for us to describe the grand Ganges canal, the last and greatest of the canals of irrigation in progress of execution by the British Government. It will have been remarked that, in nearly all the works previously described, we have appeared as restorers rather than as original projectors. It is true that our restorations of the works of our Mahommedan predecessors are virtually new designs. Beyond the idea of the work, and the occasional adoption of the alignment they had selected, we have borrowed little from them: while the scale on which our restorations have been conducted, the numerous improvements that have been introduced, and the extensions that have been executed, entitle us to the merit of originality. Still we must not in any way seek to lessen the high credit due to the enlightened men, by whom the ancient canals were designed and executed. They knew the wants of the country, and they supplied them with an ability, of which we are willing admirers.

The great Ganges canal is however purely a British work, and occupies a field unoccupied before. That it will be the greatest work left to bear testimony to our national character, it would be rash to assert, when Railways are looming, however faintly, in the distance: but that, both in the scale of its construction, and in its influence on the material prosperity of the country, it will be one of the greatest, there can be no hesitation in affirming.

The early history of the Ganges canal may be disposed of in a few sentences The first officer, who seems to have seriously contemplated the employment of the waters of the Ganges for irrigation, was Colonel Colvin, of whose labours west of the Jumna we have already had occasion to take notice. When in 1836 this officer, at that time superintendent general of canals, delivered over charge to his temporary successor, Colonel Cautley, he strongly recommended that an examination of the country should be made, with a view to ascertain the practicability of the project. Such an examina-

tion was actually made during the course of the year by Colonel Cautley, but with results so little encouraging, that the idea of the canal was temporarily abandoned by him. Colonel Colvin, however, continued hopeful of ultimate success, and recommended another examination, commencing at a higher point on the river than that first selected, and carried on a more circuitous line, so as to avoid some very impracticable country, which had been met with.

The question however continued to be one rather of interesting speculation, than of any practical importance, until the calamitous events of the great famine in 1837-38 attracted the serious attention of Government to the subject. The sacrifice of revenue to the extent of nearly a million sterling, the harrowing distress to which the whole agrestic population of the lower and central districts of the Doab were subjected, the painful inability of Government, or the European community, to afford relief commensurate with the necessity for it, and the striking contrast presented by those districts, for which canal irrigation had been previously provided, were circumstances too remarkable to be passed lightly over. Colonel Cautley's views on the subject were accordingly submitted to Lord Auckland, then Governor General of India, with the recommendation that such expenditure should be authorized, as might be found necessary in examining the difficult country, through which the first part of the suggested canal would be carried. His Lordship gave immediate sanction to the inquiry, and, to his honour be it said, he manifested during the whole course of his administration, both privately and officially, the deepest interest in the project.

A minute and careful examination of the country, between Hurdwar, the proposed head of the Canal, and Rúrkhí, the point at which it would enter upon the "Baugar," or the high land of the Doab, was now instituted, and the results are embodied in Colonel Cautley's first Report on the Ganges canal, which bears date the 12th May, 1840.

Of this report we need say no more than that it established, in the most satisfactory manner, the practicability of the project, shewing that there were no difficulties in the line of the "Khadir" from Hurdwar to Rúrkhí, which might not be overcome at a reasonable cost.

This first project however was limited to constructing a canal of such dimensions only, as would secure a remunerating return on the expense incurred. The practicability of passing the valley of the Ganges having been proved, it was left to the Governments in India and England to determine the scale, on which the works should ultimately be carried out. It is scarcely ne-

cessary to add, that the appropriation of the entire visible stream at Hurdwar, so as to increase the discharge of the canal from 1,000 to nearly 7,000 cubic feet per second, was earnestly recommended by Colonel Cautley.

In 1840-41 the Report came under the consideration of the Court of Directors, who decided, wisely and worthily, that the projected canal should be constructed on such a scale, as would admit of irrigation being supplied to the whole of the Doab, or the country lying between the rivers Ganges, Hindun, and Jumna, forming the principal part of the North Western Provinces. They at the same time acknowledged Colonel Cautley's services by directing him to be presented with a donation of 10,000 rupees. We are almost ashamed to add that this reward was robbed of nearly half its value, and all its grace, at the recommendation of the Military Board in Calcutta, who deducted from it the total amount of the extra expense, to which Government had been put by the temporary appointment of an officer to carry on Colonel Cautley's current duties, as superintendent of the Doab canal, while he was employed in the survey of the Ganges Khadir. We have never been able to understand how Government could have sanctioned such a pitiful saving on grounds so palpably unjust.

The Court of Directors, being desirous that a work of such magnitude and cost as the proposed canal should undergo the most careful examination and discussion, directed a committee of experienced Engineer officers to be associated with Colonel Cautley in reporting on the best method of carrying their enlarged views into effect. This committee which consisted of Colonel F. Abbott, C. B., and Major Baker, of the Engineers, with Colonel P. S. Cautley, submitted their report in February 1842, and recommended that the canal should be constructed of such dimensions as would admit of its discharge being 6,750 cubic feet per second, which supply was considered sufficient for the irrigation of the whole Doab.

On receipt of the Committee's report, Government gave orders for the vigorous prosecution of the work ; but before the necessary arrangements could be matured, Lord Auckland's administration ceased, and Lord Ellenborough's began.

With this event commences a dreary and distasteful chapter in the history of the great canal. It is not our intention to withdraw the veil that now conceals the details from public view. We are not aware that any good end would be served by acting otherwise ; and we will best consult the feelings of those most interested, by consigning the particulars of Lord Ellenborough's proceedings to that oblivion, which best befits them.

It is therefore sufficient to state that no assistance in qualified officers could be procured, and that from April 1842 to February 1843, the works were carried on by the aid of a single uncovenanted assistant.

It was not until July 1843, that Colonel Cautley was relieved from the executive duties of the Ganges, Eastern Jumna, and Dhún canals, and thereby enabled to turn his undivided attention towards the completion of the survey, and of designs for the first of these works.

Meanwhile however the original project had been totally altered. A minute of the Governor General directed that the Ganges canal should be primarily a canal of navigation, not of irrigation; and that only such portion of the water, as was not required for the former object, should be applied to the latter. This decision was opposed to the views of every man, who knew any thing either of the true necessities of the country, or of the nature of the works projected; and to carry it into effect to its full extent would have been to sacrifice all, or nearly all, the benefits, which the original design secured to the agriculture of the country, and to give in return, what at best, in this railway epoch, was a second rate means of transport to its commerce.

During the cold weather of 1842-44, the survey of the line was resumed, and carried on to the terminus at Allahabad. On the results of this survey three different projects were based, securing the benefits of irrigation to the country, so far as was consistent with the main object prescribed; and it was left to Government to decide which of the three should be adopted.

Before any resolution could be formed, Lord Ellenborough's administration ceased; and the final decision of the question devolved on Lord Hardinge. During the course of the year 1845, Colonel Cautley returned to England, and was succeeded in the directorship of the Ganges canal by Major Baker.

The supposed effect of the existing canals of the Jumna, in diminishing the salubrity of the districts through which they were carried, created a new obstacle to the progress of the Ganges canal; and a Committee was appointed to investigate the question as thoroughly as possible. This Committee, consisting nominally of three (but actually of two) officers, Major Baker and Dr. Dempster of the Horse artillery, commenced their labours in November 1845, but were interrupted by a summons to do military duty with the army of the Sutlej. Their researches were not resumed until November 1846; and their report, an invaluable storehouse of facts, which we will examine hereafter, was submitted to Lord Hardinge at Roorkhí in March 1847.

The effect of the report was statisfactory. Lord Hardinge recommended the vigorous prosecution of the work. Arrangements were made for the supply of ample means, both in men and money; and at length, in 1848, twelve years after the first line of levels for the project had been taken, the Ganges canal may be said to be fairly in progress, on a scale commensurate with its importance, and on the plan, which its projector advocated from the first, and, amidst all opposing influences, never ceased to advocate,—that namely of a canal, primarily of irrigation, but provided with all works necessary for purposes of navigation. This long period of delay has not been all evil; no project has ever undergone more searching investigation, or more minute discussion, than that of Colonel Cautley for the Ganges canal. Every paper connected with it has been printed, and submitted to professional and general criticism; errors of detail have been brought forward, but none that affect the stability of the project; and Government may carry it forward to completion with the satisfactory assurance, that every part of it has been so proved and tested, as to justify confidence in the soundness of the whole.

We will now endeavour to give an outline sketch of the canal, as in progress of execution.

At about 2½ miles north of Hurdwar, a branch leaves the right bank of the River Ganges, and, flowing past the sacred ghats, and under the picturesque buildings of the town, follows a course, generally parallel to that of the parent stream, which it rejoins at a point 30 or 40 miles to the southward.

Possession has been taken of the upper portion of this branch for the head of the canal; and through it the supply of 6,750 cubic feet per second will be brought to Myapúr, a point about 1½ miles south of Hurdwar, where the artificial channel commences.

The first masonry works are constructed at Myapúr. They consist, 1st, of a dam across the branch of the Ganges, having 38 openings of 10 feet each, fitted with gates or sluices, and flank overfalls by which a clear water-way of 517 feet is secured for the passage of floods from the Ganges during the rainy season; and 2d, of a regulating bridge across the canal bed, having 200 feet of water-way in ten openings of 20 feet each, fitted with all the machinery necessary for regulating the admission of water into the canal. The dam and bridge are connected by a long line of masonry revetement; and, on the opposite bank, the similar line of revetement with bathing ghats, &c., complete the works at the head of the artificial channel.

All these works were originally designed in a chaste and sim-

ple architectural style: but modifications were introduced, which have excited much unfavourable criticism. These are to be removed; and the works will then be worthy of their beautiful position, and will make the entrance to the canal as ornamental, as it will be useful.

Considerable anxiety has naturally been manifested by the brahmins of Hurdwar, lest these works, and especially the excavations in the bed of the river opposite the Pyrie, or sacred bathing ghat, should interfere with their functions, or destroy the character of Hurdwar as a place of pilgrimage. For such feelings the utmost consideration has, of course, been shown; and the arrangements for clearing the bed of the river will be so made, as that the facilities for bathing will be improved, and the risks of accidents, which now exist, removed.

We have before stated that the grand, indeed the only, obstacles to the construction of the canal are met with on the first twenty miles from the head, or between Hurdwar and Roorki. These difficulties arise from the course of the canal intersecting at right angles the whole of the drainage of the Sub-Himalayas, of which the western valley of the Ganges is the receptacle.

This drainage, independently of numerous minor channels, which are unimportant, is collected into three great lines, being the valleys of the Puthri, the Ruthmú, and Solaní rivers, draining respectively about six, eleven, and eight, miles in length of the hill country. The Puthri drainage, being divided among a number of minor channels, is not difficult to control; but the Ruthmú and Solaní are impediments of the highest class.

The artificial channel of the canal leaves Myapúr with a transverse section, having a constant width at bottom of 140 feet, and a variable width at top, dependent on the depth of excavation, but which may be stated generally to be about 200 feet. The depth of water provided for is 10 feet, and the slope of the bed about 18 inches per mile. After pursuing its course for about 6½ miles, and crossing several lines of drainage, which are disposed of either by dams, or inlets and outlets, the canal is lowered into the valley of the Puthri river by means of the Bahadurabad Falls, which consist of two descents in masonry of 8 feet each, exactly similar to, although on a very much larger scale than, those of the Eastern Jumna canal. These will be very massive works; and when the canal is opened, and its huge volume of water is poured over them, the sight will be a most striking one. Even with the small supply of the Eastern Jumna canal, the turmoil at the base of the Belka Falls, which are 15 feet in height, is most formidable to behold. What then will it be, when ten times the quantity of water is thrown over

falls of 16 feet! The masonry had need to be of the very best materials and workmanship, to withstand the action of such a force.*

For purposes of navigation, whether by rafts, or boats, a side channel furnished with locks, leaving the main canal about three quarters of a mile above, and rejoining it about one quarter of a mile below, the falls, has been provided.

After leaving the Bahadurabad Falls, the canal traverses for about five miles the low land intersected by the Puthri river, and its numerous tributaries. The former is passed by a dam having ten openings of ten feet each, and flank overfalls, leaving a clear water-way of 130 feet; and the latter, being of minor importance, by inlets on one bank, and corresponding outlets on the other.

At the termination of the Puthri Valley, the Dhunoura Falls, similar in all respects to those at Bahadurbad, lower the canal to the level of the Ruthmu river, one of the two great obstacles to its progress.

In the original design this river was passed by a dam, having forty openings of 10 feet each, fitted with gates for retaining the canal supply; but the great floods of the year 1844 rendered an extension of the work necessary. As now projected, the Ruthmu dam will have forty central openings of 10 feet each, and two side openings of 100 feet each, with flank overfalls; so that the clear waterway, above the pier heads, will be very nearly 800 feet. A regulating bridge, similar to that at Myapúr will be built across the canal, with the view of excluding the waters of the Ruthmu during floods. We do not consider it necessary to give details of these works, as they are similar to those we have already described on the canals of the Jumna.

The valleys of the Ruthmu and Solani Rivers are separated by a high ridge of land, about two miles in breadth, through which the canal is carried with a maximum depth of digging of 37 feet. At the village of Bajuheri, it enters the valley of the Solani, which at this point is 11,680 feet, or nearly 2¼ miles, in width. The level of the canal bed here begins at once to rise above the surface of the country; and the great work of embanking the channel, or forming the earthen aqueduct, commences.

This work, by which the canal is brought through the valley

* The Bahadurabad and Dhunoura Falls were projected to appear in the original design of the canal, as above described, but in execution they have been modified; the necessary descent being made in two separate Falls, each of 8 feet, instead of a single one of 16 feet. The change is judicious, considering the enormous force to be dealt with.

to the Solani river, will consist of an earthen embankment, or platform, raised to an average height of about 16½ feet above the country, having a base of about 350 feet in width, and a breadth at top of about 290 feet. On this platform, the banks of the canal will be formed, 30 feet in width at top, and 12 feet in depth. These banks will be protected from the action of the water by lines of masonry ghats, formed in steps extending along their entire length, or for nearly 2¼ miles north of the Solani.

The river itself is crossed by a masonry aqueduct, which will be not merely the largest work of the kind in India, but one of the most remarkable for its dimensions in the world.

The total length of the Solani aqueduct is 920 feet. Its clear waterway is 750 feet, in 15 arches of 50 feet span each. The breadth of each arch is 192 feet. Its thickness is 5 feet: its form is that of a segment of a circle, with a rise of 8 feet. The piers rest upon blocks of masonry, sunk 20 feet deep in the bed of the river, and being cubes of 20 feet side, pierced with 4 wells each, and undersunk in the manner practised by natives of India in constructing their wells. These foundations, throughout the whole structure, are secured by every device, that knowledge or experience could suggest; and the quantity of masonry sunk beneath the surface will be scarcely less than that visible above it. The piers are 10 feet thick at the springing of the arches, and 12½ feet in height. The total height of the structure above the valley of the river will be 38 feet. It will not therefore be an imposing work, when viewed from below, in consequence of this deficiency of elevation; but, when viewed from above, and when its immense breadth is observed, with its line of masonry channel, which, when completed both north and south of the river, will be nearly 3 miles in length, the effect must be most striking.

The waterway of the canal is formed in two separate channels, each 85 feet in width. The side walls are 8 feet thick, and 12 deep, the expected depth of water being 10 feet. Various buildings are provided at the flanks of the aqueduct, and many minor arrangements are made, which it would be wearisome to describe here. A continuation of the earthen aqueduct, about ¾ of a mile in length, connects the masonry work with the high bank at Roorkhí, and brings the canal to the termination of the difficult portion of its course. Such details, as we have given, convey, we are well aware, but a very imperfect idea of the work. They are however our only substitutes for plans, or other graphic representations; and we must hope for their being

intelligible enough to give some conception of the magnitude of the structures.

It will perhaps give additional clearness to what has now been stated, if we exhibit some of the details of the amount of labour, and the quantity of materials, which will be required to complete the work within six years; and with this view we give the following calculations made by Major Baker, late director of the canal.

"Calculation of means required to complete the Solani Aqueduct in six years. For 8,749,524 cubic feet of masonry in aqueducts and revetements will be required —

	L.	B.	D.	
Bricks	(12"	× 6"	× 2¼)	69,996,192
Súrkhí*	(1,924, 894 cubic feet).....			13,474,258
			Total of Bricks...	83,470,450
Lime.....				962,447 cubic ft.

Or say eighty-four millions of bricks, and one million cubic feet of lime.

The work people required in preparing and using the materials are as follow :—

	Brickmakers.	*Labourers.*
In Brickmaking (inclusive of wood cutting).....	141,666	3,143,333
	Masons.	
In building Masonry and laying Floors.....	306,233	781,946
In pounding Súrkhí,.....		641,632
In undersinking the Foundation Blocks,.....		311,040
In earthwork of Aqueduct (exclusive of draught cattle)		1,972,750

The total labour required is therefore

Brickmakers,.....	141,666
Masons,.....	306,233
Labourers,.....	6,850,701

The brickmaking, to be completed in five years, allowing 190 days each year, (deducting Sundays, and rainy seasons) would require per diem 149 brickmoulders, and 3,309 labourers.

The remaining work, to be completed in six years, allowing 250 working days per annum, would require per diem 204 masons for five years, and for the 6th year 2,471 labourers

The workshops will require fifty smiths, and 80 to 100 carpenters per diem.

An establishment of about 1000 bullocks (exclusive of contract carriage) will be required for the earth waggons, and other purposes."

The total cost of the canal from Hurdwar to Roorkhí is estimated at Rs. 30,12,433-4-3, or nearly £300,000, of which sum

* Sûrkhi is made of bricks carefully pounded and sifted.

the aqueduct will absorb a little more than one half, or Rs. 15,80,704-6-11, being about £158,000.

The heavy cost, and the admitted difficulties in constructing so great a work as the Solani aqueduct, led to much discussion, as to the practicability of avoiding it by carrying the canal on a circuitous route, and crossing the river at a higher point in its course by means of a dam. This question was carefully investigated by the special committee with this result, that while the circuitous route was perfectly practicable, it was exposed to many objections: and that, although it might lead to a saving of expense in the first instance, it would inevitably entail much greater ultimate outlay in maintenance, than if the direct course were adopted. The opinion of the committee was therefore unanimously in favour of the aqueduct; and Government decided the point in accordance with their views.

At Roorkhí, formerly a small village but now a large European station, the head-quarters of the canal, with the workshops, model-room, office, &c., have been established. In the vicinity arrangements have been made for a railway about two or three miles in length, along which the earth for the aqueduct will be carried. One or more steam engines will shortly be in active exertion; and the executive officers are preparing themselves to take full advantage of the various mechanical means and appliances, whereby the construction of the great works under their charge may be facilitated.

Means at the same time have been adopted by the Government of the North Western Provinces to rear a class of men, European and native, qualified by superior education to become efficient subordinate agents in the execution of the works; and the Roorkhí College, under its excellent Principal, Lieut. Maclagan of the Engineers, promises to become an institution of the highest utility to the canal, and other departments of public works. The design of the institution is unexceptionable: and its practical details will doubtless be perfected by degrees, as the necessity for modifications become apparent. We have already trespassed so much on the patience of our readers, that we must not attempt to give any description of the college system. We will only say that the course of instruction adopted appears likely to produce a class of men, well qualified for the varied duties which will be required at their hands.

From Roorkhí the canal continues its course, without meeting with obstacles of any kind, through the centre, and along the most favourable levels, of the Doab, throwing off branches which rival in dimensions the largest of the existing canals. The first of these, the Futtehghur branch, which leaves the canal at about

50 miles from the head, is 150 miles in length, and will have a discharge equal to 1,240 cubic feet per second. The second, or Bolundshuhur, branch has a length of 70 miles, and a discharge of 520 cubic feet per second. The third, or Etawah, branch is 172 miles long, with a discharge of 1,336 cubic feet per second. The fourth, or Cawnpúr, branch has a length of 43½ miles, and a capacity of section equal to a discharge of 635 feet per second. This branch forms, according to the recommendation of the special committee, the connecting link for navigation between the Ganges and the canal; and the construction of a series of locks at Cawnpúr will admit of an easy passage for boats from the one line to the other. The main line of canal from Cawnpúr to Allahabad, a distance of 173 miles, has a supply for purposes of irrigation amounting to 1,076 cubic feet per second. The preceding distribution of the supply to the branches, and corresponding allowance for the intervening portions of the main line, leave available for purposes of navigation exclusively a supply equal to 250 cubic feet per second. In the event of the navigable terminus for river traffic being established at Cawnpúr, this supply would be reserved for the branch to that place; if Allahabad is preferred, which however is not probable, the increased supply must be appropriated to the main line.

The total length of the Ganges canal and its branches is as follows:—

Main line from Hurdwar to Allahabad	453	miles.
Futtehghur Branch	160	„
Bolundshuhur ditto	70	„
Etawah ditto	172	„
Cawnpúr ditto.....	43½	„
Total,	898½	„

As each of the branches, as well as the main line, will be adopted for internal navigation, the commerce of the Doab will participate with its agriculture in the benefits to be derived from the canal. For purposes of cross communication, bridges will be provided at every two or three miles. All the various works required for the regulation of the supply, for the convenience of the establishment, for mills, &c, will be constructed wherever required. Plantations will be formed within the canal limits on each banks. Orchards of grafted mango trees, similar to those so successfully established on the Eastern Jumna canal, are estimated for. The transverse section of the canal is gradually diminished, as each branch draws off its proportion of the supply from the main line. From the head to the Futtehghur branch the bottom width continues, as before mentioned, to be 140 feet, and the depth 10 feet. Between the Futtehghur and

Bolundshuhur branches, the bottom width is reduced to 130 feet, and the depth to 9 feet. From the Bolundshuhur branch head, the width becomes 108 feet, and the depth 9 feet. After the departure of the Etawah branch, the bottom width is 90 feet, and the depth 7½ feet. At the 250th mile, the section is again reduced to 80 feet in width, and 7 feet in depth. From the head of the Cawnpúr branch the section is 75 feet in width at bottom, and 6 feet deep; and, at the Allahabad terminus, the width will be 25 feet at bottom, 37 feet at top, and 4 feet in depth. Throughout the canal, the side slopes will have bases equal to one and a half their heights, and the longitudinal slope of the bed will vary from 15 to 12 inches per mile.

The distribution of water for purposes of irrigation will be effected exclusively by means of Rajbuhas, or principal water-courses, under the superintendence of Government officers. No private water-courses will be permitted, either from the main canal, or its branches. The full benefits of the most economical and most salubrious method of irrigation will thus be secured to the country from the commencement.

The maximum cost of the canal, supposing that Government constructs at its own expence not only the main line and branches, but also all the primary channels of distribution, or Rajbuhas, is estimated at 1½ millions sterling. This estimate is a most liberal one, and there is no probability of its being exceeded.

Having thus given an outline of the works, and stated their probable cost, we have now to exhibit the benefit which will be secured to the Government and the community, as the return for so large an expenditure.

The first point to determine is the extent to which the Doab will be irrigated by the canal and its branches; and fortunately, by means of the invaluable statistical tables prepared by the Agra Government, we are now enabled do so with a degree of accuracy not before attainable.

The districts to which the influence of the Ganges canal and its branches will extend, together with details of their assessed areas, are given below. From the areas of Saharunpur, Muzuffernuggur, and Meerut, we have deducted the portions already provided with means of irrigation from the Eastern Jumna canal. We have taken from the tables only the cultivated and culturable areas, because it is for these alone that irrigation has to be provided.

	Cultivated area in acres.	*Culturable area in acres.*
1. Saharunpúr.....	501,606	392,508
2. Muzuffurnuggur.....	505,830	236,216
3. Meerut.....	972,213	476,427
4. Bolundshuhur.....	657,071	359,713
5. Allyghur.....	901,405	129,710
6. Muttra.....	676,323	106,129
7. Furruckabad	652,075	305,095
8. Mynpúrí.....	613,338	182,000
9. Etawah	477,901	139,850
10. Cawnpúr.....	781,173	163,565
11. Futtehpúr	518,812	123,985
12. Allahabad	997,508	231,597
Totals.....	8,255,255	2,846,793

The total area, cultivated and culturable, of the above twelve districts is therefore 11,102,048 acres.

Now supposing that the full supply of the canal, being 6,750 cubic feet per second, is rendered available for irrigation, as ultimately we have no doubt it will be, we know from experience on the canals of the Jumna, that each cubic feet of this discharge is sufficient for the irrigation during the year of 218 acres. The total area, which would be actually watered during the year, would consequently amount to 6,750×218= 1,471,500 acres, or, for facility of calculation, say 1,500,000 acres.

Assuming, as a standard of comparison for the whole of the Doab, the best irrigated districts on the Eastern Jumna canal, namely the western portion of Meerut, we find by reference to the statistical table, previously given for the abovementioned canal, that irrigating villages actually water one-third of their total areas. Consequently the supply of the Ganges canal would furnish abundant irrigation for an area of 1,500,000×3= 4,500,000 acres.

In districts benefitting by canal irrigation, it is found that for such localities as, from position, difficulties of level, or other causes, cannot be provided with water, irrigation from wells is extensively employed. From data given in the Special Committee's report it would appear, that, in the best irrigated district on the Western Jumna canal, the proportion of canal to well irrigation is as five to one; assuming this for the Doab, we should have an area, irrigated from wells, amounting to 900,000 acres.

The total area, for which irrigation would be provided, would accordingly amount to 5,400,000 acres. But the whole irrigable area of the Doab is, as formerly shewn, 11,102,048 acres. This tract of country would therefore be irrigated to the extent of very nearly one-half its surface,—a proportion equal to that of the best

district west, and nearly double that of the best district east, of the Jumna. In making this comparison it should not be overlooked, that the best districts on existing canals have been selected as standards for the whole Doab, a measure which tends to give a more limited range to the influence of the Ganges canal than would have been the case had inferior tracts been selected. But we are anxious to avoid all appearance of exaggeration in estimating the benefits to be anticipated from this great work, and, as a rule, will select such data as give minimum results, believing these to be abundantly convincing.

The results just given are not quite so favourable as those shewn either in the Special Committee's report, or in Colonel Cautley's second report; but we believe them to be as just, and as nearly correct, as it is practicable to make them. An error, unimportant as it affects the project generally, but leading to an exaggerated estimate of the irrigating capabilities of the canal, crept into Colonel Cautley's first report, and vitiated the conclusions on this branch of the question therein arrived at. The error was however fortunately an isolated one, and, although magnified at the time of its discovery for special purposes, was in reality of very little consequence.

The direct pecuniary returns from the canal may be estimated as follows:

Water rent.....	14,71,500
Mills	1,00,000
Transit Duties	60,000
Sundries, Canal produce, &c.....	7,000
Total...Rs.	16,38,500

The indirect return from increase of land revenue, which from the analogous cases of existing canals we are entitled to anticipate, may be estimated from data furnished by the statistical tables formerly given. Assuming for the Doab generally the average results on the Eastern Jumna canal, we find that the land revenue in districts irrigated by canals exceeds that in districts not so irrigated by Rs. 453 per square mile. Now the area, which will come under the influence of the Ganges canal, amounts to 4,500,000 acres, or very nearly 5,312 square miles. The increase of land revenue would accordingly be as follows:

5312 square miles, at Rs. 453 per mile ... Rs. 24,06,536.

The total pecuniary returns, direct and indirect, would therefore be Rs. 40,44,836, or nearly £100,000 per annum.

From experience on existing canals, and assuming as the standard of comparison the Eastern Jumna canal, the most expensive of the whole, the annual outlay for the ordinary

repairs, and the regular establishments of the Ganges canal, is estimated at very nearly Rupees 4,00,000, or £40,000. For increased expenses in the Civil departments a farther sum of £10,000 per annum may be allowed.

The net revenue from the canal when in full operation would therefore amount to £350,000 per annum, which gives a return on the invested capital (amounting to £1,250,000,) of 28 per cent. This very favourable result is by no means an exaggerated one. It is less by 8 per cent. than the actual returns on the Western Jumna canal, and more by only 4 per cent. than those of the Eastern Jumna canal.

We have already shown that neither of these works has yet attained its maximum; and, even with all the improvements that can be effected in them, they must still continue inferior to the Ganges canal in the arrangements for distributing and economising their respective supplies of water. Such considerations, therefore, warrant us in considering the results just given as moderate. Our personal conviction is, that when this great canal has attained its highest state of development, it will secure to the state a total revenue of little less than half a million sterling per annum.

The benefits which will be secured to the community by the execution of the canal are in no wise inferior to those derived by the Government. In exemplification of the former we must now give a few details; and, first, of the value of agricultural produce, which will be placed beyond all risk of injury from inadequate supplies, or the total failure of rain. From tables now before us, showing the proportions of the different kinds of crops cultivated on existing canals, we have formed the estimate given below:—

KHURIF CROPS.

Proportion of Sugar, Indigo, &c. $\frac{1}{6}$th of the whole.
" of Cotton, ... $\frac{1}{12}$th "
" of Rice and Sundries. $\frac{3}{12}$ths "

RUBBI CROPS.

" of Wheat, Barley, &c.. $\frac{3}{6}$ths "

Assuming these proportions as approximate for the whole Doab, we have the following results, the rates per acre beng the same as given with confidence by Major Baker, and employed in our corresponding estimates for the Eastern and Western Jumna canals.

Calculation of the gross value of crops which will be secured from injury in famine seasons by the grand Ganges canal:—

KHURIF CROPS.

250,000	acres of	Sugar and Indigo, at Rs. 80 per acre	2,00,00,000
125,000	„	of Cotton, at Rs. 48 per acre	60,00,000
375,000	„	of Rice and Sundries, at Rs. 38½ per acre ...	1,44,37,500

RUBBI CROPS.

750,000	„	of Wheat, Barley, &c., at Rs 48 per acre	3,60,00,000
15,00,000		Total	7,64,37,500

Of this sum (upwards of 7½ millions sterling per annum) about one-tenth will return to Government in the form of land and water-rent, while the remainder will be the property of the agricultural community. It is needless to dwell on the importance of placing property, equal to between one-fifth and one-sixth of the value of the agricultural produce of the entire Presidency of Agra, beyond the influence of the seasons, and of insuring to the cultivators, under all circumstances, a certain return for their labour. The influence of the canal on the improvement of the Doab must necessarily be immense. This great tract will become the garden of the North Western Provinces; and we shall hear no more of those devastating famines, which have hitherto swept across it, bringing physical wretchedness and moral degradation in their train.

In addition to the certainty of returns, the actual produce of irrigated land exceeds materially that of land unirrigated. From data collected during the progress of the revenue survey, it appears that the excess on irrigated over unirrigated land may be taken for the Rubbí, or cold weather crops, as being about 550 lbs. per acre for wheat, and about 730 lbs. for barley. Assuming the average of these for the general excess, we have the following estimate of the increase of produce due to the existence of the canal: 750,000 acres under Rubbí crops will amount

at 640 lbs. per acre, to ..... 480,000,000 lbs.

The value of this increase, allowing the market rate to be one maund, or 80 lbs. per rupee, would amount to Rupees 60,00,000, or £600,000 per annum.

We have not data sufficient to enable us to estimate in detail the increase on the Khurif crops; but considering that this season, including as it does Sugar, Indigo, and Cotton, is by far the most profitable to the cultivator, and that irrigation exercises an equally beneficial effect upon it, as upon the produce of the Rubbí, we may with great safety conclude that the increase during the Khurif will be at least equal to that during the Rubbí. Hence the total increase of the value of the produce would amount to £1,200,000 per annum, a sum nearly equal to the

total capital invested in the canal. Our results under this head are again much lower than those given by Colonel Cautley, in para. 8 of the preface to his first report: but the calculations shown there are evidently affected by the error as to the capabilities of the canal for the irrigation previously alluded to, and require to be reduced in consequence.

A farther source of benefit to the community will be found in the reduced cost of canal, as compared with well, irrigation. The average area irrigable by one masonry well is ten acres; and to bring under irrigation a tract of country, equal to that which will be watered by the Ganges canal, would consequently require 150,000 wells. Estimating the cost of each of these at Rs. 200, the total capital required for their construction would amount to Rs. 3,00,00,000, or £3,000,000—being considerably more than twice the sum necessary for the Ganges canal, with all its works for supply and distribution of water. The above sum of three millions only provides the water: to distribute it, the labour of two able-bodied men and eight bullocks is required for each well, together with machinery for raising the supply to the surface. To provide bullocks for working 150,000 wells would cost Rs. 90,00,000, or £ 900,000; and, allowing £ 100,000 more for machinery, it appears that to provide well irrigation for 1,500,000 acres would require a capital of £ 4,000,000.

The annual expenses for irrigation may be estimated as follows:—

300,000 men, at Rs. 30 per annum	Rs. 90,00,000
1,200,000 bullocks, at Rs. 12 per annum	„ 1,44,00,000
10 per cent. on total capital	„ 40,00,000
Total annual expense of well irrigation for 1,500,000 acres, ...	Rs. 2,74,00,000

Let us now contrast the above with the cost of canal irrigation. We will suppose that, as on existing canals, the cultivators bear all expenses of constructing and maintaining the principal water-courses, or Rajbuhas. We formerly stated, while discussing the Rajbuha system of the Eastern Jumna canal, that the original cost of these works amounted to Rs. 2½, and the annual expenses to 5 annas per acre. The capital required would consequently be Rs. 37,50,000, or £ 375,000. The annual expenses would be as follows:—

Government water rent, at R. 1 per acre	15,00,000
Water-course repairs, at R. ⅓d	5,00,000
30,000 lads, at Rs. 24 per annum	7,20,000
10 per cent. interest on capital	3,75,000
Total annual expense of canal irrigation for 1,500,000 acres, Rs.	20,95,000

By comparing these calculations it will be apparent, that well irrigation is upwards of thirteen times more expensive than irrigation from canals; and, as one or other of these methods must be had recourse to, if cultivation is to be secured from the effects of drought, there can be very little question as to which is to be preferred. The saving to the agricultural community from having means of canal irrigation at its command will be nearly 2½ millions sterling per annum. We have considered it necessary to enter in some little detail on this point, because a mistaken idea has been entertained, that, if the funds appropriated to the Ganges canal had been applied to the construction of wells, the results would have been equally, if not more, favourable to the cultivators; these, however, on existing canals give the best possible proof of their own views on the question, by abandoning at once their wells, and incurring willingly all the expenses required for providing their lands with water from the canals.

We have not the means of shewing in any numerical form the advantages which would result to the commercial community by means of easy transport furnished by the main canal and its branches. When however it is borne in mind that the canal runs centrically through the Doab, connecting all its important marts; that its branches diverge to the right and left of the centre line; and that (taking altogether) an internal navigation, having connecting points with the two great rivers of the Doab, nearly 900 miles in length, will be provided, it is certain that great facilities for commerce must be secured. The true commercial way is of course the Rail-road; but in subordination to this (and a navigable canal of irrigation can never be other than a mere auxiliary to the Rail) the Ganges canal will perform an important part in stimulating the commercial progress of the districts through which it will be carried.

We have now, we believe, sufficiently illustrated the benefits which will be secured to the state and the community from the execution of this grand canal. We have shown that it will add to the revenue of the Government the sum of £350,000 per annum; that it will protect from the risk of famine a tract of country, containing upwards of 11,000,000 acres, inhabited by nearly 6½ milions of souls, and paying to the state an annual land revenue of nearly £1,800,000. It has farther been shown that, in the event of a failure of the ordinary rains, agricultural property to the value of 7½ millions sterling would be secured to the community; that an increase in the produce of the land, valued at £1,200,000 per annum, would be obtained; and that, as compared with the only other available method of irrigation, a saving of expense to the amount of 2½ millions annually

would be effected. In view of results such as these, and feeling that the hope of their realization is warranted by all past experience on existing canals, we may be forgiven some enthusiasm in our advocacy of a project so important.

It only remains for us now to take into consideration the objections to the Ganges canal, which from time to time have been advanced by parties unfavourable to the work.

The first, and by far the most important, of these is the effect on the navigation of the River Ganges, which will be produced by the abstraction at Hurdwar of so large a portion of the stream, as 6,750 out of 8,000 cubic feet per second.

To guide us in the discussion of this question, we have the results of an experience of the canals of the Jumna, extending over more than twenty-five years; and, as the relations of the rivers Jumna and Ganges to their respective canals are strictly analogous, we may, with confidence, predicate of the one whatever has been established by observation of the other. The two rivers differ only in magnitude. The physical circumstances regulating their respective supplies are strictly similar. The geological structure of their beds is the same. They originate in the same snowy range, and have their volumes affected to similar extents, and at the same times, by the ordinary influence of the season. We could desire no firmer basis therefore for inductions regarding the results of the Ganges canal, than the facts furnished to us by our experience of the canals of the Jumna. To the influence of these latter on the volume of their supplying river we must therefore first give our attention.

To all familiar with the phenomena of the Himalayan rivers it is well known, that, independently of the increase of volume due to the periodic rains, which in ordinary seasons is experienced from July till November, the melting of the snow, during the months of April, May, and June, exercises a most perceptible influence on their supply. On the canals of the Jumna all anxiety regarding the supply ceases in April, when the river begins to rise. This rise continues to increase steadily until the rainy season commences, when the increase of supply is so great, that the abstraction of the water required for the canals produces no perceptible effect on the river. The whole of the canal bunds are then swept away; and the great object of the executive officers is to keep the flood waters as much as possible to the bed of the river.

The effect of the canals on the navigation of the Jumna, whatever that effect may be, is therefore restricted to four months out of twelve, or from December to March inclusive.

During these four months it is occasionally necessary to

abstract the entire visible stream for the supply of the canals; and, for eight or ten miles below the bunds, or embankments employed for the purpose, the bed is dry. Beyond this distance water appears; and, by the time the river has reached the latitude of Saharunpúr, it has become a deep unfordable stream, with a considerable velocity of current.

The explanation of this singular result, observed in greater or less degree in all the streams which traverse the tract of country under the Siwalic Hills, both east and west of the Ganges, is not difficult. From sections exposed by wells sunk in the vicinity of the Jumna, it is evident that the bed of the river is composed of a porous, readily permeable, stratum of shingle, resting upon clay, or clay sand, which is comparatively impervious. The upper, or shingle, stratum is thoroughly saturated with water to a depth, which, from sections we have observed, may be estimated at from sixty to eighty feet. The slope of the bed for the first ten miles from the lower hills is excessive, and there is consequently a considerable under-current through the shingle bed. The volume of the river may therefore be regarded as consisting of two separate parts: 1st, the visible stream over the shingle bed: and, 2nd, the invisible, or under, stream through the shingle bed. The canal bunds affect only the former; and it is the latter, which makes its appearance, when, at the lower levels of the river's course, the substratum of clay outcrops, and the porous shingle bed terminates. The under-current is thus thrown to the surface, and constitutes the main body of the river; and, with the additions it receives from affluents, is the volume available for navigation during the months of minimum supply.

Data are available from which a fair approximate estimate may be formed of the amount of this supply. The discharge of the Jumna at the canal heads, when measured in February, 1842, was found, as we formerly stated, to amount to 3,489 cubic feet per second.

The maximum discharge of the canals was at the same time ascertained to be 2,815 cubic feet per second; but, as we believe the supply of the Eastern Jumna canal has of late years been somewhat increased, we assume the maximum canal discharge to be 3,000 cubic feet per second. Until the river therefore falls to this extent, it is not necessary to close the bunds, and to abstract its whole supply.

The Jumna, when it was measured at Agra by Colonel Cautley during its period of minimum discharge, and when the canals were in full operation, was found to contain 2,061 cubic feet per second, of which 200 cubic feet were derived from the Hindun,

the solitary affluent of the Jumna between the lower hills and Agra, which carries a perennial supply. Hence there remain at Agra 1,861 cubic feet per second, as the product of percolation through the shingle bed of the stream, escape water from the canals, and drainage from lands under irrigation. That this latter item is not altogether unimportant may be inferred from the fact, that, owing solely to the sinking of the canal water into the ground, the surface level of the wells in many parts of the Western Jumna canals has been raised no less than 60 feet.

Now with the supply above specified of 2,061 cubic feet per second, it is an unquestionable fact that the Jumna continues to be a line of commercial traffic of the highest importance and utility. It is navigable for eight months of the year with facility for boats ranging from 500 to 1,000 maunds burthen; during the remaining four months, it is still navigable, but with difficulties due, not to any want of water, but to the faulty distribution of it in certain spots along the river's course. That the removal of these obstacles, by the application of the skill and funds at the command of Government, would materially facilitate the navigation, is undeniable. That their existence is very prejudicial to the commerce of the country would be a rash inference, when we find Government, not usually indifferent to commercial deterioration, doing little or nothing in the matter. The true state of the case is, that nearly the whole commerce, of which the Jumna is the river way, is carried on during those months of the year, when the influence of the rains, or of the melting of the snows in the Himalayas, is felt; and that the practical inconvenience, experienced during the months of minimum supply, has not been such as to cause any injury to the commerce of the country, or to attract the attention of Government in earnest to the subject. No one, indeed, can see the crowd of boats moored off Agra at nearly all seasons, and yet have any serious misgivings as to the influence of the canals on the navigation of the river.

The general conclusion therefore at which we arrive is, that after the Jumna has received the very worst treatment possible; after its whole visible stream at its debouchement from the hills has been abstracted for purposes of irrigation; after the larger proportion of the water thus drawn off has been thrown on a tract of country, draining into the valley of the Sutlej, and thus lost to the Jumna; while no efforts, worthy of being mentioned, have been made to improve its capabilities for navigation; and, while its volume is increased by but a solitary and insignificant affluent, the river still maintains its character as a navigable line of admitted volume, as high as Agra, or Muttra, during the

year, and even to Delhi during, and for some time after, the rainy season. If we are able to show that in every respect the circumstances of the Ganges will be more favorable than those of the Jumna now are, we may fairly, it is believed, conclude, that the execution of the Ganges canal will not be found to affect prejudicially the navigation of the river, below that point at which a provision is made for such a contingency.

Bearing the preceding statements in mind, let us now therefore direct our attention to the Ganges.

The proportion of the supply of the Jumna due to percolation has been stated at 1861 cubic feet per second. On the Ganges, supposing the entire visible stream at Hurdwar to be abstracted, and neglecting for the present all increase of volume from affluents, the proportion is determined as below:

3489 : 1861 ; 8000 : 4267.

or, to express this result in words, the Ganges at a point in its course, corresponding to the position of Agra on the Jumna, would have, from percolation, a discharge equal to 4,267 cubic feet per second, being 778 cubic feet more than the total measured discharge of the Jumna in the cold season, before any of its water has been drawn off for the canals. The position of Futteyghur on the Ganges corresponds very closely with that of Agra on the Jumna, and to the condition of the river at that place the above statement is applicable.

We have supposed the whole visible stream at Hurdwar to be abstracted; but it is not intended that it should be so. The estimated discharge of the Ganges canal being 6,750 cubic feet per second, the surplus, amounting to 1,250 cubic feet, would consequently be added to the under-current, raising the discharge at Futteyghur to 5,517 cubic feet per second.

The tributaries of the Ganges between Hurdwar and Futteyghur, or Cawnpúr, the Gangetic terminus of the canal, are numerous, and some of them important. The following give a perennial supply to the river:

The Bhát Nudi, and the Turai (*marshy*) tracts of the Ganges Khadir.	The Ramgunga.
The East Kali Nudi.	The Yar Wúffadar.
	The Isun.

Measurements of the actual discharges of these streams have not been made, except in the case of the Ramgunga, which, immediately under the Hills, was found to have a discharge of 602 cubic feet per second. Its volume is described by Lieut. Jones of the Engineers, as rapidly increasing below the point at which his measurements were made. Two tributaries to the stream

were measured, and their united volume was found to be 567 cubic feet. Other tributaries are mentioned as affording a perennial supply; but they were not measured. It appears therefore probable that the Ramgunga alone increases the supply of the Ganges by about 1,500 cubic feet per second; and, supposing that the total volume of the other tributaries amounts only to 500 cubic feet—a very low estimate—we find the discharge of the Ganges at Futteyghur, or Cawnpúr, to be 7,517 per second.

It must farther be remembered, that the whole of the water taken off at Hurdwar will not be lost to the Ganges; a portion will be returned by the canal escapes, mills, &c.; and another portion by the percolation through the soil. These we do not attempt to estimate numerically; but the latter will certainly exceed materially that returning to the Jumna from the canals of the river.

We wish it to be understood that we are far from desiring to insist on the rigid accuracy of the preceding details. We give them as approximations founded on the best available data, and as much preferable to mere statements of opinion.

Making an ample allowance for the possible diminution of the supply from the tributaries on the left bank on the Ganges, by the execution of the projects now before Government for the extension of irrigation in Rohilkund, we still find, that the discharge of the river at Futteyghur will be nearly three times that of the Jumna at Agra. Now although the bed of the Ganges is throughout much wider than that of the Jumna, yet the portions occupied as channels for the streams during the cold season in both rivers bear but a small ratio to the total widths. These cold weather channels, formed as they are in sandy beds, are proportional in extent to the volumes of water they have to discharge, and they readily accommodate themselves to these. The capabilities of the two rivers for navigation would therefore be in the ratio of the quantities of water discharged by them, supposing them to continue in their natural state; and hence it may be inferred that the Ganges at Futteyghur will, after the execution of the Ganges canals, be navigable with considerably greater facility than the Jumna now is at Agra. But at Agra, as we before showed, the Jumna is a navigable stream of great importance and value; and therefore we conclude that, at Futteyghur, the Ganges will be available for traffic to nearly the same extent that it now is.

From Futteyghur, or Cawnpúr, to Súkertal, the most northerly point to which boats now reach, the navigation of the Ganges

will probably be injured for four months out of twelve. Even at present the navigation between these points during the cold season is very precarious, and the extent of traffic very limited. It must therefore be expected that the withdrawal of 7-8ths of the visible stream at Hurdwar will add to the existing difficulties; and, should experience establish this, a fair claim will exist on the Government to devote some portion of the resources, which the canal will furnish, to the improvement of the river as a navigable line.

It being admitted that, north of Cawnpúr, the river will suffer in the first instance from the withdrawal of the canal supply, it must now be stated that, so far as the traffic of the right bank is concerned, the canal itself will furnish a line of navigation much superior in facility of transit, safety, and economy to that now afforded by the river. In addition to the main line from Cawnpúr to Hurdwar, the net-work of internal navigation, formed by the large branches of the canal, will supply, to the import and export trade of the Doab, accommodation for exceeding that now given by the river. And, should a navigable line be established to the Jumna near Calpi, or some other favourable point, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Ganges canal will prove a boon of the highest order to the commerce, as well as to the agriculture of the country.

The objection to the canal, on the score of the injury it will inflict on the navigation of the Ganges, therefore resolves itself into the fact, that for one-third of the year the inhabitants of the villages (for there are no large towns or marts) on the left bank of the river from Futteyghur to Gurmuktesur, a distance of about 150 miles, will have their present imperfect means of transport rendered somewhat more imperfect. The ultimate result however even here may be beneficial, should attention be directed to the removal of those obstacles which impede the navigation. On the Ganges nothing whatever has yet been done to regulate the supply of water, or to improve the channel during the cold season. It is not want of water that is complained of. There is abundant volume for the supply of a navigable stream; what is required is, to prevent this water spreading into wide shallows; and to restrict it to a bed of such dimensions, as that sufficient depth and velocity of current may be secured. It is not to be supposed that, with an adequate supply of water, an easily manageable bed, and liberal support from Government, the Corps of Engineers will fail to find the practical skill necessary to accomplish the object aimed at.

In carrying into effect any great public work, it is always expected that some existing interests will suffer. We have now shown that, in the case of the Ganges canal, this injury is the least possible, viewing matters at their worst; while, looking on them at their best, the anticipated injury may be the source of great ultimate benefit. The question is one of comparison; and when the advantages and disadvantages of the canal are fully contrasted, there can be but little, if any, hesitation in assigning an immense superiority to the former.

In a case like the present, where the argument is of necessity analogical, authority may be quoted with effect; and, when we find that all those officers, who have devoted their professional lives to the study of Indian Hydraulics, are unanimously in favour of the execution of the canal, we cannot but admit that Government has acted wisely and well in overruling the objections that have been advanced. The opinions of Colonels Colvin, Abbott, and Cautley, of Major Baker and others of more limited experience, who have carefully examined the question in all its bearings, have been recorded in advocacy of the project. There is no difference of opinion as to the influence of the canal on the navigation of the Ganges below Cawnpúr. Above that point, the effect of the canal is variously estimated by different parties. What has already been stated will show that different estimates regarding this point are of very little importance.

The question has hitherto been regarded as between the river and the canal: but, to dispose of a second objection, we must as briefly as possible consider it as between the canal and the railway. The appropriation of resources to the construction of the canal, which for commercial purposes might have been so much better applied to promoting railways, has been condemned.

Had the alteration of the original design, directed by Lord Ellenbourgh, been carried into effect, and had the Ganges canal been made primarily a canal of navigation, the objection above stated would have been pertinent and irrefutable. To construct a canal for commercial purposes, when a railway is available, is wilfully to cast aside the improvements provided to our hands. It is to fall behind, not to keep pace with, the spirit of the times; to substitute for a first, a second rate means of commercial progress. But the Ganges canal is primarily an agricultural, not a commercial, work; and, in its first capacity, no development of the railway system can, in the slightest degree, replace its functions, or diminish its utility. The agriculture

of the North Western Provinces must continue to be dependent on irrigation, natural or artificial, however extensively the Iron ways may be spread over the land: and the agrestic population, the bulk of the community, can never derive from railways that immunity from famine, which the canal is calculated to secure for them. It is not by pouring the superabundant produce of more favoured localities into these provinces, that famine can be prevented. Even in the worst cases on record, there was no reason to suppose that food did not exist. It was the means of purchasing this food that were wanting, in consequence of the utter annihilation of the resources of the agricultural community. We may illustrate this by an example: our famines are anologous to that of Ireland: a failure of the periodic rains is to the inhabitant of these provinces what the Potato-disease was to the Irish; and, as in the latter case, an open seaboard and an unlimited freedom of importation would of themselves have done nothing to alleviate the distress experienced, so in the former the most perfect facility of transit would be found useless. In both instances money has to be supplied in exchange for that labour which is usually devoted to tillage; and public works, in too many instances most expensive and unprofitable, have to be carried on with the resources of the state. For a Government to undertake to find work and food for several millions of starving people is at all times an appalling, and never a perfectly successful, task. It is to obviate the necessity for this, in the populous provinces of the Doab, that the Grand canal is designed; and it will effect its object in the most natural and beneficial manner, by securing to the people the power of profitably employing their labour on their own lands, even should the rains from heaven fail them. In its peculiar and primary relations to agriculture, no railway can therefore ever become a substitute for the canal.

Navigation is a secondary object; and the proportion of the entire cost of the canal, which is applied to rendering it an easily navigable line, is very insignificant, not exceeding a twentieth part of the whole. We do not think therefore that to employ this small proportion of the estimated amount for commercial purposes can be deemed any misappropriation of our resources.

Navigable canals of irrigation and railways should never be exhibited as antagonistic works. They are not so in any way whatever. They occupy contiguous, but independent, provinces, linked together however in the most intimate relations of mutual support and aid. The one cannot attain its fullest development without the co-operation of the other,

and, although of the two the canal is certainly the more independent, yet its influence on the prosperity of the country would be greatly enhanced by the existence of its sister work.

To all interested in the progress of Indian railways the execution of the Ganges canal ought therefore to be an object of importance, since as long as the staple products of the land continue at the mercy of the seasons, so long must the returns from the rail participate in the like insecurity. In extreme cases, there would be no produce to transport, no means to purchase the goods the rail might bring, and no passengers to carry; and the income of the shareholders must of necessity cease for the time, to be recovered only after the long felt effects of such devastating visitations had passed away. The community of interests, and the proper relative positions of the canal and the railway may now, we hope, be understood, and the advocates of each may see that they may with propriety give hearty support to the other.

A third, and the last, objection, which has been made to the canal, is based on the supposed insalubrity of irrigation, as exemplified in parts of the existing canals of the Jumna. This question has received at the hands of the committee, appointed by Government for the special purpose of investigating it, an examination so careful and elaborate that we can have no difficulty in forming an opinion upon it.

The essence of the question appears to us to consist in determining whether, or not, there is in the use of canal irrigation "per se" any thing necessarily and essentially productive of sickness. If there is, then every village using canal water ought to exhibit proof of insalubrity, proportionate to the extent of its irrigation. If there is not, then the sickness, which has certainly been caused in parts of existing canals, must arise from other causes than the mere use of canal irrigation. To ascertain these causes, and, in the construction of a new canal, to avoid them, would admit of irrigation being employed without any consequent sickness.

Turning now to the mass of facts so laboriously collected by the committee, we find it established beyond the possibility of denial by numerous examples on the canals east and west of the Jumna, by the results of medical examinations in the irrigated districts of Ajmír and Inhairwara, and by a comparison of the general rates of sickness with the extent of irrigation, that insalubrity is not *of necessity* a consequence of the employment of canal water. This point being admitted, it remains to determine the causes of sickness on portions

of existing canals, and to ascertain whether these are irremediable.

The grand source of insalubrity on the Jumna canals was found to be imperfection of surface drainage, conjoined with stiff and retentive soil. We have already had occasion to state, that, in the construction of these canals, no attention was given to the maintenance of the natural drainage of the country. The system of our Mahommedan predecessors was in the first instance adopted without modification; and, as no complaints of this were made, it was many years before its imperfections forced themselves into notice. We now find that, in almost exact proportion to the degree in which existing canals interfere with free drainage, is the intensity with which sickness is developed; and that, as such drainage is maintained free and unimpeded, so does canal irrigation become less and less objectionable.

Now the Ganges canal has been projected with the fullest knowledge of the evils which have exhibited themselves on the canals of the Jumna, and every precaution, which extensive experience could suggest, for maintaining the drainage of the country in its natural state, and for improving it in localities where such state was imperfect, has been adopted. The precautions recommended by the committee are as follow.

1st. That the Ganges canal be kept as much as possible within soil; that is, that its ordinary surface level should be below that of the country.

2nd. That the earth, wanted to complete embankments, be never obtained from excavations made outside the canal, except in such localities as will readily admit of drainage.

3d. That the canal and its branches be taken as much as possible along the water shed line of the country, so as not to interfere with drainage; and in all cases, where such interference may be unavoidable, that the executive officers be instructed to provide otherwise for the drainage.

4th. That masonry drains be constructed under Rajbuhas, or bridge ramps, whenever these cross the drainage of the country.

5th. That no private water courses be allowed, but that irrigation be practised exclusively from Rajbuhas, or main water-courses.

6th. That irrigation be prohibited within five miles of a military station, and within one or two miles of large native towns.

7th. That in clearing embankments, the grass, weeds, &c. be not suffered to rot on the ground; but that they be burned as soon as possible after they are cut.

8th. That irrigation be prohibited altogether in localities, which appear naturally to possess a malarious character.

These precautions meet the chief difficulties of the case, and, in some particulars, are perhaps carried further than is absolutely necessary. This however, if it be an error, is a safe one, and can readily be corrected, should experience prove correction to be necessary.

Appendix E. to Colonel Cautley's second report on the Ganges canal is devoted to this same question of drainage, and the details of the system, whereby this officer proposes to combine general drainage with irrigation and navigation, are given at length. They are based on the established topographical features of the country, and must be efficient.

From the foregoing considerations it is therefore evident, that to conclude from the admitted sickness in parts of the districts under the influence of the Jumna canals, that like sickness must follow the opening of the Ganges canal, would be false reasoning. The circumstances of the two cases differ so very materially, that all analogy between them fails; and we feel justified in adopting the general conclusion arrived at by the Medical Committee, which cannot be better expressed than in their own words:

"In the course of our enquiries," they observe, "on existing 'canals, we have found salubrity to depend in a great measure 'on the nature of the soil, and the efficiency of the surface 'drainage. In the districts, which it is proposed to irrigate, the 'obvious geographical features of the country enable us to pro-'nounce with some confidence, that an efficient drainage, if not 'everywhere existing, is at least generally attainable. On the 'proposed line of the canal from Roorkhí to Meerut, we ob-'served the soil to be light and friable; but, without an extend-'ed examination, we cannot pronounce what proportion of the 'remaining districts of the Doab is characterized by similar 'soil. It can scarcely be hoped that, in the whole length of 'the canal, and its proposed branches, some localities will not 'be met with, naturally and irremediably unfavourable to irri-'gation, and in which disease, analogous to that found on the 'existing canals, may not be expected to develope itself. On the 'other hand, if attention to drainage be made an absolute con-'dition of participation in the benefits of the canal, an improve-'ment, rather than a deterioration, of the general salubrity may 'in many instances follow the introduction of canal irrigation. 'On the whole we consider ourselves warranted in anticipating 'on the Ganges canal a far less amount of contingent evil than 'has been experienced on those of the Jumna, which were

'originally constructed without reference to many important 'points, which have been especially kept in view in projecting 'the present work."

By this summary, remembering the broad basis of facts on which it rests, we may consider the objection to the Ganges canal on sanitory grounds to be fairly disposed of: and we may add, that the opinions of the committee would certainly receive the cordial support of the agricultural population, who, except in seasons of epidemics, when bad localities on the canals are made much worse than usual, are found to show singularly little sympathy with our anxiety to secure the salubrity of their towns and villages. They remind one of the corporation of London, by their horror of sanitory regulations, and their respect for the vested rights of disease and filth. In the midst of all this however, we have the testimony of the committee, that during their researches, they observed no obvious bad effects on the adult population. "The men generally," they remark, "look healthy, happy, and thriving;" and, on the Western Jumna canals, the villagers were found to be better clothed, better housed, and exhibiting greater appearances of wealth and comfort, than those not on the canals. It is only at the close of the rains that the people suffer; and it is only in some of the worst localities that the effects of their sufferings continue for any length of time. During the cold season there is no sickness attributable to the canals; and the whole canal districts then exhibit a scene of agricultural activity and prosperity of the most cheering kind. The following remark by Dr. Dempster will explain how it is that a considerable development of organic disease among the people is consistent with the physical condition above described. The test selected by this able officer to secure for the researches of the Committee a more satisfactory and certain basis than native oral testimony, was enlargement of the spleen, which is admitted by medical authorities to be a very constant, if not an invariable, sequela of malarious fever. Treating of the influence of this disease on the material condition of the people, Dr. Dempster remarks: "Enlargement of the spleen is the least formidable of all organic diseases of the viscera, and is chiefly important as the symbol of another complaint, which generally has preceded, and may come after it. The lesser varieties, *which also form the great mass of the cases registered*, may consist with every outward appearance of health and vigour. In most places where the disease is common, some strikingly healthy looking men and children were found with decided enlargement of the spleen. But the larger varieties, *of which but a comparatively*

small number are recorded, were usually accompanied with a sickly (cachectic) aspect."

That Government entertains a due sense of the responsibility, which the success of the canals, as financial measures, has laid it under, to remove as much as is now practicable the causes of sickness, is sufficiently evidenced by the liberal support it gives to all projects, which have for their objects the improvement of the drainage, or the distribution of the water in irrigated districts; and we have no doubt that the works already executed, and the still greater works yet to be executed, will in a few years lead to a manifest change for the better in even the worst of those localities, which now suffer from malarious influence.

It may be necessary, before leaving this question, to remove an erroneous impression regarding the medical committee's proceedings, which we have heard expressed more frequently than we should have thought possible. It has been matter of surprise to many that a medical committee should have systematically rejected the sick, who presented themselves for examination. A moment's consideration however of the committee's object will be sufficient to show, that, had they done otherwise, they must have vitiated their whole enquiry.

The object in view was to determine the relative salubrity of districts, irrigated from canals or wells, or not irrigated at all. The best way to have done this would of course have been to have examined, by means of some test applicable to all, the entire population of such districts. This however being under the circumstances of the case a physical impossibility, the next best course was to take a given number indiscriminately from each village as a sample of the population, and, by the results of the examination of these, to arrive at a fair approximation to the sanitary condition of the whole. Now had the sick, who offered themselves, been accepted, the sample would have been a false one; and the general conclusions must have been erroneous. As it was, individuals were selected from the mass without any knowledge being had of their actual condition. Volunteers were invariably rejected, and precautions were taken to insure the selection being a perfectly fair one, including without discrimination the sick and the healthy. The inferences of the committee may therefore be received with confidence, not as being rigidly exact, but sufficiently so for every practical purpose.

That the introduction of irrigation over more than half the superficial area of the Doab will produce material climatic

changes is to be expected, and to these the native population will be found, as under like circumstances elsewhere, to adapt themselves. What the precise nature and extent of these changes may be, we cannot "a priori" determine, from want of the requisite data, but their progress ought to be watched with care. To do this, the first requisite is to obtain an exact knowledge of the present state of the climate in the district, which it is proposed to irrigate ; and with this view, the importance of having careful observations on the various climatic elements cannot be too earnestly urged. The Barometer, Thermometer, Hygrometer, and Rain-Guage ought to be systematically observed, and data procured now, before the canal is opened, for comparison after irrigation has been developed. We fear that the Government does not properly appreciate the interest and importance of observations like these. It is however certain, that if the opportunity of instituting them is allowed to pass unimproved, it will be a subject of increasing regret to all who are interested in canals of irrigation, and of merited reproach to the Government, on whose attention the matter has been strongly pressed.

We have now examined and, we hope, satisfactorily disposed of, the only objections, which, to our knowledge, have been advanced against the project of the Ganges canal; and although the general question of the execution of this great work has already been decided by the Government, we have thought it right to discuss in considerable detail the grounds on which the resolution to proceed with the work has been founded. Few will take the trouble of reading, and fewer still of examining minutely, the elaborate but strictly professional reports of the projector and his associates. Many, we believe, would desire to have presented to them the essence of these reports, divested as much as possible of technicalities; and this it has been our endeavour to give. If, in some cases, we have strengthened convictions, or in others, removed doubts regarding the wisdom of carrying into effect this magnificent project, we shall have had our reward.

The task we had prescribed to ourselves is now completed. We have passed in review the entire system of irrigation in Northern India ; a system, the importance and extent of which are appreciated within but a limited circle in this country, and not at all in England. The best statistical work in our language, McCulloch's Dictionary, full as it is to overflowing of details concerning the resources of almost every known land, dismisses the irrigation canals of these provinces in a few lines ! Yet upon these works, when fully developed, will

depend the agricultural prosperity of more than twelve millions of men, public revenue to the extent of nearly three millions, and produce of not less annual value than ten millions sterling. It is a common "façon de parler" ill considered, however, and superficial, that, were we now to be driven from this country, we should leave behind us no record of our administration that would survive for a century. Yet five centuries were not sufficient to obliterate the canals of Feroze, and these, as compared to the works of the British Government, were limited in extent, temporary in construction, and feeble in their power of resistance to the destroying hand of time. Interwoven as canals of irrigation are with the natural habits and feelings of the people, conducing so directly as they do to the material prosperity of the land, we may feel assured that the intellect which designed, the liberality that supported, and the skill that executed so many of these works, will live long in the remembrance of a grateful people.

There are still many improvements to be effected; improvements in internal administration, in works, and above all and before all, in the direct relations of the canals to the agricultural community, as connected with the systems of assessment and distribution of the waters. These, we hope and believe, are certain to be executed in course of time: but it is not without some feelings of despondency that we contemplate all that *might*, and all that ought to be done, and then reflect on the means whereby it is to be accomplished. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few"; and in this great want, the want of qualified men, we see the most serious obstacle to the complete development of the irrigation system of North Western India. Were such men available, there is not a stream now running waste through these provinces, which might not be made a source of wealth to the state, and of increased prosperity to the people. To no country in the world perhaps does the emphatic declaration of the famous Brindly, that "God meant rivers to feed canals," apply more emphatically, than to those fertile and populous plains, which stretch away southwards from the Himalayas, in irregular forms between the 70th and 84th parallels of longitude, and the 34th and 24th of latitude, and are traversed by the numerous rivers which flow from the great range. These rivers in the upper portions of their courses are commercially useless: agriculturally they are, or with skill might be made, invaluable. It would be the truest economy on the part of Government to increase the number of officers, qualified for duties in the irrigation department, and to employ them in

bringing into use the whole of the available water, which Providence has so abundantly provided. It may perhaps be worth while to show very briefly what the loss to the state alone amounts to, from neglect of this source of revenue.

The total volume of water, which might be rendered available for irrigation within the British Provinces of Northern India, may be approximately estimated at 20,000 cubic feet per second. Now, of this quantity about one half is brought into beneficial employment by means of existing, or partially executed canals. There are therefore left about 10,000 cubic feet per second now running waste to the sea, useless equally to the Government and the people. As the annual discharge of each cubic foot of this volume is sufficient for the actual watering of 218 acres, the whole would suffice for a tract of country, containing 2,180,000 acres; and as the average water rent levied by Government amounts to Rs. 1 per acre, the revenue from this source alone would be Rs. 21,80,000, or £218,000 per annum. Further, as the surface actually watered in irrigating villages bears to the whole area the average proportion of 1 to 4, and as the increase of land revenue due to irrigation is calculated on the latter, we should have an enhancement of the income of the state over a surface of country amounting to 8,720,000 acres, or nearly 10,290 square miles. Now this enhancement, at a rate of Rs. 350 per square mile, which is below the average of existing canals, amounts to Rs. 36,01,500, or nearly £360,150. Hence therefore the total loss sustained by Government, from failing to make due use of the water provided to its hands, amounts to Rs. 57,81,000, or £578,150 per annum.

The means, necessary to secure this magnificent addition to the resources of the state, are an expenditure of a capital of about two millions sterling, and the necessary increase in the number of engineers available for duties of this class. The successful results of such measures are no matters of theory. We have given sufficient illustrations already of the returns from canals of irrigation to make it needless to dwell on the point now, and we accordingly leave our statements to work their own way.

At length we have done: and nothing remains for us but to wish all success to those, who are, or may be, employed in the delightful task of diffusing the means of fertility over the face of the land. With many of them our happiest thoughts and most pleasant memories are associated; and, in the prospect of an early separation, and a doubtful reunion, we bid them all a hearty God speed in their work.

ART. IV.—1. *The History of Ceylon, presented by Capt. John Rebeyro to the King of Portugal in* 1685 ; *with an Appendix, containing chapters illustrative of the past and present condition of the Island, by George Lee, Postmaster General of Ceylon.*

2. *Papers relative to the affairs of Ceylon, presented to Parliament, February,* 1849.

IF we form our opinions as to Ceylon from the books of our Sanskrit sages, we must believe that the people there are a race of giants. If, on the other hand, we trust to the newspaper press of the island itself, we cannot escape the conviction that they are pigmies—Lord Torrington being their obnoxious Emperor, and Sir J. E. Tennent his Prime Minister. The *Ceylon Observer* proclaims that the Government does nothing right; the *Ceylon Times* that it does nothing wrong; while the more quiet *Ceylon Examiner* contents itself with discussions on political economy and literature, too high, we should think, to be very profitable in Colombo. Thus between the three every thing falls to the ground, except the bad feelings which they kindle and keep alive, and the bewilderment into which they throw those at a distance, who, like ourselves, desire only to discover the truth, and to do justice to all.

But if we turn to more intelligent and more intelligible sources of information, such as those which head this article, and put to ourselves the question, What is really doing in Ceylon? we obtain a very different result. We find that a grand experiment has been made, and is now progressing in that country, which may ultimately affect the destiny of all India ; and, even as to Lord Torrington's Government, we cannot help thinking, that it is very far from deserving that obloquy, which has been so recklessly cast upon it by its local assailants.

The grand experiment, to which we have alluded, is nothing less than the endeavour to superinduce, in so far as Ceylon is concerned, the progressive spirit of the West upon the immobility of the East ; in a word, to substitute the European type of civilization for that of Asia. This experiment, which may be said to have been begun from the first year of this century, when, by the 5th article of the treaty of Amiens, the Batavian republic made the cession of Ceylon to the British absolute, has been progressing all along with more or less prudence and success, although sometimes precipitated in a way which the chemistry of nations forbids, more especially by the changes

ordered in consequence of the report of Commissioner Colebrooke in 1832, and the coffee mania of the last ten years. Hence an explosion in the Kandian country in the August of last year; and hence financial difficulties to Government of far more consideration.

The universal enthusiasm, which attached to the planting of coffee ten years ago, unhappily extended to those who principally assisted at the movements of Government. In common with all others, who had the command of any capital, the Government servants entered personally into the speculation; and, carrying their bright hopes, as coffee planters, into the Treasury offices and executive Council, they concluded that a public revenue of almost indefinite amount might be counted upon for all time coming. The expenditure of Government was therefore fearlessly increased. The fixed establishments of the colony received a permanent addition, which, in 1848, amounted to £47,545 annually above what it was in 1840; and, with every thing looking bright, with a surplus revenue, appearing in the present, and presumed on for the future, things were put into such efficient train for emptying the Treasury, that, in 1847, the expenditure of the Government reached the figure of £518,987, while the largest income realized in any one year, the surplus of former years included, never exceeded £454,146. Of this last sum, moreover, the odd thousands (in a general view) were nothing better than Government notes in circulation, and payable on demand, but which it had been the strange fashion of the Ceylon treasury to estimate as revenue; so that the most prosperous condition of the revenue of Ceylon may be taken at £400,000,* while its liabilities in one year, amounted to £519,000; and, what was still more sad, the year of greatest liabilities lagged behind that of greatest prosperity; for it was 1845, which gave the maximum revenue, and 1847, which demanded the maximum outlay.

But why this unlooked for disaster? Because the coffee bushes on too many estates, on which too many thousands had been already spent, were found to be dying; and the thoughtless planters were obliged to look to their lands, and consider whether a soil, composed of grains of quartz, and scales of mica, at a stove heat, and swarming with vermin, were fit for growing coffee. The ultimate result however is, that things are com-

* The number 400,000 may be taken as a Memonic number for Ceylon statistics. Thus it represents in a general way,
1. The Island revenue in pounds sterling.
2. The value in grain, which it imports, also in pounds sterling.
3. The Coffee, which it may be expected next year to export, in cwts.
4. The Cinnamon, which it can export annually, in lbs.

ing right now. The coffee culture will stand, and be a good thing for those who begun economically in a good soil and climate, and a still better for those who have purchased estates cheap from the first class of speculators. Still, however, (let it be confessed) the prospect of coffee-planting is not now what it once was.

But while all was progressing, and all anticipated large fortunes, these originals of planters who, it must be acknowledged, have "gathered of all kinds," were careering over the Kandian country, in a way which, however much it was fun to them, was worse than death to the Kandians—and, let us add, to their cattle also, which used to roam over the forest at large, constituting the wealth of their masters, and, to say the truth, society for them also, far more congenial than these rough-shod planters in their leech-gaiters, with their accompanying gangs of much-detested Pariah Malabars. The social organisation of the Kandian country, such as it had previously been, became rapidly broken up. The Kandians grew discontented to the last degree; and ultimately, excited on the one hand by the earnest desire of the home Government to detach the local Government from all official participation in the Kandian heathenism, and on the other by the apprehension of a multitude of new taxes, which were never dreamt of, they gathered together, bent upon recalling pretenders to the ancient kingdom of Kandy. Both puppets and princes appeared; and, in a word, the Cinnamon Isle had the glory, during the eventful year 1848, of sharing in the political strife which then agitated all Europe.

And here, though but glancing now at the causes of the Kandian rebellion, let us not fail to mention another cause. It is what the priests alleged to the people, equally when they were urging them on, or consoling them under reverses and fainting hopes. "On last New year's day (April 11, 1847), the princely Vishnu (said they) descended from the throne, and gave the reins of Providence into the hands of the destroying Iswara, and, for twenty years to come, you are to look for nothing but the degradation of your holy religion. Has it not already begun? Henceforth, however, princes are no longer to career over the people, as they have been doing for the last twenty years, when Vishnu, the Protector of princes, ordered all things for their benefit. The people must now rise. So says the sacred Book. Do you not feel something working within you? It is the God, urging you to rise." And so they did. They rose, dark, dreaming, creatures! They rose; and, thousands having gathered at Matelle, and Dambúl, and Kornegalle, and all their ancient seats of Royalty and of superstition, they appeared in arms against the troops of the Queen of

England! The prospect was fearful: for, previously to the British occupation, the Kandians were an eminently cruel people; not even to the English had they shown any mercy, as the melancholy events of the year 1803 attest, when they massacred our sick in the hospitals, and shot our disarmed soldiers in couples. And therefore it was not without good grounds, that the Europeans, in Kandy and the central province generally, looked with horror at the idea of the natives getting the upper hand, and not without sound policy, that Lord Torrington took the most vigorous measures to suppress the rebellion.

But did the Kandians manifest any barbarity on this occasion? On the contrary, not one European lost his life at their hands. Nay, their forbearance, even to those whom they had altogether in their power, was most remarkable, although their prisoners were the very parties, whose planting operations had so much annoyed them. In fact, contrary to all the hopes which could have been safely counted upon, the evidence goes all to show, that the Kandians are now changed into a gentle and timid people—foolishly gentle indeed, if they are to assume the attitude of rebels at all. Now what could be the cause of a change so notable, and so unexpectedly benignant? This question brings us back to our starting place; and, having introduced our subject by this general sketch, let us now enter upon it with somewhat of scientific detail.

Ceylon, as we have said, ever since the beginning of the present century, has been the theatre of a grand experiment, having for its object to solve the question, Whether the type of Asiatic civilization can be made to give place to the European? That the types are very different, is obvious enough to any one who has visited this country, and especially to him who has visited Ceylon. The man, who looks upon the natives with his European eyes, is apt to go so far wrong as even to mistake the men for the women. The men in Ceylon wear long hair, gathered together behind by a high tortoise-shell comb, and kept braided back in front by a crescent shaped comb of the same material. Their necks, shoulders, and breasts (which are often strangely mammiferous in appearance) are usually bare; while they inclose the lower part of the body in a petticoat, wrapt so tight round the figure, that a manly gait is impossible, and the dandies among them mince it, as they go, with little steps, like the veriest coquettes. Moreover this difference, which appears in dress, appears in every thing. The types of Asiatic and of European civilization are eminently different. Now, though it be most true, as Sir Joshua Reynolds some where says, that, as to costume, it is hard to say whether

that of the gentleman of Europe, or of the Cherokee Indian, be farthest from a true propriety and fitness; and that, as to this matter, all nations had best be left to please themselves, provided only that the fashions be not very unhealthy, or very painful, as for instance tight-lacing and tattooing in European ladies and New Zealand chiefs; yet, looking to the question in a higher point of view, few things can be conceived as more desirable than the substitution of the active progressive type of European civilization, for the immobility and deadness of that of the East. Few thoughts can be more distressing to a truly philanthropic mind, than to be obliged to believe that the Eastern Asiatics are to be left for ever in the state in which they are now—in a society, composed of a frigorific mixture of castes, with no signs of emotive life at all, but that which is awoke by the practice of haggard, soul-destroying superstitions.

Now this grand question has never yet been solved, nor can it be solved in a satisfactory manner by mere speculation. It has indeed been proved, that the Asiatics cannot emancipate themselves. It has been proved, that they have reached a certain condition of civilization, beyond which they cannot pass by any internal energy of their own. Custom, which is a second nature even to a Saxon, has somehow come to be to an Asiatic all the nature that he has; and it may be set down for certain that, if the Eastern nations are ever to get out of that habit, which they all have fallen into, of ever looking to the past, and living in it, as the only golden age for their country—the time when the beau-ideal of truth, religion, and government realized itself—the escape from this must be effected for them, not by them. But whether the thing be practicable on the great scale, by ordinary human agency, has not yet been ascertained, nor can it be ascertained, by mere cogitation. Very cogent trains of reasoning by different thinkers have given conflicting conclusions. There is, therefore, no satisfactory way of solving it, but by trying it in some suitable portion of the field. Now this is what the British Government has been doing in Ceylon, ever since it got possession of the island; and surely a noble enterprize it is, every movement and result of which is deeply interesting to the philanthropist, wherever his dwelling place on the surface of our planet may be, and specially interesting to us in India.

What the ultimate result will be, cannot as yet be foretold. If the rebellion, which has been referred to, shows that risks must be encountered in carrying it on, it shows also a most encouraging moral change in the character of the people, since they rebelled before. If they have suffered in 1848 on the supposition that

they were still the dangerous and cruel race that they were in 1803, this is no doubt a misfortune. But it could neither be prevented, nor foreseen; and the discovery of their unlooked for timidity, and respect for Englishmen, will redound to their advantage every way in the future. Much light will be thrown on the whole question, by the reception and working of Lord Torrington's Road-making Ordinance, now in the course of being introduced to the natives; which, far from being a mere tax, magisterially laid upon the whole population solely with a view to revenue, as it has been represented, is, on the contrary, a very sagaciously devised scheme for developing the social system among the natives themselves, and calling upon them in an eminent degree to exercise their own wills; for, to do this in an energetic manner, is all that they want in order to become active and enlightened men, and good subjects of the Queen of England. The Asiatic mind, even as it is found in the women-like men of Ceylon, is far from being defective in dialectic power. Never in the masses indeed does this reach the dignity of reason; but it falls short only through the weakness of the power of volition, which is at once the life of the soul, and the principle, which is, in a word, the man himself. Take away the individual will, and there remains only the *caput mortuum* of human nature—an imitating, self-repeating thing, a creature of mere custom, whose wants, as an animal alone, serve to keep him alive.

Now this, to a most distressing extent, was the condition to which the Singhalese had fallen, when the British found them. The despotism of their own emperors and kings, and the tyranny still more absolute of the headmen, whom they appointed to rule them, tended wholly to crush the spirit of the people. The Portuguese sought only to astonish them with Catholic grandeur, to flatter, and to please them; and the Dutch, while their main object was to grind money out of them, conducted their Government (and even their most laudable attempts at conversion to Protestant Christianity) in such an absolute way, that the native will was suppressed under our immediate predecessors, even more than it ever had been under their native princes; so that, as we found them, when we acquired the island, the Singhalese had become a most abject, suspicious, and deceitful race, ready to profess any faith, or to occupy any position, which would save their interests, or serve their turn; and, above all things, never daring for a single moment to entertain such a notion, as that they were fellow-subjects of the same prince with those who ruled them.

Such was the inheritance to which Great Britain succeeded in 1796, when she got possession of the maritime provinces of Ceylon. But it was obviously impossible that a British Government could tolerate such a state of things in what was to be ranked as one of her colonies. In a word, as soon as Ceylon was included in the category of a British colony, the colonial system of England was extended to it, including of course the review of all local legislation at Westminster; and consequently there was established from that date a security for every man, whatever his creed, colour, or language, whom the Queen of England acknowledged as her subject, that he should have all his rights and privileges as such, as soon as he was in a condition to use, or even to appreciate them. Such is the glorious principle of English colonization. But here truth obliges us to confess that, in so far as Ceylon was concerned, the maintenance of the principle was for a long time the best of the result. When proceeding to apply the principles of western civilization, and of the constitution of England to the natives of Ceylon, their abject state, and their pre-possession in favour of another order of things altogether different, were not duly considered. And still worse, the distressing fact was forgotten, that the natives then looked upon the British, as indeed they still do, exactly as they looked upon the Dutch, that is, merely as masters, holding their country by force of conquest, and for the purpose of taking money away from them.

Still, however, even so early as the year 1811, trial by jury was established, and has continued ever since; and doubtless this was a noble offering of confidence to the natives, and might have been expected to win them over, if anything would. In point of fact however it has been but indifferently appreciated; and, if it had to be done again, and either "the Governor in Council" or "the collective Supreme Court" were asked for an opinion as to its expediency, we rather think even now, that both would agree in saying, "Wait a while." The melancholy fact is that, among the Singhalese as they actually stand at this day, it is only when veracity concurs with interest (interest estimated on the coarsest principles) that the truth is to be looked for from any Singhalese man on his oath. Add to this, that their point of honour is ever-more to refuse to report to Government any delinquency in one of themselves, however flagrant,—and it will be easy to see that courts of law, framed after the model of those of England, must work very badly in Ceylon. But we have not told the worst; and we must here let out a secret. There is (in fact especially for the

purpose of frustrating the course of justice) in every considerable Singhalese village a class of persons, who style themselves "Rural Proctors," whose self-taught education consists in hanging about the courts, and learning by observation there the course which trials take, with a view to discover the management which secures the escape of the guilty, and the success of the unjust; this being mastered, they set up in their villages, their profession being to shape the case for any one, who has been caught in a crime, or is bent on attempting one under the cover of the law, which is a favorite form of revenge among the Singhalese. As the complement of this system, there is also in every considerable village a supply of false witnesses (familiarly known among their countrymen by the name of the Demon, who is believed by them to watch by a dying man to carry off his soul), and these false witnesses will swear to anything that is feasible for a rupee or two; and now indeed, that prices are falling, for much less money. It is needless to say after this that trial by jury in Ceylon necessarily failed in its object. It is also a serious thought that it failed in that collateral benefit, which it brings so largely along with it in England;—namely, the intellectual development of the common people, and the training of them to conceptions of equity. The Singhalese have quite lost sight of this long ago. With them the root of equity has long ago run to seed; and all that remains is casuistry. Of this they sometimes give fine displays. Thus a high caste headman was being tried the other day by the court, when the interpreter (who was a person of inferior caste,) in putting a question to him from the judge, addressed him without the honorifics, to which he was entitled. The headman immediately complained; but, before the complaint reached the bench, the interpreter with admirable casuistry answered, "You ought to consider that at present my mouth is the month of the court, and that I must address you as if I were the judge." The great evil of the establishment of the English judicial system lay in this, that it went to feed this quibbling and litigious, or (to give it a better name) this dialectic disposition, in which the Orientals are quite at home from time immemorial; and that it did nothing to develop their wills, in the want of which their main weakness, as compared with Europeans, consists. Upon the whole it fully appears, that the establishment of trial by jury was an unseasonable, if not an altogether unfit, step in the grand experiment; and it is to be desired that those, whose philanthropy leads them to propose such bold measures, should have a higher order of intelligence than Sir Alexander Johnstone. Trial by jury has not however been altogether without good fruits. Thus

the jury ordinance (which however dates from the time of the present chief justice Sir A. Oliphant, and not from that of the original institution) takes no cognizance of caste, but only of language. It has in this way done a great deal to break down the prejudices of caste; and so well does it seem to have worked, notwithstanding its apparent boldness, that it is said that the Singhalese, in their own village councils, have adopted this fusion of castes and elect their arbitrators from all the castes of the district, who sit together without objection.

Another movement of the British Government, of still greater moment than the judicial establishment, was an order of the Queen in Council in 1832, in which it is declared and ordered, "That none of Her Majesty's native, or Indian, subjects within this island (Ceylon) shall be, or are, liable to render any service in respect of the tenure of their land, or in respect of their caste, or otherwise, to which Her Majesty's subjects of European birth, or descent, are not liable; any law, custom, or regulation, to the contrary notwithstanding." This was in other words, the abolition of the Raja Karia (king's service) or forced labour system. Previously to that date, an iron-handed feudalism prevailed; in virtue of which the people were subject to be called upon, by the Government headmen, to execute whatever works Government took in hand. And doubtless it was a noble step to emancipate them from such a thraldom; and a noble result of their privileges as subjects of England. It is much to be regretted however (as the Secretary of State for the time remarked, three years after, in a déspatch to Sir R. Horton, then Governor of Ceylon) that in setting the masses free from this bondage, the effects of the change upon the future progress, or rather possibility, of public works, and yet more upon the status of the headmen, had not been more maturely considered. Singhalese people in general will never work, if they can help it. All nature invites them to vegetate. And as long as every family lives in its own garden, or in a garden free from rent, as is generally the case now, all the members of it will rather share in common, and content themselves with the husks which the swine do eat, than stir from home, or even stir at home, to grow better food. Wretched indeed is the diet on which the masses of the country people subsist. Various sorts of young cocoanuts, jack fruits, cucumbers, and jungle leaves, with condiments, constitute the usual ingredients of their curries. Rice falls rarely to the lot of the poorer classes; fish very seldom; and flesh next to never. Hence arise great feebleness of frame, and a constitution which succumbs under the first invasion of disease: though it may be also remarked that, in consequence of the carbonaceous nature of their diet, corpu-

lency is not uncommon, and now and then a very strong man is to be seen. Only a very small portion of the labour of Ceylon is performed by Singhalese. They have not an adequate motive to bestir themselves in working. Nirvana, or extinction, is the highest prospect which they promise to themselves in heaven, and sleep is their highest standard of enjoyment upon earth. Sleep is also the practice of their religion: for they have no God; to attain Nirvana is every thing, and sleep goes far to commence it. It was therefore a pity to relieve them from the Rajakaria, without opening to them, at the same time, some definite way of bestirring themselves voluntarily, in obedience to those habits of activity, which had been fixed upon them. How easy and beneficial would it have been at that time to have introduced the road ordinance, which, with all the privileges it confers, they are now so disinclined to accept! The opportunity was lost however; and we need say no more about it.

But still more serious, in its consequences to the administration of the Government, was the abolition of forced labour in its bearings upon the characters of the head men. During the existence of that system, they derived their emoluments by taking bribes from parties, whom they called out to work, and then let off, in consideration of what they gave them —a way of raising the wind, which, though dishonest and unlawful, had yet a sort of equity in it behind the scenes. But now there is scarcely any way in which the head men can make money, but by the disposal of their patronage (for generally speaking they still continue to nominate all the petty head men); whence it comes to pass, that the latter, having emptied their pockets to buy their places, must lose no time, as soon as they get into office, to replenish them again; for which, indeed, a fine field is open to them, as they constitute the rural police, and can always depend on a goodly proportion of presents from all gamblers, thieves, and robbers, who have any discretion. Thus we have a system, which not only saps all possible morality among the Singhalese people, and which utterly frustrates all missionary and educational enterprize, but which throws the headmen into necessary opposition to every Englishman,—the worst of whom has never yet been known to go along with the natives in such villainy. Hence, on the part of the head men, conscious guilt, suspicion, cunning, and a readiness for every evil course that they have strength for. Hence their fitness for a rebellion, and the possibility of planning one all over the country, headed by outlaws and robbers, as is well known to have been the case in the late rising in Kandy. On the abolition of the Rajakaria, care should have been taken to increase the salaries of

the head men, and to confer new honours upon them, in consideration of their having been head men at so glorious an epoch, as the emancipation of their countrymen from serfdom. At the same time, all that was practicable should have been done to educate their sons, and to train them to principles of equity and humanity, and, as far as possible, to instil into their minds the principles of our holy religion; which being once secured in the heart, every thing is secured, that a good Government and a happy people can desire; and in order to which, it is pleasing to find, that there are not in Ceylon the same difficulties to be contended with, that there are in this country, as may be seen more fully by reference to our 10th number, in which an account is given of the educational system of Ceylon. Not that every thing can be safely intrusted to head men, however satisfactory their characters. Such a form of Government is wholly incompatible with the European type. Still it needs but a slender knowledge of the East to know that this system must not be lightly interfered with. It is pleasing to learn, in reference to Ceylon, however, that since the abolition of serfdom there has been gradually arising what may be called a native public. Enterprizing individuals have appeared in the field, who, by their agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing ability, have risen to wealth, all independent of Government patronage. The villagers generally also are becoming more happy, and beginning to feel that they have rights; and thus a generally diffused check to the operations of the head men is beginning to make its apparition in every village, and the wiser among the head men are beginning to be somewhat circumspect. It is now the moment for Government to do something; and a long letter on this subject from Sir J. Emerson Tennent to Lord Torrington, of the greatest value, is to be found in the Ceylon published Papers at p. 160. But the profound ignorance, on the part of the Civil Servants generally, of the native language, (a fact existing in the face of the most explicit injunctions from the Secretary of State given again and again,) places them wholly at the mercy of the head men whom they have about them, and renders every change unsafe, and all real progress impossible.

After the establishment of the judicial system, and the abolition of forced labour, there is no event which has exercised so important an influence upon Ceylon as the Coffee mania. In virtue of this great movement, the mountain Singhalese, or Kandians, came prominently under the eye of Government, which had previously shaped its legislation chiefly for the low country, or maritime, Singhalese. Now, between these two tribes there is a great difference, depending not only on the physical conditions of climate, &c., but also on their respective histories. The maritime

Singhalese are in a high degree a plastic people, of eminently gentle dispositions; and, though they cannot originate anything, they are very apt in imitating. In consequence of this they have amongst them many valuable arts; but all of them, without exception, they appear to have learned from their successive masters, Tamuls, Portugese, Dutch, and English. The mountain Singhalese, on the other hand, are far from being the same modifiable sort of beings. They are inferior in the use of their reasoning powers, and are less reflectively disposed; but they are more passionate and firm in their hereditary habits and attachments. Both live in the past, and consider the state of things, when their sacred books were composed, as the golden age and beau-ideal of social, as well as of religious, order; but the low country Singhalese live more in the world than the Kandians, and are every way far more practicable subjects for an enlightened Government to deal with. They are wholly disposed to be good subjects, and to move along with the Government; and this might be at once secured, if the Government agents, or collectors, would but move about amongst them, and make themselves accessible to the better classes of natives, otherwise than through their much detested head men as interpreters; who, in addressing their inferiors in caste or rank, still attempt to keep up the disgusting refusal of respectful terms to common people, as used to be the case in the days of their utmost serfdom and degradation. Nothing can be farther from a Singhalese man's mind, than to think of a public meeting for the recall of a governor, or even for the repeal of a tax. The day for such things may possibly be coming in the East, as it has come in the West; but it is far distant now. We do indeed hear of such things even in the present day; but it is all stuffed into them by a set of men, who, for the sake of revenge, are going directly in the teeth of their own principles, and, professing to be friends of the Singhalese, are raging at Government like furies—though Government has done nothing worse than to have made a new and well considered attempt to rouse this dormant people, for their own good, from their immemorial slumbers.

But to return to the Coffee mania. We cannot change the name, though the reader may not approve of it; for a mania it truly was. Only fancy, sea captains, London-bred merchants, and younger sons, in short, speculators of all sorts, all most innocent of the veriest rudiments of agriculture, leaving their decks, their desks, and their drawing-rooms, to plant (for themselves, or those whom they represented) Coffee estates in the Kandy country of Ceylon! No doubt, they had before them the example of the civil and military servants in the island, who began the specula-

tion, whom it might seem safe to follow; and who, to tell the truth, have much to answer for, as well as the Government that sanctioned their rashness. But that was all their fitness, and all their guidance: yet they rushed into the jungle, and, that in such style, that they never drew breath, nor looked behind them, until they had purchased from Government 300,000 acres of forest land, the great bulk of it destined for growing Coffee, and even now, cultivated to such an extent, that the Coffee expected from Ceylon is more than equal to the entire consumption of the British Isles! Now to realize such an enterprize as was projected, millions of sterling money would be required; and in point of fact, for several years, money flowed in abundantly; and not money only, but Europeans bent on spending it in Ceylon. Every ship that reached the roads in Colombo, every Steamer at Point de Galle, gave a long list of new arrivals, every one gay, and flush of cash, or ready with his signature, which was then quite as good. Soon there was nothing but felling and burning of forests on every mountain; and then there was the planting out of the little hopeful nurslings; and, in due time, there was the beautiful white Coffee blossom, sprinkling the new cut hill side as with fragrant snow; and then there was the happy superintendent, with his boasted salary of hundreds, and plenty of good cheer in his bungalow, slapping his lank coolies half in fun, and singing out, through his cigar-retaining teeth, "surka, surka," being his whole vocabulary of their language as yet.

And now the berry is ripe; and there is the gathering; and there is the grating off the pulp; and the washing off the gratings; and there is the drying of the bean in the parchment; and then there is the storing; and the bandy getting; and the sending off to Colombo; and then there is the peeling, and the picking there; and then there is the shipping; and then in good course, there is the selling in London. All is right. All is life. The only cry is, "Let us fell, and plant more." The work proceeds. Labour is in great demand. Coal-black coolies, with their long staves, and spindle-shanks, gang after gang, are footing it from the far away country of the Malabars, leaving behind them by the long road-side what is seen by them, on their return home, (for they soon weary of Ceylon) as a rain-bleached skeleton, grinning at the sun. Meanwhile, the more cautious Singhalese man is stealing up, by some well known jungle path, with his axe over his shoulder. The Moorman mason keeps to the road; while the Portuguese fellow tries to get a cast in the coach: for there are now two coaches between Colombo and Kandy every day. Long trains of covered carts, or bandies, are seen wending

round the shoulder of the mountain on the Kandy road—the bandymen roaring to their bullocks, so as to match Cerberus himself, and in fact every way as bad as that dog. They are a horrid set, these bandymen. Meanwhile the little bullocks pull, and pull, the yoke resting on their necks, before the hump, which buffs it well; and up go the rice, and the fish, and the arrack, and the implements; and down comes the Coffee bag; and all is life and hope, and hope again, in a fair day till evening. Infinite spirit do the planters display. They stick at no expense —at nothing.

But what is Government doing meanwhile? Why, what better could Government wish for? But plainly it must not merely look on. The sales of land, the importation of stores to maintain such a prodigious increase of population, and of implements of all kinds, necessary to a large planting and thriving community, as well as the liberal consumption of excisable commodities on the spot, gave such a flourish to the revenue, that from £331,200, which was its amount in 1840, it was found in 1845 to have reached the figure of £454,146; and that without any pearl fishery at all, and less than usual from cinnamon. Now all this is most pleasing, nay, spirit-stirring: and accordingly, even the despatch of a Secretary of State grows spontaneously eloquent. "The great importance of that possession (says Earl Grey, writing of Ceylon,); the amplitude and variety of its native resources; the field it has opened to European capital and enterprise: its geographical position, as the key of the Indian Ocean, and the great insular outpost of the British Empire in the East; its salubrious climate; its unrivalled harbour, pointing it out as the great reserve station of our military and naval forces in that quarter of the globe; all these are considerations, &c." Thus it went; and plainly the local Government, in receiving such despatches and such increase of revenue, and having to preside over an island, in such a state as Ceylon then was, incurred new responsibilities, and came under new obligations. To do justice to the manifold applications for land, the survey department needed to be put on a more efficient and expensive scale. To make the land, which was bought, of any use to the purchasers (the major part of whom paid £1 per acre for it) a net work of roads, all over the mountains, must be constructed; and a road department of great efficiency must be added to the Government departments. Moreover, the great increase in property, and its transfer, and the influx of a new population, gave rise to endless calls for the aid of the law; and thus the judicial establishment must be increased. But all this added immensely to the work of the civil depart-

ment of the Government; so this needed also to be reinforced. Nor was this all. The sudden influx of new comers, bringing neither houses, furniture, nor food, but only plenty of money with them—yet wanting all these things, and ready to pay whatever might be demanded for them—so raised rents, and the cost of living generally, that the old stagers, and the military, could no longer live upon their pay, as they had been accustomed to do. A sudden depreciation had in fact taken place in the value of the circulating medium; and a general rise in all salaries indiscriminately was called for, to make them to be worth what they were before. And thus it came to pass, one way with another, that the expenditure of the island, which in 1844, the year of greatest promise, was only £374,576, mounted up; so that Lord Torrington, on his arrival, found it in a fair way for reaching in 1847, (as it actually did) the sum of £518,987, leaving at the year's end an absolute deficiency of £26,000—and that, after the last dregs of a boasted surplus, the accumulation of former years, had been drained!

It was understood by every body here, and in England, and doubtless by Lord Torrington himself among the foremost, that he was coming to govern a prosperous colony, with a prosperous revenue, and a large surplus of hard cash in the Treasury. But the tide had turned; and so rapidly did it ebb, that the coffers could not bear to be looked into, long before the end of the year in which he arrived. Nor could either he, or Sir J. Emerson Tennent, or all his Council, even though they had been true magi, have stemmed the outward-bound current of cash. It was easy for the planters to stop spending money, when they had no more to spend; and for English merchants to stop sending goods to Ceylon, when they found themselves realizing a dead loss. But a Government cannot change its ways so easily. The people it has bred, or made a nest for, insist on being fed. What, though they know that their mother's breasts have gone dry? they cannot starve 12,000 miles from home.

But supposing that there had been permanent funds to meet the new expenditure, as was fondly and foolishly hoped for by the Coffee planting council of Sir Colin Campbell, was the outlay judicious? or was there, as there is always reason to apprehend, much jobbing on the occasion? This is a fair question. In answer, it fully appears from the published accounts, that though, during the interval between 1840 and 1848, the annual ordinary expenditure was augmented by a sum no less than that which has been stated, and though there was sometimes a contingent outlay for public works, &c., amounting to £100,000, still nothing appears, which will bear the construction of obvious jobbing

by those who were on the spot, and in possession. There is, on the contrary, a *bonâ fide* enlargement of Government men and Government work, proportional to the increase of outlay. In some of the more exalted walks of improvement, indeed, some public servants seem to have been appointed by anticipation. Thus in 1844, Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State, sent a Bishop to the folks of Ceylon on an income of £2,500; though there is certainly a want of evidence even to the present day, that such a dignitary was either wanted, or could be turned to much use there. Mr. Anstruther, the Colonial Secretary, who immediately preceded Sir J. Emerson Tennent, although he must surely have borne a hand in forwarding the enlargement, has, since his return to Europe, given it as his opinion, that the Government of Ceylon might be better conducted on one-half of its present cost. And it may no doubt be well argued, that a few first-rate men would be better than ten times the number of bad ones. But a certain system had been adopted, ever since the Civil Service of Ceylon (unhappily for itself) was broken off from that of India: and Sir Colin Campbell was too old a soldier to recommend any organic change in his day.

Happily for the confusion into which things had fallen, however, sometime before Sir Colin returned home, Sir J. E. Tennent arrived as Colonial Secretary: and he, seeing that things could not possibly be allowed to go on longer as they had been going, began forthwith to apply his well known talents to the revision and reform of the entire commercial system of the island—which, notwithstanding great steps made in a right direction, especially by Mr Anstruther, who possessed enlightened views in political economy, still bore too many marks of the Dutch Factory system, in which it originated. The result was an elaborate report by Sir Emerson, setting forth the entire commercial policy of the island, with his own plans for opening and improving it: and this, having been considered by a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State, was productive of another report by them; and thus the ground was laid for the policy, which was dictated to Lord Torrington, when he took the reins in hand.

And here, whether we look to Sir Emerson's report, to that of the Committee, to Earl Grey's instructions in connection with them, or to Lord Torrington's Government, we see a fixed determination towards the steady pursuit of the grand experiment of forwarding, if possible, the European type of civilization in Ceylon, and giving the Singhalese a fair chance to become a free, industrious, and progressive, people, like those of the West—if only they have it in them. For proof of this the entire Blue Book, published by command of Parliament, may be consulted, and,

especially Earl Grey's despatch, of Oct. 24, 1848, consisting of four folio pages, and Lord Torrington's, of May 6th, 1848, of six pages. We should have been happy to have quoted from them, but we refrain, feeling that to have abridged them would be to do them injustice. Suffice it to say, that their general principle is, that the taxes must be so levied, as not to oppress industry, and dissuade from it; but on the contrary, so as (if possible) to develope the activity of the people, to interest them in their own affairs, and to raise their standard of enjoyment.

But while such plans were being formed in reference to the affairs of *this* world in Ceylon, Her Majesty's Government had resolved, that the connection, which had hitherto subsisted between the British Government and the religion of Budha, at once atheistical and idolatrous, should altogether cease; that the Government should no longer appoint Budhist priests to Budhist temples; and that the Government agent of Kandy should no longer be the custodier of the Dalada, or sacred Tooth. In a word, it was resolved to require of the Budhists to manage their own affairs, for which every facility would be afforded them, and full protection in the exercise of their religion; while they should retire with the whole of their property, and with every immunity, except the participation of Government.

But this was what the Kandian chiefs and priests were by no means disposed to accede to voluntarily, on any terms that could be proposed, or suggested. The State connection of their church appeared now to be every thing in their eyes. And, as they knew that it could not be broken, without a violation of the Kandian convention (according to their understanding of it at least), they were very difficult to deal with: believing in all probability, that if they were firm and successful in starting objections to all possible plans that were proposed to them, the connection would not be broken at all. There were positive instructions from Downing Street, however, to the effect, that that unholy alliance should forthwith terminate, as certainly it ought, whatever the cost in wordly advantage to England. The dissolution was accordingly announced, to the great annoyance of both priests and Kandian chiefs. The Dalada was committed to their own keeping, where it ought always to have been; and thus matters remained until the late rebellion, when it was unhappily resumed—not however as a symbol of rebellion, or a trophy of war, in which case all would have been right, but for its safe custody! And thus, this most difficult question is thrown as far back as ever; and it is very hard to say, what ought to be done. There should certainly be a right understanding, and an honorable observance

of the Kandian convention, on the part of England: and therefore the consent of those who were parties to it, or of those who now represent them, should by all means be obtained—provided their interpretation of the convention be legitimate, according to the usual understanding of such treaties by natives generally. But if it should appear, that their view of the matter is, that, in virtue of the Kandy convention, every interest in the Kandian country was thereafter to stand for ever in *statu quo*, and all things and interests whatsoever to remain for ever, as they were at the time when the British Government became masters of the country—too much pains could not be bestowed to show them the unreasonableness of such an interpretation. Yet there is ground to apprehend that such is their conception. Thus, in the petition of the inhabitants of Dumberre against the new taxes, the 3d complaint opens in these terms:—"That the Government has altered the laws and customs in force, at the British accession to the kingdom of Kandy, is evident from the following facts." Ceylon Papers, p. 143. This shows that the principle of the grievance is the alteration of customs and laws, apart altogether from the question of the merit of the changes. The same fact is also very emphatically brought out by Lord Torrington, in a remarkable despatch to Earl Grey, dated August 14th, 1848, in which His Excellency assigns his views as to the causes of the Kandian rebellion, and at the close uses these words:—"Above all, I cannot forget the expression, which was addressed to me by one of the Chiefs, at a solemn conference at the pavilion at Kandy last year, to the effect that "*if you neither respect our religion, nor our customs, what is the benefit to us of the British Government?*" Ceylon Papers, p. 188. Here we have the true Asiatic. The same view of things appears also in the evidence of the Priest, Panebokke Gúneratane Unanse. He assigns, as the first ground of rebellion, the abandoning of the temple Dalada Maligawa, and the other temples, called Dewalis; and as the second "that contrary to the customs of the Kandian country, individuals of low caste are made equal with those of ancient and high families, or equal power is given to the former as to the latter," (p. 229)—an objection, with which it is most instructive to compare Sir J. E. Tennent's remarks on this subject. "It is a fact, (says Sir Emerson, in one of the paragraphs of his tour of conference,) worthy of your Excellency's special attention, that the districts, thus well affected and peaceful, are chiefly under the charge of chiefs and head men, who have been chosen by Government, in consideration of their intelligence and ability, and who are, in many instances, men of inferior caste; while the Corles (districts) recently

in rebellion are those placed under chiefs, who had been continued in office for no better consideration than their hereditary rank, or that deference and submission which the people exhibit to the pretensions of caste and family." (p. 200.) And here let us quote these all-important observations on this head from another report by Sir Emerson, the result of a former trip among the people. "Whilst the tendency of our recent policy has been, by abolishing unjust distinctions, to bring down the power of the chiefs to the level of the people, we have forgotten the still more important duty of elevating the people nearer to the level of the chiefs; and whilst, as a matter of course, the head men and their creatures are the organs of all information conveyed to the natives, and the immediate authors of all the impressions they receive on public or local matters, we have not amongst the people themselves, throughout the interior of the island, any controlling check whatever, nor any countenancing authority to detect abuses, and encourage the well-affected. *We have no press, no paid police, no resident justices, no itinerant catechists, no school-masters, in short, no class, whose intelligence and independence would be a restraint upon the assumptions or misrepresentations of the chiefs.* (B. B., p. 163). He had previously said, that periodical circuits, and personal visits, attention to complaints, and inquiry into abuses on the spot, more frequent intercourse with Europeans, and the general diffusion of education, would soon quicken the apprehension of the natives, and set matters right: and there can be no doubt, that, as to all these matters, there has been most culpable neglect in all the successive Governments of Ceylon, since the acquisition of the Kandian country in 1815.

But let us return to the causes of dissatisfaction with Government, as ascertained from the Priest Pannebokke already referred to. The four following, together with the two, which have been stated already, constitute the first half dozen—the number being thirteen in all. "3d. When roads (says he) are being made, or opened, through districts, or villages, some of the drunkards and vagabonds, employed on them, use most indecent and improper language, which, not only females, but even males, are shocked to hear. They forcibly pluck and take away the fruits from the neighbouring gardens. In some districts, Coffee estates are left without fences, and the cattle, that enter them, are shot; or they are tied, and the owners are made to pay £1, or £2, for each head of cattle. This is done only in some estates, and not in others. 4th. That, after Coffee estates are planted on hills belonging to Government, the neighbouring waste lands, being private property, are prevented from being

cultivated, on the alleged ground that they are crown property. 5th. Whenever taverns are established in the interior, either on the road side, or in the villages, the neighbouring inhabitants become drunkards, use indecent language, gamble, commit robberies, burn houses, and in some instances commit murder. 6th. Some of the low country people, uniting themselves with drunkards, kill privately the cattle of other people, and eat their flesh." Now these, it must be confessed, are very substantial grievances to a people quite indisposed to participate in the advantages of the Coffee speculation, and who formerly occupied these mountains, as if they were all their own; and, let us add, grievances to a priesthood also, who, though they take no active interest in the morals of the people, nor are required by Budha to do so, yet believe themselves to be hindered in their own march towards Nirvana, which is all their mission, by contact with every thing that is immoral, or impure. It is quite obvious, however, that if the Kandian country was to be opened to agricultural enterprize at all, these are evils which any Government could do but little to prevent.

As to taverns, indeed, to which most of the priests' grievances are plainly to be ascribed, we trust that something will soon be done: though, of course, it would be too much to insist upon it now, when the sails of the revenue of Ceylon are so completely backed by the causes, which have been stated. For a revision of this source of revenue, and of the ordinance by which it is raised, every principle of justice and of humanity calls. Not less than one-sixth of the entire regular revenue of Ceylon is derived from arrack and toddy farms, and from duty upon stills, and spirit licenses. The ordinance is so stringent, that a native incurs a penalty, if he even venture to draw a tumbler of flower sap from his own cocoanut tree, without first procuring and paying for a license. He is thus forbid access to an innocent and healthful beverage, which the trees of his own garden yield; and, what is worse, he is required, if he will have it, to go to the tavern for it, where he can only procure it in an already intoxicating state, and accompanied by the persuasion of the tavern-keeper to take arrack instead, which it gives the latter less trouble to keep in the tavern, and which pays him better. Add to this, that the arrack farms are so large, the rents so high, and the importance of the renter so great in the eyes of his countrymen, that the wealthy Singhalese bid against each other for these farms at such a rate (they are sold by public auction), that the purchaser has no chance of recovering his money, but by offering every conceivable induce-

ment to the entire population, in the district which he farms, to drink ardent spirits. Nor is it possible for the Government to prevent this evil, while the present system continues. When objections can be raised against any particular taverns by missionaries, or well conducted natives, the Government agents (collectors) do indeed readily order them to be shut up; but the renter is not long in finding another more secluded spot in the same neighbourhood, where the poison may be dispensed, and greater crimes indulged. This is surely a wretched state of things, demoralizing and ruinous to the native population, to the last degree.

Still it is only of a piece with the old revenue system of Ceylon. Thus, there is also a land revenue, more honestly a paddy tax, which yields one-sixth of the regular revenue remaining, after the produce of the arrack rents is deducted; and, by the ordinance under which this is collected, every villager is obliged to report to a head man, perhaps at some distance, and perhaps an unaccommodating, insolent fellow to boot, that his field is ripe for cutting; and he must wait for the head man's leisure, and for Government watchers, before he dare cut it down, although, with every breath that blows, the grain may be falling in bushels among the mud beneath.

And then again, all of a piece, there is the salt tax, from which, deducting the arrack and paddy taxes, one-sixth of the remaining revenue is derived, which makes it penal for a man to gather up the salt, which the friendly sea and sun unite in throwing up to him at the foot of his garden. No doubt through custom the people are now reconciled to all these taxes. But such imposts give Reason such offence, that she forsakes the people who find no fault with them. They are altogether opposed both to the intellectual and moral development of the Singhalese, and of every other people. But until a new system can be introduced, we need not enlarge on this theme now; for if you abolish these and such like taxes, where is the revenue of Ceylon? As a grand step to develop native industry and foster produce, all export duties have been abolished by Lord Torrington's Government, except a comparatively small residuary duty on cinnamon, which is also ordered by the Secretary of State to be abolished, the first moment that the state of the revenue will allow. Co-ordinate with this, it is to be remembered, that, several years ago, in order to free the Government from all charge of being a trading company, the cinnamon gardens were sold by public auction to private parties. The pearl fishery also, after yielding the best part of one million sterling

to the British Government from the date of its accession till the year 1837, has since that time, through causes not discoverable, yielded absolutely nothing. What may therefore be considered as the natural and peculiar sources of revenue in Ceylon are gone for ever. In the present transition state, the main burden of the regular revenue lies upon imposts, stamps, and tolls; but these depending (as they do) for their productiveness mainly on European enterprize, and not being benefitted one anna from one in ten of the natives—it becomes indispensable to reach the people by new taxes, which shall be such, that without offending reason and justice, or dissuading from industry, but rather urging, or even forcing to it, till the habit is formed, they shall produce the revenue which is indispensable to the maintenance of the Government. The Dutch, by pursuing the system which has been described, and securing a revenue by taxing the very necessaries of life, and the springs of the cherished activity of the natives, made Ceylon, by the sale of the Government cinnamon sent to Amsterdam, to be worth nearly £100,000 yearly to the mother country. England asks no profit; she only asks, that Ceylon shall support itself. But this she asks magisterially; so that plainly the thing must be done: and, let us add, £24,000 must be paid to boot, in aid of the Queen's military chest—a heavy charge this, and a sore disparagement. What then is to be done? Plainly the system, which was begun nearly half a century ago, *must* be pursued. The subjects of the Queen of England in Ceylon are not to be looked upon as mere things of custom; they are to be treated as human beings, capable of activity, and self-development. What though it be true, that such is their present intellectual state, that they appear to consider the repeal of a long established tax, however shameful and unjust, as great an injury and offence on the part of Government* as the appointment of a new one? gradually

* This fact had within the last few years a curious verification in Ceylon. There used to be in the Dutch time a fish tax: every fish that was caught in the sea was required to pay a tax, for the privilege, we may suppose, of being allowed to enter another element. For this purpose the Indian Ocean, which surrounds the island, was constituted a fish farm; and an organisation was established by the renters, at every fishing village along the coast, by which the fish might be sold, as soon as a boat landed, and the share of Government secured before any risk was run. This most obnoxious tax was done away with by Mr. Stewart McKenzie many years ago. But, strange to say, the natives still keep up the organisation of the fish tax for their own comfort (which lies wholly in the maintenance of a custom, be it what it may); and at Colombo, the metropolitan province, they sell this sea farm themselves, year after year, as Government used to do, for the behoof of their priests, who, being Roman Catholics, have not the same objections to the receipt of money that Budhist priests have. Let us add in justice to them however, that they have not the same indolence, and appear to bestow the money faithfully for their own church extension purposes.

they will get out of such feelings; and when they awake to themselves, they will learn to appreciate good Government. Let them therefore be awoke, even though the first form of their awaking be that of uneasiness and discontent: for nothing is more certain than that, but for the existence of this uneasiness, there never would be industry, or activity of any kind, in man or beast.

The great measure of Government in Ceylon at the present moment is the Road-making Ordinance. It is positively called for by the fact, that, even supposing the public expenditure curtailed to the lowest figure practicable, still there would not be funds adequate to keep up and extend the communications of the island, as the welfare and progress of the population demand. The contemplated working of the new ordinance is thus described by Lord Torrington, in a despatch to Earl Grey, dated June 26th, 1848; "I feel it to be my duty at once to state to your Lordship, that the principles, brought directly into practical operation by this ordinance, are of a much more important and extensive nature, than the title of the ordinance would intimate, if unaccompanied by an explanation of the machinery by which it is intended that it shall be reduced to practice. The importance of more ready and convenient modes of internal communication is too obvious to require more than a passing observation.....But the real effect of this measure will be to initiate the element of local self-government; to habituate the mass of the people to interest themselves in matters which are obviously conducive to their individual, as well as their common, interests; to teach them the advantage of combined exertions for the general good; and, I am free to admit, to relieve the Government, or, rather I should say, to delegate from it some of the responsibilities, which directly attach to it, as the guardian of the people. I proceed therefore unreservedly to lay the matter before your Lordship in all its bearings. The report of Sir W. Colebrooke in 1832, his memorandum of 18th July, 1834, transmitted by Mr. Spring Rice in his despatch No. 38, of 28th October, 1834, and the views developed in your Lordship's committee of 1847, alike point to the expediency of entrusting to a certain extent the management of local concerns, and especially the care and maintenance of public works, to local bodies, duly elected, and invested with a power of local assessment for purposes of this nature. Sir W. Colebrooke's memorandum distinctly alludes to the ancient village councils of Ceylon, as institutions once popular amongst the inhabitants of the interior, and requiring little regulation to render them an efficient means for providing for the police, for

the registration of lands, and for other objects of local interest. At the same time he refers to the regulations, framed in Java, by Sir Stamford Raffles, during the brief period of our occupation of that island, for restoring to the original native institutions some portion of the effective character which they had lost. No steps, however, appear to have been hitherto taken in Ceylon for carrying out the recommendations of Sir W. Colebrooke in this respect, although fortified by the approval of the Secretary of State." The present ordinance, though ostensibly, and in truth practically and simply, a Road Ordinance, is in reality the first step yet taken in the direction of self-government. But we must refer to the entire despatch, which is a very masterly production, as also to the second of its inclusives, viz., a minute of the Governor to his Council, from which it appears, that His Excellency proposed to set about the matter, by the establishment of rural municipal bodies, in the first instance. In favour of such a step very much may be argued ; since, doubtless, if the measure had been preluded in this way, it would have been accepted as a boon by the natives, who are universally disgusted with the system of the head men, who form a dead weight, and in fact a barricade, between them and the English Government, to which they only want free access, in order to be both contented and happy. Through the influence of the official head men however, we presume, Lord Torrington's more enlightened policy appears to have been overruled. There was at one time reason to apprehend, that in all, but the most enlightened, parts of the country, the natives would remain quite passive, and refuse or neglect to elect their division officers ; which apathy, or passive resistance, the head men would of course favor to the utmost, their constant policy being to persuade Government, that nothing can be done among or for the natives, but by and through them. To admit this however is to consign the masses to profound ignorance, and degradation for ever. We understand, however, that, contrary to what was apprehended, not only in the more enlightened parts of the country, not only over all the maritime provinces, and in all the neighbourhoods of the great roads in the interior, but throughout the country generally, the people have come forward well : and there is reason to believe, that the ordinance will bring itself into operation within a very short time. But truly ridiculous, and beyond all possible anticipation, are the constructions which such people put on the proceedings of a Government, however enlightened according to European notions. Thus, as the Road Ordinance requires every man between

the ages of eighteen and fifty-five, either to work, or to supply work for the roads in his neighbourhood, for six days in the year, not only was it said to be a revival of the Rajakaria, or serf-system, (although head men are included as well as tenantry, and in a word, every body except the Governor and the Budhist priests, who showed that their religion, as recognised by the Kandian laws, forbade both their working, or giving money instead), but, because those who would not work had to pay a sum which would purchase six days' labour, and which in different districts of the island would vary from one shilling to three, it was called a Poll Tax—such as used to be imposed by the Dutch on strangers for leave to sojourn in Ceylon, and was therefore viewed by the Singhalese as a disgraceful encroachment on their rights as the lords of the soil. It was called by them a "body rent"—"a tax for leave to live." The construction, which they put upon another tax, or rather registration of dogs, with a view to the diminution of their numbers, and the putting a stop to the brutal work of an annual butchery of them by the police, was also very strange. "Our dogs!" said they, "Tax our dogs! Tax dogs! dogs! Are we indeed to be ruled by a Government, which raises its revenue by dog's flesh?" Almost equally queer was their reception of another tax, commonly called the Gun tax; one main object of which was to register the fire-arms actually in the hands of the natives. Instead of sending their guns in lots to the kacheris to be registered, if they did not wish to make a hunting excursion of the trip, which only the knowing ones did, they all came trudging along the road, every man with his gun over his shoulder. And now, behold them on the way, awoke to that heroism which arms inspire, finding that their dogs' teeth were to be honoured by Government by being made the subject of a tax, and Budha's tooth degraded, by being given over to their own keeping: under a sense of these manifold wrongs, the old Kandians began to stroke their beards in the jungle, imitating the Wanderús, or Seleni monkeys, (whom the mysterious author of the Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation would find to bear out his theory excellently well, having all the characters of being immediate ancestors of these Kandians); they did more; they began to gather in companies, and to traverse the jungle, brooding rebellion, and bent on having a king of their own. And kings came forward—kings one, two, three, knowing fellows, and not in earnest like their deluded followers. And in fact, so well did these rascals play their part, that only one has yet been caught. It was intended by the true movers of the re-

bellion, that these should be but men of straw; but the truth is, that they kindled such a blaze, as scorched the real culprits far more than themselves.

But, to be more serious on what is certainly a serious subject, it appears to be a great question, whether Lord Torrington is to be justified, in the very vigorous measures which he took to repress this rebellion. We certainly hold it to be against them, that Sir H. Maddock had such a hand in them, as he appears to have had: and that he should have come in between Lord Torrington, and his Attorney-General and Chief Justice, as he appears to have done, is very much to be deplored. This much is certain, however, that Lord Torrington's measures were eminently successful: and if, in general, where there is a question as to the means employed, success be allowed to give the casting vote, we do not see why Lord Torrington should be deprived of its benefit in this case. Much has been said no doubt, especially by the Press of India, to the prejudice of Lord Torrington. There has even been a kind of hue and cry against him: but we must confess, that in vain do we look for any adequate grounds. He seems, indeed, to be somewhat given to hurting the self-esteem of the merchants of Colombo, as well as that of European descendants, and other individuals besides; all which is to be regretted, but chiefly for his own sake, because a Colonial Governor is always good game for an angry tongue to fly at. But, looking to his Government, we see a great work going on, which must have cost him, and his more immediate counsellors, infinite labour; a work, in which he deserves in an eminent manner to be supported; and we will not refrain from expressing the hope, that Lord Torrington will remain in Ceylon, until he has done all that he can to relieve the island from the dreadful financial embarrassments, in which, contrary to every previously-published account, he found it on his arrival, and to see the Road Ordinance realizing itself, and accomplishing the highly important objects which were contemplated in enacting it, and by Earl Grey in sanctioning it in terms unusually complimentary. Ceylon Papers, page 339. It is the most decided step which has yet been taken in the grand experiment of endeavouring to replace the Asiatic type of civilization by the European. Let us hope that it may be more successful than the practise of Trial by Jury and the English system of administering justice; and that it may be more maturely considered in all its bearings, than the emancipation of the natives from forced labour. Between these two great movements there was an interval of twenty-one years; and, from the last to the pre-

sent time, seventeen have elapsed. It was surely time to make another move. We shall watch the result, and recur to it hereafter.

Only one word more on a subject which appears to engage much of the attention of the committee of Parliament on Ceylon affairs; we mean the fact that martial law was proclaimed in two districts during the late rebellion. On looking dispassionately on the various statements affecting the administration of Lord Torrington in Ceylon, and weighing the points on which his discretion, or his policy, has been impugned, either by the local press of the island, or by the representations made on its authority in the House of Commons, they all resolve themselves into these main questions;—was the proclamation of martial law the result of an absolute necessity, with a view to the suppression of the rebellion of last year? or, admitting it to be necessary, was it enforced with sufficient judgment and forbearance?

On the subject of the first enquiry, we can unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative. We have read all the papers laid before Parliament; we have seen all the communications of the newspaper press; we have conversed with numbers of persons from Ceylon, both military and civil; and, we are bound to say, that we have from one and from all the same concurrent assurance,* that the proclamation of martial law was not only prudent and indispensable, but that the vigour displayed by that measure, and the firmness with which it was enforced, were the means of saving the interior of the island from plunder and devastation, and the colony generally from anarchy and bloodshed. This is not the first insurrection, or threatening of an insurrection, with which the Government in Ceylon has had to contend. The restless chieftains of the Kandian hills have neither the good faith to abide by the terms of a convention, nor the patience to accommodate themselves to the march and movements of a liberal Government: and, at every interval of ten or twelve years, the local authorities have had to struggle with rebellions, some of which have extended to one or two years of turbulence and devastation. We are credibly informed, that a war similar in extent and duration was contemplated on the recent occasion.

* We are wrong when we say that we have heard of no one, who condemned the policy of Lord Torrington in this particular. We see by the Ceylon Papers, that a Mr. Wodehouse, one of the Civil Servants of the Colony, entertains that opinion. *Probat regulam exceptio.*

Papers laid before Parliament show, that Government were in full possession of the plan; and it is equally demonstrable, that nothing but the boldness of Lord Torrington's measure, in proclaiming martial law in each district in succession, as the flame of rebellion burst out within it, prevented the whole train from being ignited, and wrapping the interior of the island in a blaze.

But then it is said, even admitting martial law to have been unavoidable, the punishments inflicted on the guilty were attended with circumstances of unnecessary severity; for example, that it was an insult to the faith of the Singhalese to shoot a Budhist priest *in his robes*, and an unnecessary aggravation of his sentence to whip the pretended King, before transporting him to Malacca. Why, this pretended King was a scullion in the kitchen of the Colonial Secretary. So far from being a Prince of the Blood, he was a cook of the lowest caste; a man, who was not only degraded by his low pursuits, but had been previously incarcerated for his unlawful deeds. Forsaking the accomplishments of Soyer and Careme, he exchanged the cares of the kitchen for those of bullock driving: and, being unhappily arrested for bullock stealing, he had but recently escaped from the hospitalities of a jail, when he longed to undertake the cares and anxieties of Royalty, and was actually seized by the mob, when driving cattle into Kandy, and placed at the head of the rabble, who advanced in his name to sack the bazars of Matelle, and the town of Kornegalle. He was to have acted as the puppet of the rebels, till the country should be fairly aroused, and the English garrisons butchered; and then this illustrious Cincinnatus was to have yielded his diadem to some nobler aspirant. Unfortunately the police were too precipitate; and he found himself in a lock-up house, when he had anticipated a palace. To have treated such a miscreant with the honours of a Prince, or even to have punished him with the horrors of war, would have been to prostitute both. Lord Torrington took the common-sense view;—he whipped him soundly, and sent him to write his reminiscences of royalty at Malacca. The last and dullest of these diatribes against Lord Torrington turns on his having shot the priest, who was condemned by a court martial as a traitor, *in his robes*. Of course, this complaint comes exclusively from England. No one in his senses would concoct such a matter into a subject of complaint in Ceylon; for the very obvious reason, that a Singhalese priest has no other robe than that of his order. He must either have been shot in this

covering, or without any covering whatsoever. It is the yellow robe, which is the characteristic of his class, which he affects in his noviciate, and assumes on his admission to the priesthood, when, as a matter of religious obligation, he renounces every other, as secular and profane. His yellow robe is his vestment by day, and his covering by night; he carries it through life; it is his coverlet in dying; and, on the funeral pile where he is consumed, his last earthly vestment is the long accustomed robe of his order. To have stripped him of this, previous to execution, would have been to add indignity to severity, degradation to punishment. It would have been tantamount to the studied insult in the times of chivalry, by which the spurs of a Knight were hacked ignominiously from his heels, before he was led out to be beheaded.

And such are the charges on which the fair fame of the Governor of Ceylon has been lied away by the Press, and his policy, equally with his humanity, made a subject of doubt by the highest tribunal of his country—a Parliamentary inquiry.

Of the result of this inquiry we cannot for a moment entertain a doubt. It is pending whilst we write; but we cannot hesitate to express our conviction, that its issue will be equally honorable to the injured fame of Lord Torrington, and disgraceful to those, by whom it has been so loudly and so falsely assailed.

ART. V.—1. *Reports and abstracts of the proceedings of a Committee for the investigation of the mineral resources of India.* 1841-42.

2. *The Economy of a Coal-field by Jas. F. W. Johnston, M. A., F. R. S. S. L. and E., &c. &c. &c.* 1838.

3. *Dictionary of Commerce and Commercia. Navigation, by T. R. McCulloch, Esq.* 1839.

4. *Encyclopædia Britannica. Articles, Coal, Mining, &c.*

5. *Edinburgh Review, Vol. II.*

LORD BROUGHAM relates as an anecdote of the first Lord Chatham, that he once began a speech in the House of Commons with the words, "Sugar, Mr. Speaker, Sugar:" and, then observing a smile to pervade the audience, he paused, looked fiercely around, and with a loud voice rising in its notes and swelling into vehement anger, he is said to have pronounced again the word "Sugar" three times; and, having thus quelled the House, and extinguished every appearance of levity or laughter, he turned round, and disdainfully asked, "Who will laugh at Sugar now?" We cannot boast of such extraordinary powers as he was possessed of, and we must trust to the great importance of our subject at the present time, in venturing to commence our article with the words, "Coal, Coal, Coal." Would that we had Chatham's power, wherewith to enforce this subject on the attention of our readers—a subject by no means beneath his enlightened mind, but one which would have engaged all his warmest attention: or, would that we had now amongst us such a one as he was to rouse with his impassioned voice this country from its death-like sleep. With his determined spirit what could not our present Governor General effect? What opportunities for improvement now exist on every side of us? What vast fields of unexplored resources? What mines of fertile ore? What unconnected Provinces? What undeveloped sources of wealth? For India what, we may exclaim, has been done, to further the interests of this vast population, compared with what yet remains to be done? The hero of modern civilization needs not weep for want of worlds to conquer, for here are realms too wide for the widest ambition. To conquer and annex with the sword is but the glory of an inferior order. To civilize, enlighten, and protect, is that of the superior order of men, by whom the human race is sometimes rarely blessed. To develop the sources of national industry

is one great mark of a beneficent ruler; nor is the subject of our article one of the least important of these sources.

In these days of steam and machinery, nothing prospers without coal. We may say, that whatever steam does, coal does, and far more besides. Without it where would be our railroads, our steam-boats, our overland communication, and all our long train of manufacturing engines of all sorts, sizes and descriptions? Paralyzed, powerless, and helpless they would lie. Banish coal from the earth, and the civilized and enterprizing European would be stripped of half his strength, and would recede into the depths of comparative barbarism. What would England be without its coal mines? It employs directly in this trade alone upwards of 200,000 persons, and consumes annually twenty millions of tons, besides what is exported.

Dr. McCulloch, in reference to its value to Britain, says:—

"It is vastly more precious than would have been mines of the precious metals, like those of Peru and Mexico; for coal, since applied to the steam engine, is really hoarded power, applicable to almost every purpose, which human labour directed by ingenuity can accomplish. It is the possession of her coal mines which has rendered Britain, in relation to the whole world, what a city is to the rural district which surrounds it; the producer and dispenser of the rich products of art and industry. Calling her coal mines the coal cellars of the great city, there is in them a supply which, at the present rate of expenditure, will last for 2,000 years at least; and therefore a provision, which, as coming improvements in the arts of life will naturally effect economy of fuel, or substitution of other mines to effect similar purposes, may be regarded as inexhaustible."

Professor Johnston, in his admirable lecture on the economy of a coal field, thus writes:—

"The immediate marketable value of the produce of a rich coal district is almost as great as if the same extent of country produced gold, or silver, or diamonds, in equal abundance with the richest known districts in the world. The total value of all the gold and silver raised from the mines in South America in 1800, when they were all in full activity, was estimated by Humboldt at £8,700,000. The area of England is hardly a tithe of this great mineral district; and yet the coal consumed in England and Wales, being about 20 milllons of tons, estimated at 8 shillings a ton, amounts to 8 millions sterling. A higher estimated value of one shilling a ton, which is still lower than the value adopted by some political economists, would give us a surplus for the actual value of coal alone, exclusive of every other mineral raised in England and Wales, over the entire value of the precious metals raised in that tract of country, which we have been accustomed to consider as the richest in the world."

This age in particular can do nothing without coal, which is daily becoming more necessary to every one, from the palace of the prince, to the most wretched hovel in the backwoods of America. The age lives, eats, drinks, clothes itself, houseth

itself, maketh war and peace, all through the agency of coal. Wrapped in the fabric of the loom, which whirls in obedience to the power of steam generated through coal, the infant is lulled to rest, while each ornament on the coffin of its sire is fashioned by the aid of the same material, and the very planks of the coffins of the poor are cut by the force of its agency. In India its power has yet to be shown; but in England, what does it not do? It brews and bakes, grinds the coffee and the corn, first makes the clothes, and then washes them and dries them. The most minute articles of dress or of ornament, and the most stupendous parts of our more than gigantic machinery, are both alike indebted to coal, either for their beauty or their utility. Pins and needles, tape and bobbin, hooks and eyes, buttons and braid, are all made through the help of coal; and each rivet in that mighty mass of machinery and engineering skill, that monthly leaves our harbour, is formed by its superhuman force alone.

It is no longer "steam, steam, steam," but "coal coal, coal," we must cry; for coal can alone adequately supply the demand. All the wood in the civilized world would be immediately devoured, and the cost of all articles enhanced an hundred fold, were coal to be suddenly annihilated. In coal England has reserved in store, even at its present extravagant rate of consumption, a supply of fuel for upwards of two thousand years: whereas the timber obtainable from a whole country could scarce supply the manufacturing fires of London alone for a single week. Are we not right then to cry "coal," and to wonder at the apathy and indifference of a lethargic people, who permit such important sources of wealth to lie unworked? The fields of coal in India have been scratched as it were, and such first-come-to-hand and indifferent material, as was on the surface, has been sent in driblets, by basketfulls at a time, in the wretched boats, and still more wretched carts, of the country, to the market of Asia. Thus has Calcutta been supplied. That it has been so supplied for years past is a matter of public notoriety; and it is sufficient to disgrace us for our want of enterprize in the eyes of the whole civilized world.

We need not stop here to insist that coal does exist in India of a good workable quality; for coal is of many kinds, and of all degrees of value. There are black coal, uninflammable coal, and brown coal, each subdivided again into many species. Amongst the black coals are slate, foliated, and cannel; and amongst the uninflammables are enumerated Welsh culm, stone

coal, Kilkenny coal, and deaf, or blind, coal. Upwards of seventy distinct varieties of coal are imported into London, which are all distinguishable by those conversant with the trade, and are all valuable. Among the many thousand square miles of coal fields that exist in India, beds of all varieties are doubtless to be found, and amongst them some of the best quality. The records in the Bengal Secretary's Office, inklings of which have from time to time crept out, and the different publications, reports, and letters, which have constantly appeared on the subject, demonstrate that it must be so. The bitter dissensions, squabbles and disputes, both in public and private, between all those who either have, or think they have, a title to any portion of these extensive fields, show us also that the property is even now valuable, and will one day become far more so. Such accounts, as we have had access to, also show that a good workable coal can be raised from the pits at a very small charge, in some places so low as two pice per maund, and that the great expense incurred is in the carriage of the article to market. Coal is now supplied in the Calcutta market at six annas per maund.* The carriage therefore costs at least five annas per maund; and the question is how to reduce this cost of carriage. We must first examine as to whence we receive the coal, and what are the facilities for its transport. In the first place, coal abounds in the plains that border the Damúda in Burdwan; secondly, there is coal in the hills, near Chirra Púnjí; thirdly, there is coal in Assam in several places; and last, though not least, there is a field of coal sixty miles inland from Surajgurra, which has been lately again brought to notice by the Government Geographical Survey. We say *again*, for we believe this same field has been noticed on several previous occasions. It exists on the southern declivity of the hills, about sixty miles south and west from Surajgurra, and is said to be of better quality than the Burdwan coal. Other fields of coal exist in different parts of India, but far removed from the Calcutta market. It is not yet very clear, amidst the mass of conflicting testimonies, which is the best site whence to obtain our Calcutta supply.

It is still therefore a desideratum to ascertain this fact. Government has done something towards this, and is, as

* Our extra Indian readers will not err widely, if they reckon a Maund as the twenty-seventh part of a ton, and an anna as three-halfpence. Thus the present price of Burdwan coal is now about a guinea per ton in Calcutta. It is probable that two tons of this coal may be on an average equal in steam-raising power to one ton of good English coal.

usual, creeping on with slow reluctant steps, as if unwilling and afraid to snatch the glowing prize. Private parties are endeavouring to do something towards it in a small way, but in a very small way indeed. As an example, a few private persons in Calcutta lately employed at their own cost two individuals to examine the district around Bhágulpúr. So the public papers at least have casually mentioned; but we fear that their enterprise has ended in smoke, not generated however from their own coals. The persons employed did, it is believed, exert themselves for some time, but have recently, either from weariness, want of pay, or disgust at the vapoury project, given up the search in despair. Such petty efforts can never meet the ever increasing demand.

We want railroads, steamers, cheap steam navigation with England, Ceylon, the Straits, and to our inland provinces by the river route. We also require sugar mills, rice mills, paper mills, and manufactories of all kinds all over the country. For all these things we require fuel; and experience demonstrates that that fuel must be coal. No substitute has been found for it, nor is any likely to be found in our days. The demand, therefore, vastly exceeds the supply that is now brought to the market; and this fact is the more remarkable, as it is well known that an inexhaustible supply of tolerable fuel does exist, ready for the future wants of this fertile country.

Under ordinary circumstances the supply would soon satisfy the eager wants of the community. The causes therefore, that lead to the present anomalous and unsatisfactory state of things, can neither be transient nor trivial. They are, indeed, we fear, too deeply seated to be all at once removed; or to be suddenly eradicated without the greatest resolution and skilfulness of treatment. Still much may be done by rousing the community at large to the full importance of the subject. One point, as we previously mentioned, is clear, that, in whatever locality the coal may be situated, the chief difficulty that has to be met is its carriage to market. The means of carriage must be secure, and available at all seasons of the year. To work the beds of coal at one season, and then stock and store the mineral for future conveyance to market, is a most objectionable system, inasmuch as the coal deteriorates rapidly from exposure to the sun and air. It is partly owing to this system that such bad coal is now supplied; as the coal of the Damúda is said to lose 20 per cent. by this exposure to the elements.

But the exposure would be at once obviated by a secure means of transport, available at all seasons of the year. At present no regular means of carriage exist from that coal

field, except the uncertain rushes of that most uncertain stream, the Damúda; and thus the hopes and fears of steam shareholders in Calcutta rise and fall, according to the rise and fall of the torrents in its bed. Some years ago a canal was proposed to run through the rich district of Burdwan, which would have been available in part for the conveyance of coal. But this project has long since been abandoned, if indeed it ever was seriously entertained. A far easier plan would be to construct a common iron tram road, direct from the heart of the coal fields, either to Calcutta, or to the nearest point on the Húglí: nothing short of this will ever render the inhabitants of Calcutta independent of that capricious mountain stream. No expensive railroad would ever pay for this purpose, nor is such required: all that is necessary, is a cheap and regular means for conveying the produce of the mines to market, without exposing the coal to the effects of the weather for many months, as is now done. We might innocently ask, why is this not done? Why has no tram road ever been constructed? In other countries, the inhabitants would combine for such an object of utility, or some enterprising individual would step forth. Amongst all the wealthy Babús of Calcutta, or Bengal, is there no one with sufficient energy for such a work? Alas, neither road nor canal is likely to be made by them. The boundless store of wealth that lies at their feet is unnoticed and unknown—mines of richest ore; gems far surpassing in national importance and value the far famed Pitt Diamond, or the Koh-i-núr.

But are there no other parties who might come forward? Will none of the great body of highly honorable men, of whom the services are composed, assist? Will Government itself do nothing? For it seems evident, that without its aid no one will stir hand or foot in the matter. From peculiar circumstances, Government is omnipotent in this country. The meanest Government servant, with his talismanic badge of office, is more than a match for hosts of unbadged men. His word is law; his acts are right and true. There is no resisting the persuasive influence of one in authority. This being the case, the proper course is for the Government to undertake the business at once; and then we might hope, that it would be both effectually and speedily done. But the misfortune is that no Government ever did move *at once*; and we need not assure our readers, that the Government in Bengal is no exception to the general rule. It is in fact, by some inherent law in its constitution, dilatory in the extreme. The whole state machinery is so complicated, and requires so much rubbing up and polishing to overcome the natural friction of the parts, that we des-

pair of ever setting it in motion in any direction. Every thing is carried on in writing, and correspondence is endless and tiresome. Months and years of valuable time are spent in reading and writing innumerable Minutes and Reports. Formal letters accompany all these documents; and such a mass of papers is accumulated on every trivial subject, that the mind becomes confused, and the idea is erroneously acquired, that a great deal of business has been done, by the mere perusal of documents; whereas this truly dry-as-dust system only tends to bewilder the brain; and much more real business might be done with a saving of half the paper. Every one connected with Government is well intentioned, and inclined to do what is right; but every one is not the Government. If we ask the first Civilian we meet, how to set about it, he says, Write to Government. Ask the Secretary; he says, Write to Government. Ask the Governor of Bengal; he says, Write to Government. Ask the Members of Council, and they all say the same. Ask the Governor General himself; and even he says, if in no mood to comply with the request, Oh, write to Government. This virtually shelves the question for the time, and perhaps for ever; for in some departments letters lie for years unanswered. One might in all simplicity ask, who, or what, is "Government," and where does it dwell? In the air, on the earth, or on the sea? Is it a poetic fancy, or a legal fiction? What is it, or where is it? Has any one ever seen this Government? With whom does the magic power lie?

Lord W. Bentinck, and such like obstinate old fellows, would sometimes grasp this power themselves, and wield it at their own risk and responsibility, without permitting themselves to be trammelled by the absurdities of the age, or of *the system*, as it is most unworthily called. But it is to be recollected that their doing so was no part of their original agreement with their masters. It was not in the bond, and often cost them dear. Governors we have had, and some of them very good Governors too: but no such thing as really good Government—no grand extended system of provident arrangements for the welfare of the people, for the interest of the whole community, and for the benefit of the country at large, by the development of the resources of the State, has ever yet been seen in this country.

Statesmen and legislators likewise we have had, and philanthrophists and enlightened men in abundance, amongst our councillors; but the chief thing requisite is a steady uniform system of development for the public weal. Without this there can be no life in the body politic. Every thing in nature seeks to

expand itself; and, where there is life, there is implanted, even in the hidden germ of the smallest weed, a power that nothing short of annihilation can resist.

Most of our public officers have been hard-working men, and many of them enlightened, and alive to the necessity of progress and development. Still over all a dull and leaden pall appears extended, and apathy and indifference prevail. Now it is proverbial, that what is every man's work is no man's work, and that, unless men are specially appointed from time to time for such objects as those we are now advocating, nothing will be done. Supposing that an officer was appointed, on the understanding that he was to give his whole time and talents to the development of the coal resources of the country, we might then reasonably expect to get something done. It will not do to appoint a commission, or a board, or a committee composed of officers, many of whom have other duties to attend to. One responsible man should be selected, who should publish (for a searching and inquiring public to find fault with) what he can effect from time to time. The public, if left to do so, would soon keep him up to the mark.

The case at present stands thus. Fifteen years ago coals were sold at five annas a maund in Calcutta. The Government contract price is now six annas, and the demand is still increasing. It is very evident, therefore, that the means hitherto employed to procure coal in India have been ineffectual, and that there is now every chance of a rise, instead of a fall, in price. Indeed it may be asserted, that the only thing that keeps the price of coal even at this rate is the supply from England. We have received it from good authority, that English coals at nine annas a maund, are, from their superior quality, cheaper to use than Burdwan coals at five annas. So long, therefore, as it is profitable for our ships to bring coal on such a distant voyage, and to sell it in Calcutta at nine annas a maund, the price of Burdwan coal should never rise above six. But the supply from England must always be precarious, and it would be highly injudicious to trust to it. A further rise in the price of coal of one or two annas per maund would ruin half the steam trade of Calcutta. If the English supply should in any way be cut off, our overland communication would almost cease. A European war, for instance, might materially affect the supply. This is a point of vital importance, not only to the community, but to the Indian Government also. On the contrary, could the price of coal be by any means reduced to even three annas a maund in Calcutta, the State would be no inconsiderable

gainer. The Government of Bengal now annually expends a large sum in the purchase of coal. It would be well worth its while therefore, as a mere mercantile transaction, to pay five years' purchase to attain this supply at half the present price. That is, in other words, supposing the State now to expend five lakhs of rupees yearly in the purchase of coal of all kinds, (and we believe the total expenditure is much higher), it would be well worth its while to pay down twelve and a half lakhs of rupees, in order to save yearly the half of the annual sum now charged for coal. We should suppose that this is a plain matter of calculation, which simply requires to be set in a plain manner before the Court of Directors, to be at once sanctioned and approved. This leaves out all other benefits that would accrue to the State, and simply embraces the purely mercantile view of the matter, without however supposing, that the smallest profit should be derived from the capital expended on the road—which capital is to be returned by the saving from the reduced price of the coal. It is based on the supposition, that a tram road can be made from the nearest available field of good coal for the sum of twelve and a half lakhs of rupees; and that the cost of maintaining that road will be such as the sum charged for the conveyance of the coal can fully support, even at a low rate of charge.

The nearest available field is doubtless that of Burdwan. Its mean distance from Calcutta is about 100, or 120, miles. The cost of a good pucka road, (we mean a road metalled with brickbats,) is from 2,000 to 2,500 rupees per mile, according to circumstances. But we do not consider that it would be necessary to metal with any material any large surface for a tram road. A single line of light iron rails, laid on beams properly connected with sleepers, and supported by masonry, or posts, where any slight elevation was required, would be sufficient to convey the quantity of coal required, at the rate of eight or ten miles an hour. The road should be laid with a gentle slope, proportionally to the inclination of the country towards Calcutta. The draft downward would be little or nothing; and a very slight power, either of men, or horses, would be sufficient to convey back the empty carriages. Such a road, we are well assured, could be made considerably within the proposed sum; and for this paltry amount, sunk, or paid, the Government would obtain for ever, for itself and for its capital, a large supply of tolerable fuel at a moderate rate. Coal would then be as cheap in Calcutta as in London; and we should have nothing to complain of in this respect, at least for some time to come. The cost of keeping such a road in thorough repair, and keeping up a full

establishment of waggons, carriages, and horses, (or men) to convey them, should not exceed one thousand rupees per mile. The establishment need not be large or expensive; and a charge of even two pice per maund for carriage would amply pay for all the expenses. It is to be remembered, that this does not include any return for the capital that has been expended, as we suppose that the Government sinks, or pays away, this amount of capital, as the price of obtaining cheap coal; they would be the persons who would chiefly benefit by it, as they are the chief consumers. But would the State, even under these circumstances, lose by making such a road? It is just possible that some loss may be caused by it. But do not the advantages greatly preponderate over this possible loss?

It were easy to expatiate on them. The mutual action and re-action of different commercial products on each other are very remarkable. Thus by cheapening coal, we cheapen every thing else. Cheap coal produces cheap steam, and cheap carriage; therefore cheaper imports to the Calcutta market, and cheaper exports from it, either seaward, or for the inland trade. Coal, when cheaper, will also be used in a variety of manufactures in Calcutta. Cheap coal would rouse the sinking spirits of the various steam companies in Calcutta, and, by its magic influence, would tend to promote the health and comfort of our European troops. With cheap coal it would no longer be a question with Government, whether troops should be conveyed to the Upper Provinces by steam, or not; as it would become cheaper to carry them, than to march them up. The long and weary march to Allahabad would thus be avoided, and the fatal fever, or still more fatal cholera, would thus miss much of their accustomed prey. We have seen in the short space of two months more than fifty fine fellows thus cut off in one regiment alone.

But it is needless to enumerate the important advantages which the country would derive from this source, though it is necessary to show that the state would ultimately be the principal gainer, and that therefore it is to its advantage to come forward boldly in the work.

The coal companies could not do it, as they are too much involved already. Coal speculations are very often not profitable. Mr. McCulloch tells us, that numbers in England are ruined by them. Sometimes large fortunes have been made by individuals, but these instances are rare. The opening of a mine is a very expensive and hazardous operation, and of very uncertain result. Besides this, collieries are exposed to an infinite number of accidents, against which no caution can guard. So

great indeed is the hazard attending this sort of property, that it has never been possible to effect an insurance on a coal work against fire, water, or any other accident. These things being well considered, it must be evident, that coal companies cannot be expected to add to all these risks the expense of one hundred miles of road. On the contrary, the State, which will benefit by the work, should make it. No private company could make it so cheaply, or so expeditiously, while in their hands it would become a monopoly; and few, or none, of the anticipated benefits would result from it. But a road, made, as we propose, would be open to all, and would enable all parties alike to convey their produce from the collieries to the best market at a very low rate. The charge made, being only just sufficient to provide a fund to keep the road ever after in perfect order without further expense to Government, would ensure an abundant supply of the best material that was to be had in the Burdwan mines; and the Government would gain indefinitely, by the very force and energy, which such a supply of this "hoarded labour" would exercise on the commerce of the country. It would restore the City of Palaces to its best and most palmy days. Viewing it in this light, we cannot look on the original outlay necessary for this important measure as a matter of moment to the Government. As well might a petty Irish farmer argue, that he might lose by making a pathway to his pig-stye.

It may be argued, that the Burdwan coal is not good, and that all our cogent reasoning therefore entirely falls to the ground. But let us suppose it conceded, that the coal now obtained is not of the best description; still we contend that this circumstance proves nothing against our arguments. The coal, take it as it stands, is the best we have near Calcutta, and is already in almost universal demand, except for sea-going steamers, which must be supplied with such fuel as will give the greatest amount of steam with the least possible stowage.

About twenty-five lakhs of maunds of country coal are now yearly consumed. It may be presumed, that this consumption would be trebled, were the price reduced to one-half. The Government contract with the Bengal Coal Company for this very coal, and take at least three or four lakhs of maunds yearly, besides the large quantity of English coal still used by them.

But it is also fair to suppose, that, in a very short time after the opening of such a road, the quality of the article supplied would greatly improve. The most scientific and the most practical men, who have examined the subject, have universally declared, that the coal has hitherto come to the market in a

most deteriorated state. The capabilities of the mines are not yet fully known.

When secure and sufficient means of communication have been opened between the mines and the principal markets in the country, capitalists will then come forward, and work the different seams of coal in a more efficient manner.

At present, capital is thrown away, if expended on such uncertain property, and no one will embark in the concern. The works now at the collieries are poor and insignificant, compared to similar works in England, Belgium, or France. By sinking shafts to a sufficient depth, richer seams of coal will probably be found, than any which are at present worked in the Burdwan district. Shafts are frequently sunk in England to a great depth. At Annagher the principal pit is sunk 372 feet deep, and a second pit 318 feet. At St. Anthony's colliery, three miles below Newcastle, the bed of lower main coal appears to be 810 feet below the surface of the ground. At Monk-wearmouth colliery, the coal is brought up from a depth of 1,620 feet. In sinking shafts in coal mines, as many as thirty, or more, distinct veins, or beds, of coal are sunk through, before a main seam of coal is reached.* Where there is more than one series of coal measures, on sinking through this main seam, a similar succession of strata succeed, with a second or lower main beneath. Hence arise the terms, "upper main," and "lower main." There is also another circumstance which renders it probable, that we have not yet seen the best coal that can be obtained in the Burdwan field. Coal originally was deposited over vast surfaces, such as inland lakes, or marshes, or the mouths of estuaries. Great portions of these beds have been either upheaved and denuded, or so convulsed by subsequent geological changes, that they are now worthless. Where the beds have been least disturbed, the coal is found to be superior in quality: thus, in the Newcastle collieries, the mines have been progressively advancing underneath the sea, and the coals have progressively improved. At Whitehaven, they extend more than a mile under the ocean, at a depth of 600 feet beneath its bottom. It is therefore to be expected, that in the extensive Burdwan coal field, portions may yet be found with a better quality of coal. All that is required is, that the communication with the district should be cheap, rapid, and secure at all seasons of the year. The parties, who now

* At Auzin, near Valenciennes, a pit less than 100 yards deep passes through fifty layers, small and great; and at Liege, sixty-one have been ascertained.—*Ure's Geology.*

possess property there, will thus be enabled to visit their works, and effectively superintend them. Houses and villages will spring up; and, ere long, we might expect to see hundreds of Englishmen, employed both in the pits, and in charge of the requisite machinery, practically teaching the natives of the place. All this would tend to raise the price of land, and of labour, would induce more cultivation, and in every way lead to further improvement. The whole produce of the district would find a cheap transit by the rail to Calcutta; and the returns to Government would in all these ways be considerable. Large sums have been occasionally remitted on account of the inundations in the Burdwan district; but, when the land becomes more valuable, the bunds would be more carefully looked after by the landholders and proprietors, and inundations would not be suffered to take place. It would then be as much their interest to do so, as it now is the interest of Government; but they, being on the spot, and necessarily employed in the lands, have more facilities for watching the bunds, than any establishment employed by Government for that purpose: and it is hardly necessary for us here to observe, that the slightest crack in a bund, when the river is full, is sufficient, if not at once observed, to inundate the whole country.

Tram roads, such as we propose, have been in use in England for a very long time. Those first used were simply wooden tram-roads, or railways, which were used in the collieries there nearly two centuries ago. Iron rails were first substituted for them in the Colebrook-dale works, about the year 1786.

Baron Charles Dupin, in his valuable book on British public works, tells us, that at Newcastle there were, even when he wrote, (about 1828 or 1830), two hundred and twenty-five miles of iron railways, along a space of twenty-one miles long, and twelve broad, above ground; and that those below ground were not less extensive. In Wales, iron tram roads are also most extensively used. In fact no works could be carried on without them. They are used for conveying ore and coal from the mines to the furnaces, and iron and coal to the canals and ports. In Glamorganshire alone, there are more than 300 miles of tram roads. These railroads, or tram roads, were made solely for private purposes, and for private collieries, or mining companies. But we propose, that, to provide against a monopoly, the Government should make the roads of this description required in Bengal.

Nothing is ever lost by a wise and careful system for developing the sources of wealth and prosperity within a state; but

in this instance, the direct returns would be considerable. If four or five lakhs of rupees are annually to be expended in the Punjáb, why, we may justly ask, should not some money be expended on useful public works in Bengal? It is, doubtless, very judicious to expend money in the Punjáb, and we shall be glad to see works commenced there, which will give employment to the people, and add in time to the revenues of the state. At the same time we are bound to say, that we are under greater obligations to Bengal, than to any other province in India; and that less has been expended on it.

In this very district of Burdwan, a state of things existed not very long ago, which would be a disgrace to any province, however distant from the capital, and therefore the more to be deplored when so near to Calcutta. Such a state of things would be put an end to by the plan we propose. With these outrages and disputes we are not unacquainted, but at present we do not wish to touch upon them. We simply allude to them, as to facts with which our readers must be well acquainted. It is sufficient for our purpose, that such disputes do exist, and have existed for several years, and that the sooner they are put an end to the better. We have not the slightest doubt, that our present Governor-General will give his attention to the case, as soon as the affairs in the North-west permit him. There is no man in India more competent than himself to understand the nature and value of the property in dispute, and its paramount importance to the community at large.

Second to the Burdwan, we must place the Chirra Púnjí coal. Superior to it in quality, as we can ourselves bear testimony, it is inferior in commercial importance. We have seen the mine, a vast seam of coal excavated on the side of a hill, within a mile, or a mile and a half, of the station of Chirra Púnjí. We have rejoiced on many a cold day in its genial blaze, and wished that it were nearer to Calcutta. But there we fear it must remain, till Assam shall again become what it once was, and till steamers shall be required on its broad and mighty stream.

A tram road of a few miles would convey this coal to the stream which runs past Pundua; whence its conveyance in boats to the bank of the Brahmapútra would be at all times easy. But at present the demand for it there is not great; and its distance from Calcutta would, in spite of its superior qualities, prevent its competing successfully with the coal from Burdwan. It is possible, however, that this coal

could be supplied at such a cheap rate on the Brahmapútra, as to enable the Government Steamers to pay their expenses. At present it is well understood, that they do not pay; and that it is solely with a view to future benefit that the boats have been put on that line. The Chirra Púnjí coal therefore should not be lost sight of. The expenses of a tram road should be ascertained, and the quantity of coal, that is, or might be, used for steam purposes on the Brahmapútra, might easily be calculated. With these data the question of steam navigation on the Brahmapútra would be at once determined. It is supposed to be already settled that steam navigation will benefit the whole of our North Eastern frontier provinces. With coal at a certain fixed price, that navigation might be made to pay. The question then remains—will the expenditure of such a defined sum procure a permanent supply of coal for such navigation at such a fixed price? This question being answered in the affirmative, the Court of Directors have merely to consider whether they will pay that defined sum for the presumed benefits to those provinces.

Coal is also found in Assam itself in several places. At Jaipúr there is very fair coal, but it appears not to be in any mass. The beds are much broken and distorted, so that a vein is soon worked out, or cannot be followed. About three years ago, the pits presented such an accumulation of rubbish, that nothing could be distinctly made out. At that time a seam was being worked 8 or 10 feet deep, which was apparently good, though much broken. The parties employed in working, having little knowledge of the subject, could not distinguish between the good and bad coal, and sometimes supplied their customers with villanous shale. At other times the coal was excellent. The contract with Government at Gowhattí is now, we believe, six annas a maund deliverable there; at this rate, if all the coal were good, neither the Government nor the contractors could object to the price. But the bad coal sent is likely to make it a losing concern to both parties. The contractor will lose, as the Government will refuse such inferior qualities; and the Government will lose their advances, if the contractor is unable to pay. The system, on which the mines have been hitherto worked, may be estimated from the significant fact, that one of the parties, who had undertaken the search, went to Assam without any capital, hoping to find coal ready to his hand, and to have only to help himself. Under such circumstances, it required no great prescience to foretell, that, with his own unaided resources, he could not suc-

ceed. After two years of unsuccessful search for a profitable vein, he left Assam, as poor as he arrived. Had he been properly supported, he might have succeeded. The old cry is, that there is no money, and that Government, whose duty it is, will go to no expense in making experiments, or in paving the way for making experiments, by opening good roads. On the banks of the Dikho, coal is also found in a much more favourable situation. It is not far from Sibsagur. This mine has been worked for a short time, and the coal proved excellent; the attempts to work it were, however, not brought to a satisfactory result, for little or no capital was expended. From either of these places, it is probable, that coal of good qualities could with proper management be obtained in sufficient quantities, and at a rate, which would cause steam navigation to be eventually remunerative on the Brahmaputra.

There is little question that this subject deserves the most anxious consideration. The future welfare of India depends on the manner in which such questions are now treated. A long course of prosperity, or an anxious train of indefinite evils, is extended before us. Shall we imitate the easy and lawless rack-renting Irish landlord, spend and squander now what we have, and leave the future to Providence? or shall this Government imitate the noble and patriotic spirit of the Duke of Bridgewater, who deserves to be immortalised for the example which he displayed?

The coal found near Kuruckdeah—about sixty miles inland from Súrajgurra,—will probably turn out to be of more importance for the purpose of steam navigation on the Upper Ganges, than that of any of the previously mentioned sites.

This coal had been noticed many years ago, and again lost sight of. Last year, however, the field was visited by several persons in the Government survey: and a full report on the subject, with maps and sectional drawings of the country around, has been, or is about to be, laid before Government. A considerable quantity of this coal has likewise been sent down for trial, and, we believe, favourably reported of; some was better, and some worse than the average of Burdwan coal: and nothing more than this could be expected from any sample of coal selected, as this must have been, from the surface. An officer from the Steam Department has also been sent up to survey, and to ascertain the practicability of opening a water communication. A small stream runs from the hills to the northward of the district containing the coal, which might be made practicable for small boats for twenty or thirty miles. This is all that has been done at present: and these

are facts with which any one is, or may be, acquainted. More will doubtless be disclosed, when the reports and plans that have been prepared, or are being prepared, for the Government, shall be made public. They are as yet in an unfinished state, and will, doubtless, from the known liberality of Government, be laid before the public, as soon as any measures have been decided upon. But we would presume earnestly to recommend, that, if the Government propose to throw open this, or any other, coal field to the public, it should itself construct the road (which should be a good tram road) and thus have a check over the working of the mines. The Government is far more interested than any private person in obtaining cheap coal, as it has the largest number of steamers on the Upper Ganges, and therefore the most at stake.

Coal now costs the Government, for the supply of their steamers on the Upper Ganges at all stations, say above Culna, twelve or fourteen annas a maund all round. This is Burdwan coal. Now the coal mines at Kuruckdeah can produce, as is stated by those who have examined them, a finer coal than the Burdwan. Presuming however the two descriptions of coal to be similar, and equal in heating power, the Kuruckdeah coal from its situation must be infinitely cheaper than the Burdwan. Supposing that Government should make a tram road for the Burdwan coal field, and another from Kuruckdeah to Súrajgurrah, the former coal would have to be carried up stream the whole distance. That carriage now amounts to eight annas, taking the stations all round; and this must continue the same, no matter at what rate the coal could be supplied in Calcutta. For, could the coal now be supplied in Calcutta at three annas per maund, (which we presume it easily could, by a good tram road) it would still be necessary to drag it up stream 4, 5, and 6 hundred miles, according to the distance of the various steam stations from Calcutta.

The coal thus carried must also be conveyed in country boats, and at very slow rates. The loss of coal by this means of carriage is very great—so great indeed, that on the whole not much more than fifty per cent. of the coal sent from the mines reaches its destination in a good state, fit for steam purposes. The coal from Kuruckdeah would have none of these difficulties to contend against. A comparatively short tram road of sixty miles, over a fine open country, would bring it direct from the mines in a few hours in the best possible state to the centre of the line of steam navigation, where the coal is now most expensive.

As to the total extent of our resources in coal, there is every reason to believe, that the coal fields in Burdwan formerly extended all over the space now occupied by the Rajmehal hills. Coal is found in many detached situations on those hills. The probable former extent of this vast coal field can now only be conjectured, but what remains is amply sufficient for all the wants of the present age. Nature is far more liberal than we usually suppose; nor shall we be in a position to judge of the extent of the supply furnished for us, until shafts are sunk of a sufficient depth to penetrate through the coal seams, and reach the strata of rocks beneath, which line the basin-like cavities, in which the coal was originally deposited. As its value depends on its mineral composition, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the Welsh or Anthracite coal, which was at one time, from its uninflammable nature, considered unfit for steam purposes, has now been found to be very valuable. The causes of the formation of anthracite are highly interesting; and a very good description of the anthracite coal beds in North America is given in Lyell's Travels in those parts. We make no apology for inserting it, more especially as the two places bear a distinct resemblance to each other. The coal fields in Burdwan, and to the northward and westward, with the Rajmehal hills rising up at one edge of the field, may be compared with the gigantic coal-field of Pensylvania, Virginia, and Ohio—with the Alleghany mountain range protruding through one side of the field, and converting its bituminous coal into anthracite. The North American field extends continuously from north-east to south-west for a distance of 720 miles, its greatest breadth being about 180 miles. Its area thus amounts to 63,000 square miles. The coal is of two kinds, bituminous, such as is in general use, and anthracite, or debituminised coal, which is a natural coke, deprived of its gaseous matters by subterranean processes. This anthracite burns without smoke or flame, does not soil the fingers, is not easily broken, and has a metallic or ringing sound, when struck. It is found in various degrees of purity, containing from 3 to 16, or even to 25 per cent. of inflammable matter. The most thoroughly debituminised portions of the field are those most intimately associated with the Alleghany mountains, thus pointing to the subterranean fires by which the bituminous materials were expelled; and, as the field recedes from the mountains, it gradually becomes more and more bituminous, till it cannot be distinguished from ordinary coal. For a long time this anthracite was rejected; but science has taught its use to the Americans, to whom, for countless ages, it will be an indispen-

sable source of wealth and comfort. In speaking of its use at Postville, Mr. Lyell says, "Here I was agreeably surprised 'to see a flourishing manufacturing town, with the tall chim-'neys of a hundred furnaces, burning night and day, yet quite 'free from smoke. Leaving this clear atmosphere, and going 'down into one of the mines, it was a no less pleasing no-'velty to find that we could handle the coal without soiling 'our fingers.

"The strata of coal, to the westward of the Alleghany 'mountains, are horizontal, but become more and more inclined 'and folded, as we proceed eastward. When level and un-'broken, it is most bituminous; and becomes progressively de-'bituminised, as we travel south-eastward towards the more 'bent and distorted rocks.

"Thus in the Ohio, the proportions of hydrogen, oxygen, and 'other volatile matters, range from 40 to 50 per cent. East-'ward of this line, on the Monongahela, it still approaches 'forty per cent., when the strata begin to experience some 'gentle flexures. On entering the Alleghany mountains, 'where the distinct anticlinal axes begin to show themselves, 'but before the dislocations are considerable, the volatile mat-'ter is generally in the proportion of eighteen, or twenty, per 'cent. At length, when we arrive at some insulated coal 'fields, associated with the boldest flexures of the Appala-'chian chain, where the strata have been actually turned over, 'as near Potsville, we find the coal to contain only from six 'to twelve per cent. of bitumen, thus becoming a genuine 'anthracite.

"It appears from the researches of Liebig and other eminent 'chemists, that when wood and vegetable matter are buried 'in the earth, exposed to moisture, and partially or entirely 'excluded from the air, they decompose slowly, and evolve 'carbonic acid gas, thus parting with a portion of their origi-'nal oxygen.

"By this means, they become gradually converted into 'lignite, or wood coal, which contains a larger proportion of 'hydrogen, than wood does. A continuance of decomposition 'changes this lignite into common, or bituminous, coal, chiefly 'by the discharge of carburetted hydrogen, or the gas by 'which we illuminate our streets and houses.

"According to Bischoff, the inflammable gases, which are 'always escaping from mineral coal, and are so often the 'causes of fatal accidents in mines, always contain carbonic 'acid, carburetted hydrogen, nitrogen, and olefiant gas. The

'disengagement of all these gradually transforms ordinary, or 'bituminous, coal into anthracite, to which the various names of 'splint coal, glance coal, culm, and many others have been 'given.

"We have seen that, in the Appalachian coal fields, there is 'an intimate connection between the extent to which the coal 'has parted with its gaseous contents, and the amount of dis-'turbance which the strata have undergone. The coincidence 'of these phenomena may be attributed, partly to the greater 'facility afforded for the escape of volatile matter, when the 'fracturing of the rocks had produced an infinite number 'of cracks and crevices; and partly to the heat of the gases 'and water penetrating these cracks; when the great move-'ments took place, which have rent and folded the Appalachian 'strata."

From theory it might thus be presumed, that anthracite coal would be found in the Rajmehal hills: and specimens, said to be anthracite, have been already sent to Calcutta.

It is necessary to notice in this paper, that the efforts of Government have been frequently sadly misdirected in their attempts to introduce and obtain good coal. At page 90, of the Coal Committee's reports, we find the committee recommending that, in consequence of the superior quality of the Chirra coal, the mines should still be retained in the possession of Government. This was in 1841: and, since that date, Government has done nothing to improve the working, or to facilitate the means of access to, or transit from, those mines. It is not the province of Government to work coal mines, nor is it ever for its advantage to retain them in its own possession. Unworked, they are of no more value than the Irishman's service of plate, which he knew was at the bottom of the sea. Instead of keeping such property in its own hands, it should be the object of Government to afford every facility for the speculator to invest his capital in working them.

When will Government learn that things are worth just what they will fetch in the markets; and that, if the exclusive right of working many of its seams of coal and suppositious collieries could be sold to-morrow, it would not fetch one shilling in the London Market? Who would purchase that which is untried, unexperimented on, and unknown? What speculator so daring as to lay out lakhs of rupees on the fields of coal on the Nerbudda, or in the Caribari hills in Assam? Yet of these latter, in page 71, of the Coal Committee reports, we find the members of that Committee anxious to secure

leases, although, in the same paragraph, they describe the mineral as a dull earthy coal.

The efforts of this committee appear to have been directed so as to secure to Government every spot of land, where it was possible, or likely, that coal could be worked: and the sums expended in this useless manner could not have been inconsiderable. By this means speculators were driven out of the market, and the trade of the country injured to a great extent.

But this is not the only injurious measure which the Government has adopted. Under the impression that coal, even when not worked by it, was something, which ought to yield revenue, the extreme measure of taxing it at the mouth of the pit, to an amount equal to the cost of raising it, has, in some instances, been resorted to. In one instance which has been brought to our notice, it was ascertained that the cost of raising the coal would average about 2 pice per maund; and, when the leases of the land were prepared, the Government endeavored to impose a tax of two pice on every maund that should be raised. This suicidal measure would, were it established, at once destroy all mining in Bengal; and if the attempt to impose it had not been well ascertained by us, we could scarcely have believed it credible. Would, for instance, England with all its mineral wealth be able to pay a tax, equal in round numbers to upwards of eight millions sterling for its coal? This would be the result of such a tax universally imposed in England, the average price of coal at the pit's mouth being rather more than eight shillings per ton; and the consumption being now above 20,000,000 of tons, besides what is exported. "*Nothing,*" says the Edinburgh Reviewer, "*but the 'pressure of the most overwhelming necessity could ever justify the 'imposition of a duty on so indispensable an article as coal.*"

As connected with this subject, we must also remark, that instruction in economic geology has been but too little attended to in India. Coal is but one branch, though doubtless a most important one, of a distinct science. In a country so little known as India, the knowledge of this science is of the greatest value. Up to the present hour, however, although the question has been often entertained, yet no geological professor has ever been appointed in any of the Government schools, or colleges.

An hereditary contempt for practical economic geology appears to have been derived from our native land. A writer, in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in an article on mining, complains that no public means have been employed,

even in England, for general instruction in this important science, and that the schools on the continent are far ahead of us in this respect. As the subject is important, we give the extract entire :—

" The advantage to be derived from a knowledge of well ' established facts, respecting the arrangements and distribution ' of mineral substances, will be best illustrated by examples of ' the errors and oversights, committed where this knowledge was ' wanting. It is generally known, that for some years lime ' was exported to New South Wales, where it exists in abun- ' dance in its natural state. In Cornwall, ore of silver and ' cobalt were, until recently, thrown away from a mine, which ' has since the discovery of their value, returned upwards of ' £10,000 a year from these ores; and in the same county, ' although celebrated for its tin mines from the earliest periods ' of history, yet, until last century, the ores of copper were ' employed only to repair the roads. Wherever the copper ap- ' peared in a lode, it was a common expression that the ore came ' in, and " spoiled the vein ;" and, even in the present day, but ' little attention is paid to whatever is not manifestly either ' tin, or copper, or known to yield these metals.

" In Derbyshire, although lead has been smelted from the ' common blue ore, ever since the time of the Romans, the other ' ores of the same metal were never thought of, but left in ' heaps as rubbish ; yet we have lived to see a public road, ' made and repaired with these rejected ores, actually taken up ' and smelted to good account. As to the practical miner, he is ' altogether the creature of habit, holding geology in but little ' estimation, and smiling at the nice distinctions of the minera- ' logist. Hence, if any inquiry be made of him respecting the ' interesting phenomena of veins, he generally prefers the ' theory of his forefathers, to that which has been deduced ' from the results of more recent and accurate investigations.

" In this country no public means have been employed for ' removing ignorance, and counteracting prejudice in regard ' to the working of mines. But the case is different on the ' continent. Both France and Germany possess national in- ' stitutions for facilitating the study of the science applica- ' ble to mining operations ; and the advantage of such a course ' of education is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact, that the ' companies, formed for working mines in South America and ' Brazil, have given a decided preference to officers trained in the ' schools of France and of Germany. Besides, of all speculative ' employments, mining is perhaps the most uncertain. Expense

'and ingenuity are frequently baffled; the most promising 'appearances often end in disappointment; whilst from veins, 'which some persons have abandoned in despair, others have 'frequently derived enormous profits. This very uncertainty, 'however, only affords another argument for concentrating all 'the lights of science, in order, as far as possible, to lessen the 'risk of disappointment, and to afford the miner some surer 'guide than chance, or caprice, in pursuing his exploratory 'labours."

Since that article was written much has been done in England by the labours of many eminent men, such as Buckland, Murchison, Johnston, and others: and museums of economic geology have been established in many places.

In India, however, we are lamentably behind hand. The utmost that has been done is the employment of a few persons on the Geological Survey: but in the way of instruction nothing has even been attempted. But here, from the deadly nature of many parts of the country, no proper survey can ever be made without well-trained native assistants: and the first thing to be done, is to train them. The Government, therefore, cannot too soon provide establishments for facilitating the study of the science of Geology. By training up a portion of the native youth, it will, with their assistance, be enabled to lay open to the public the mineral wealth of the country, which may in after years prove a fertile source of revenue.

An institution for the instruction of the natives in the arts of mining, and for teaching them how to distinguish the various ores and minerals, and the process of roasting, fusing, smelting, &c., as far as these subjects can be taught in a school, would be a great addition to the present system of Government education in Calcutta. We trust the subject will not be lost sight of; nor do we despair of seeing it accomplished during the time of our present Governor-General.

So great is the practical ignorance often displayed, that Mr. Bakewell states it as a positive fact, that, under the present slovenly method of working coal mines in England, more than two-thirds of the coals are wasted. Knowledge is certainly profitable to direct, and without it nothing can prosper. We therefore venture to hope, that something will soon be done to train up the native youth in India, to instruct them in this science in all its branches, and to explain to them the vast importance of it, so that the mineral wealth of this country may be by them practically and scientifically explored.

NOTE ON TRAM ROADS.

In Stevenson's Civil Engineering of North America, the fol-

lowing plan is given by him, as proposed by Mr. Robinson, for the superstructure of the Philipsburg and Juniata Railroad.

"Sills of white or post oak, seven feet ten inches long, and 'twelve inches in diameter, flattened to a width of nine inches, 'are to be laid across the road, at a distance of five feet apart 'from centre to centre. In notches formed in these sills, rails 'of white oak or heart pine, five inches wide, by nine inches in 'depth, are to be secured, four feet seven inches apart, measur-'ed within the rails. On the inner edges of these rails, plates 'of rolled iron, two inches wide, by half an inch thick, resting 'at their points of junction on plates of sheet iron, one-twelfth 'of an inch thick, and four and a half inches long, are to be 'spiked, with five-inch wrought iron spikes. The inner edges 'of the wooden rails to be trimmed slightly levelling, but 'flush at the point of contact with the iron rail, and to be 'adzed down outside the iron to pass off rain-water.

"Such a superstructure as that above described would be 'entirely adequate to the use of locomotive engines of from 'fifteen to twenty horses power, constructed without surplus 'weight, or similar to those now in use on the little Schuyl-'kill Railroad in this state (Pennsylvania), or the Petersburg 'Railroad in Virginia; and it will be observed, that only the 'sills, which constitute but a very slight item in its cost, are 'much exposed to the action of those causes, which induce 'decay in timber. It is particularly recommended, for the 'Philipsburg and Juniata Railroad, by the great abundance 'of good materials, along the line of the improvement, for 'its construction, and the consequent economy with which it 'may be made.

"The following may be deemed an average estimate of the 'cost of a mile of superstructure as above described:

	Dollars.
1056 trenches, 8 feet long, 12 inches wide, and 14 inches deep, filled with broken stone, at 25 cents. each,	264
Same number of sills, hewn, notched, and embedded, at 50 cents. each,	528
10,912 lineal feet of rails (allowing 33¼ per cent. for waste), at 4 cent. per lineal foot, delivered,	436.48
2112 keys at 2½ cents each,	52.80
10,560 lineal feet of plate rail, 2 inches by ½ inch, weight (3⅓ lbs. per foot,) 15 $\frac{71}{100}$ tons, delivered at 50 dollars (£.10) per ton,	785.50
1509 lbs. of 5-inch spikes, at 9 cents. per pound,	135.81
Sheet iron under ends of rails,	30.21
Placing and dressing wood, and spiking down iron rails,	280
Filling between sills with stone, or horse-path,	180
	2692.80

In all, 2693 dollars, or about £.540.

Taking this plan, as a basis of our calculation for an iron tram road we would calculate the expenses thus:—

	Rupees.		
1056 trenches, 8 feet long, 12 inches wide, and 12 inches deep, and filling with broken hard burned pieces of brick.....	400	0	0
1056 sills of teak wood, prepared with tar, 6 feet long, and 8 inches square, at 3 rupees each	3,168	0	0
10,560 lineal feet of rails of teak, 5 inches wide, by 7 inches deep, at 4 annas per foot.....	2,640	0	0
2112 keys	120	0	0
10,560 lineal feet of plate rails, 4 inches, by ½ an inch	3,200	0	0
1509 lbs. of 5 inch spike nails	150	0	0
Sheet iron under ends of rail.....	60	0	0
Placing and dressing wood, and spiking down iron nails	100	0	0
Horse path, or Foot path	100	0	0
	9,938	0	0

This gives in round numbers 10,000 rupees per mile. It will be seen that we have slightly modified Mr. Robinson's plan, and doubled the breadth of the plate rail, making it 4 inches wide, instead of 2, and reduced the scantling of the timber, which is so much more expensive here than in America.

We have also made the width between the rails only five feet, which might be considered too narrow, though, it greatly tends to strengthen the road; and a road of that width would answer the purpose. As the specific gravity of coal varies between 1,270 and 1,300, from 74 to 80 lbs. is the varying weight of a cubic foot of that mineral; 75 is the common weight. A mass of 30 cubic feet equals one ton very nearly. A cart therefore, 20 feet long, by 3½ feet broad, and 3 feet deep, would contain a space of 210 cubic feet, and carry 7 tons of coal, if in one mass. But coal, when broken, occupies a much larger space than when in one solid mass. Thus a ton of coal, broken into moderate sized pieces, would require 45 cubic feet, and, if broken very small, it would even take up the space of 50 cubic feet. A cart, as described above, therefore, would always carry 4 tons with ease; and, if on 8 wheels, this would give a pressure of half a ton on each wheel, independent of its own weight, and the eighth of the weight of the body of the cart or waggon. A road, such as we have proposed, would sustain this pressure without much wear and tear of the materials; but we would allow 500 rupees per mile for annual repairs. A charge of only 2 pice per maund on 32 lakhs of maunds of coal would give a lakh of rupees for this article alone; which should be sufficient for the repairs of the road, for the pay of the establishment, and for the cost of the transport.

ART. VI.—1. *Papers relating to the Punjab.* 1847—1849.

2. *Annals of India for the the year* 1848. *An outline of the principal events, which have occurred in the British Dominions in India from* 1*st January*, 1848, *to the end of the second Seikh War in March* 1849. *With a prefatory notice of the circumstances which led to our connection with the Punjab. By George Buist, L.L.D., F.R.S. L. & E., F.G.S., &c.*

WE have been anxious to present our readers at the earliest period with a brief and connected narrative of the most important events of the second, and we trust the last, Punjab war, which commenced with the assassination of our political officers at Múltan on the 19th of April, 1848, and terminated with the re-capture of Peshawur by Sir Walter Gilbert on the 16th of March, 1849. We felt, however, that any such notice of this eventful and important campaign would be premature, before the appearance of the Parliamentary Punjab Blue Book, for which we have, therefore, postponed the present article. One of the works, mentioned above, the Annals of the year 1848, compiled by Dr. Buist, the Editor of the *Bombay Times*, gives a very clear and accurate account of the progress of political and military events during the campaign, and will furnish the future historian with much valuable data for his labours. The utmost confidence may be placed in this work for the accuracy of its details ; but this is not its sole merit. Some of the most remarkable transactions of the campaign are depicted with such vigour and animation, as at once to place the reader in the midst of the scenes. Indeed, we have seldom read any thing more vivid and interesting than Dr. Buist's description of the investment of the Fort of Múltan—one of the most remarkable events in the military history in India, whether we look at the resources, the skill, and the energy of the besiegers, or the noble resolution of the besieged. Unfortunately, however, these "Annals" were put to press before the Punjab Blue Book reached India, and the author was, therefore, unable to avail himself of the rich sources of information, which that work affords. It has been usual to mistrust these Parliamentary records, as having been compiled to subserve a political purpose, and not to support the cause of truth. The official functionary, entrusted with their compilation, has been repeatedly charged, and not without apparent justice, with having suppressed some of the most important documents. The present Book is equally remarkable for the fulness and the deficiency of its revelations.

All the most interesting transactions, in which the subordinate agents, Edwardes, Taylor, Nicholson, Herbert, Abbott, and Lawrence, were engaged, and in which they have earned so splendid a reputation are given at full length. We are enabled day by day to trace their progress, to appreciate their difficulties, and to mark the talent and resolution by which they were met and overcome. We have no such record of the events of any other Indian campaign: and it would almost appear as if the compilation were intended to be a monument of their exertions. For, as soon as the Commander-in-Chief takes the field, the record becomes scanty, dry, and uninteresting. All those documents, which would have enabled us to trace the latter events of the campaign up to their source, and given us a clue to the sentiments of Lord Dalhousie and Lord Gough, regarding the various disappointments, which commenced at Ramnuggur, and terminated with the victory at Gúzerat, are carefully, and, we suppose, not undesignedly, withheld; and in their stead we have a mere reprint of the political documents, and the military despatches, which have already appeared in the public journals. For an elucidation of the latter portion of the campaign, we must, therefore, be content to wait, until some fortunate circumstance shall unfold the real nature and progress of these events. The narrative, which we now present to our readers, has been compiled from the two works, of which the titles are placed at the head of this article.

Sawun Mull had been appointed, in the time of Runjít Singh, to the government of the city and province of Múltan, in the South West of the Punjab, which yielded an annual revenue of about thirty-five lakhs of Rupees. At his death, the administration of the district passed into the hands of his son Múlraj, subject to little more than a nominal dependence on the authorities at Lahore. Sawun Mull had been accustomed to pay seventeen lakhs and a half of Rupees yearly to the paramount power in the Punjab: but on his death, Lall Singh, who was then in power, demanded an immense Nuzrána (feudal fine) on the transfer of the powers of government into the hands of Múlraj. After considerable discussion and difficulty on the part of Lall Singh, whose avarice had been stimulated by the report of Sawun Mull's immense wealth, this demand was commuted for one of eighteen lakhs, which Múlraj agreed to pay within a certain time. Owing, however, to the disorganization into which the country soon after fell, this agreement was never fulfilled: but, on the re-establishment of the durbar by British influence, the claim was renewed, and Sikh troops were despatched to coerce the Dewan. These were, however, defeated

by him; and he then prayed for the interference of the British Resident to adjust the accounts. Mr. John Lawrence, who at that time held this important office for his brother, promised him a safe conduct to Lahore and back again, and succeeded in arranging the disputed questions, in a manner equally satisfactory to the durbar, and to the ruler of Múltan. Múlraj consented to pay down eight lakhs at once, and the remaining ten by regular instalments; and, moreover, agreed to surrender a district producing eight lakhs a year of revenue, and to add two lakhs to his annual payment to the durbar. During this visit, the Dewan expressed a wish to resign the important post he held; for which he assigned two distinct reasons. The new fiscal arrangements, which Sir Henry Lawrence had introduced into the Punjab, were far less oppressive to the people than those which prevailed at Múltan; and Múlraj declared that he could neither adopt a similar system, nor suffer his own to continue, as the one would destroy his revenue, and the other produce discontent among his subjects. The second cause was the failure of his own health, and family dissensions, which destroyed his peace. It appears also that Múlraj had a great dread, lest complaints from his subjects against himself should be listened to, as well as a vague terror of the Adáluts, which were then in course of establishment all over the country. At length, however, he returned to Múltan, without having settled the question of his resignation, and with the understanding that he would retain his Government for another year. On the arrival of Sir F. Currie at Lahore, the Dewan wrote to him that he was willing to abide by the agreement, which Mr. Lawrence had made with him, to the effect, (as he alleged), "that his honour and dignity should be guaranteed; that no charge against him should be listened to; that he should only be required to give in one year's papers; and that a suitable provision should be made for him during the remainder of his life." All this was of course without foundation: but, on the receipt of another letter from Sir F. Currie requesting an explanation, he distinctly expressed his wish to resign his government, without making any other stipulations, than such as regarded the saving of his honour in the eyes of his own people. The durbar, immediately after the perusal of the document in which these wishes were expressed, appointed a successor in the person of the Khan Singh Man, a good soldier, and of popular manners. The Sirdar was intended to be merely the Governor, and not the Nazim, of the province: and it was resolved that he should receive a fixed salary of Rs. 30,000 per annum. Mr. Agnew, a Civilian, who had become favorably known to the

Government for his intimate acquaintance with the language and manners of the natives, was nominated to the office of Political Agent at Múltan; and Lieut. Anderson, a good oriental scholar, was chosen as his assistant. Khan Singh was instructed by the Resident to be guided, in the administration of the province, by the advice of Mr. Agnew, "on all occasions, and in the conduct of duties of every department;" the signification of which was, that the entire charge of the administration should rest with that gentleman, while the native Sirdar was the ostensible instrument of Government. They took their departure from Lahore on the 6th April, with an escort of 350 Sikhs, and a few guns, and reached Múltan on the 17th. Much objection has subsequently been raised to the smallness of the escort, by which these officers were accompanied, but without any adequate reason. The British authorities had not the slightest idea of the determination formed by Múlraj, if such existed; and they were but partially aware of the lingering hate entertained towards the British dominion by the Khalsa soldiery. Under ordinary circumstances, such a body of troops, of proved courage, and presumed fidelity, would have been regarded as amply sufficient for the escort of two officers, about to receive the keys of a fort from a governor, who professed implicit submission, and whose professions there had been as yet no reason to disbelieve.

Múlraj himself had always been regarded by the British authorities, and particularly by Mr. John Lawrence, as a fair specimen of an Asiatic ruler; and Mr. Agnew remarked, on his arrival, that the quiet aspect of Múltan had not belied the accounts which he had heard of its excellent order and arrangement. On the 18th, the Dewan paid a visit to the Englishmen, who had taken up their quarters in a mosque in the Eedgah, on the outside of the town, and held some discussion, as to the terms upon which the surrender of the fort was to be made. He wished to receive a regular deed of acquittance, without the production of more than one year's papers: but to this Mr. Agnew would not consent, and demanded all the documents for the last six years. Múlraj at last agreed to produce them; but he went away with a saddened face, and an angry flush upon his brow. When we remember what the accounts of an Asiatic prince really are; the discrepancies between those which he keeps for himself, and those which he sends to his superiors; and the endless train of deceit practised by the best of their number in the settlement of revenue; we must acknowledge there was enough, even in this just and reasonable demand, to raise considerable emotion in the mind of a man, who had enjoyed

supreme power for four years. Add to this, that Múlraj was a childless man, at war with all his own relations, and hating his superiors; and we have little difficulty in accounting for his subsequent proceedings, without supposing, as some have done, any pre-meditated revolt,—a supposition, which is completely disproved by the collection of papers, which we have placed at the head of this article.

On the following day, the 18th, Múlraj came to show Mr. Agnew, his assistant, and the new governor, over the fort, and to surrender into their hands the government of the province, which he and his father had so long swayed. On arriving at the entrance, he requested them to dismiss a portion of their guard, as it would be inconvenient to be followed by such a crowd. The wish was complied with; but a similar wish, expressed by the Englishmen to Múlraj, in regard to his own disorderly soldiery, was evaded on some unmeaning pretext. The whole of the interior of the fort, declared by Lieut. Anderson to be the finest in India, was exhibited to the officers. On the return of the cavalcade, Múlraj rode first, side by side with Mr. Agnew; and Khan Singh, with Lieut. Anderson, followed a few paces behind. As they passed over the drawbridge, a sepoy struck at Mr. Agnew with a spear, and wounded him in the side. Múlraj immediately galloped away to his own house in the Am Khas, and abandoned the officers to their fate. The same sepoy then made another rush at Mr. Agnew, and wounded him so severely, that, after breaking the villain's head with a stick which he held in his hand, he fell to the ground. Other sowars, Mussulmans, then attacked Lieut. Anderson and severely wounded him in the neck and other places. Two of his attendants, named Salabut and Rungram, then raised Mr. Agnew, bound up his wounds, and placed him on an elephant to return to the Eedgah. Another party also carried Lieut. Anderson on a mattress in the same direction; while the assailants, apparently alarmed at their own deed, withdrew within the fort, and towards Múlraj's own residence. As the officers passed the Am Khas, they perceived that artillerymen were bringing out guns; and, before they reached the Eedgah, a ball passed over their heads. On arriving at the mosque, Mr. Agnew despatched a messenger to Múlraj, declaring that he acquitted him of all share in the tumult, but that he must come to the Eedgah, and explain the circumstances. The Dewan's Múnshí returned with the reply, that his master would certainly make his appearance in the course of the night, and satisfy Mr. Agnew of his innocence. Meanwhile, that gentleman despatched a report of these events to Sir F. Currie, in which he evidently considered the whole

affair to have arisen from one of those tumults, which so frequently spring up among an Asiatic soldiery. All that night the Dewan was expected, and all that night Khan Singh and the other native officers continued to reiterate their conviction of his treachery. On the morning of the 20th, a brisk fire commenced from the fort upon the Eedgah, and was replied to by the pieces which had accompanied the escort from Lahore, and which were now mounted and served on the south side of the mosque. The firing continued on both sides till towards evening, when the commandant of artillery, Esra Singh, who had been for some hours in communication with Múlraj, with all his men, went over to the enemy. The Gúrkha soldiers had changed sides before; and the officers were now left to be protected by múnshís, clerks, and the sirdars themselves. At night, under cover of the darkness, an armed rabble, yelling for blood, poured in on the north, south, and west sides; and the Englishmen were savagely murdered, after shaking one another by the hand, and expressing with their last breath the certainty that their fate would be fearfully avenged. Khan Singh received quarter, and was thrown into prison; while the rest of the attendants were taken into the service of the Dewan, who promised them the pay, which they had enjoyed during the reign of Runjít Singh.

Intelligence of the tumult reached the Resident at Lahore on the 21st; and he immediately took the most energetic measures to avert all danger from the officers, if it were possible, and, if not, to avenge their fate. All the disposable troops of the Sikh army, in any way available, were ordered to march on Múltan, within twenty-four hours. A large British force was also ordered to hold itself in readiness for embarkation on the Raví, by which it was proposed to reach Múltan. Another letter, however, from the Bhawulpúr news-writer, furnished Sir F. Currie with fuller information, and compelled him to alter his original determination. He saw at once that the Sikh soldiers were utterly untrustworthy, and that, if the proposed force were despatched, they would, in all likelihood, take the earliest opportunity of coalescing with Múlraj, and attacking the accompanying British force. The durbar expressed their opinion that the soldiers could not be relied on to oppose Múlraj. Under all these circumstances, and influenced by these considerations, the Resident, on the 25th of April, informed General Whish, that the British column would not be moved. On the 27th of April, he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, and expressed, in the most urgent terms, his desire, that a British force, sufficiently large to reduce Múltan, should be at once despatched. It was repre-

sented to his Lordship, that the troops would be able to go down the Ravi as far as Bhawulpúr Ghat, and within forty miles of Múltan: that they would there receive ample supplies, and be enabled at once to march upon their ultimate point of destination. The Resident stated, moreover, that the political necessity was exceedingly urgent; but that it remained for his Lordship, as Commander-in-Chief of the army in India, to determine on the military propriety of this step. His Lordship's reply is cool and decisive. The military movement is declared to be useless and inexpedient. Under these circumstances, the whole matter was referred to the Governor General.

In the mean time Lieut. Edwardes, (well known in India as the author of the admirable letters signed Brahminí Bull, which appeared in the *Delhi Gazette,*) an assistant to the Resident in Bunnú, had commenced a career of exploits equalled by few in the annals of Indian warfare. He was employed in settling the revenue of the country in the Derajat, and had with him a force, consisting of about 1,200 Infantry, 350 horsemen, two guns, and twenty zumbúruks. The men under his command were Pathans, who, however active in all affrays, had never seen a shot fired in anger. On receiving intelligence of the attack on the two officers, he determined to cross the Indus, and to move on Múltan to their assistance. On the 24th of April, he moved across the river with his whole force: but, hearing that they had been massacred, he marched to Leiah, an important town, and the capital of the Sind Sagor Doab. The Governor of the place, a servant of the Dewan, fled in alarm, and allowed Lieut. Edwardes to take quiet possession of it. Here he remained some days, awaiting the approach of the force, which, he felt assured, would be immediately despatched from Lahore towards Múltan. He calculated that the field brigade would positively be sent on the 24th of April, and that it would reach Múltan in ten days. No such force was despatched. Meanwhile, Lieut. Edwardes discovered, from an intercepted letter, that his head had been sold by his own men for 12,000 rupees, and their own services for as much more; and that any advance towards the outposts of Múlraj would be the signal for an attempt on their part to fulfil the terms of the bargain. On the 29th, he heard that Dewan Múlraj had moved a force of between 4,000 and 5,000 men, with eight heavy guns, to oppose him. The advanced guard appeared about four coss from Leiah on the 2d of May, and Lieut. Edwardes summoned all his native officers into his tent, and informed them of his determination to re-cross the Indus, as it might be

dangerous to approach too near the enemy. The men, though mortified and enraged at his evident acquaintance with their designs, yet hesitated to seize him, either from a fear of ulterior consequences, or because they were aware that his personal guard would remain faithful to him at all hazards. He accordingly recrossed the river, and remained upon the opposite bank, to await the arrival of General Cortlandt, an officer in the service of the durbar, who came up, on the 4th of May, with a regiment of trustworthy Mussulmans, and six small pieces of cannon. The two officers then exerted themselves to the utmost to raise troops free from the infection of treachery, and contrived to add to their muster roll nearly 3,000 "bold villains, ready to risk their own throats, or cut those of every body else;" fitted for the kind of warfare then before them; neither burdened by fears nor scruples. Múlraj, deceived by a report of the departure of troops from Lahore, re-called his men from Leiah on the 7th of May; and Lieutenant Edwardes, aware of the importance of maintaining his ground on both sides of the river, immediately threw a strong picket into the town. On the 12th of May, his force was weakened one-half by the departure of General Cortlandt, who left him, in obedience to orders received from the Resident, which imperatively enjoined him to go and raise revenue to the southward. On the following day, intelligence was received that Múlraj, having recovered from his alarm, and having ascertained that his fears of a descent from Lahore were groundless, had detached a large body of cavalry to re-take Leiah. The cavalry picket, which had occupied the town, was immediately strengthened; and an attack, which was soon after made, was gallantly repulsed. The little band of scarcely three hundred horsemen, raised within the previous fortnight, to whom Lieut. Edwardes had assigned the defence of the position, pursued the enemy with such rapidity, that their leader, Jus Mull, only escaped destruction by concealing himself in a high tobacco field; thereby anticipating by three months the ever memorable expedient of the king of Munster. But it subsequently appeared that the object of the Dewan was, not so much to attack Leiah, as to cross the Indus below it; and a large body of nearly 6,000 of his troops moved down that river to a point below General Cortlandt's position, with the view of attacking him. On receipt of this intelligence from the General, Lieut. Edwardes determined to effect a junction with him. In pursuance of this project, he placed his infantry in boats, ordered his cavalry to proceed with all speed along the left bank, in half a night and a day effected a march of fifty miles, and,

pressing forward with the same ardour, rejoined General Cortlandt on the 20th of May. A small detachment was immediately pushed on, under the command of a native officer, to Dera Ghazí Khan, the possession of which was considered very important. The expedition succeeded beyond expectation. The combat lasted three hours, and the enemy was completely routed; but the most important result of this victory was the capture of thirty-nine boats, which had been collected to enable Múlraj's troops to cross the Indus. Lieut. Edwardes, however, began to feel that it would be immpossible for him to maintain his ground with his raw levies against the increasing force of Múlraj, unless a diversion could be created in his favor by troops not likely to fraternize with the Dewan. He pressed the Resident to order the Nuwáb of Bhawulpur, whose fidelity (as well as that of his troops) was above suspicion, to take the field, and to keep Múlraj in check on the south-east. That ever faithful ally engaged to take on himself the occupation of all the country between the Sutlej and the gates of Múltan. On the 23d of May, General Cortlandt moved down to Dera Gazí Khan. On the same day, Múlraj's force marched down to Koreyshí, opposite that town. His cavalry made a single march to that spot, in the hope of securing another fleet of boats, which had been collected by order of Múlraj. But Lieut. Edwardes had sent off a party, twenty-four hours previously, to anticipate this movement; and, when the rebel cavalry reached Koreyshí, they found that the boats were safely harboured in an island nullah beyond their reach. Lieut. Edwardes himself broke up his encampment at Peronwallah, and joined General Cortlandt at Dera Gazí Khan, on the 26th of May. He had now a fleet of seventy boats at his command, and was able to throw 6,000 men across the Indus; and he earnestly solicited the permission of the Resident to cross that river, and to co-operate with the Bhawulpur troops, in accomplishing the great object they had in view, of shutting up Múlraj in Múltan, till a British army should march against that place. On the 6th of June, he received the permission of Sir Frederick Currie to despatch General Cortlandt across the Indus, or to go himself, if necessary, for the support of the troops of Bhawul Khan; and he wrote back to the Resident, "The whole of my newly-raised Pathan levies are in just the temper that could be wished. War is their trade, and also their pastime; they like it. They have met with one or two successes at the outset, and are persuaded that the 'ikbal' is on their side; and my task is to restrain their impatience, which is a good omen, when hard blows are to the fore." On the 10th of June, orders were received from Múlraj for the whole of his force to quit

its encampment at Koreyshí, and march to oppose the Bhawulpur troops. That same day, Lieut. Edwardes put ten guns and 2,500 Pathans on board his boats, and began the passage of the Indus. The river was nine coss wide, and the whole force did not reach the opposite bank before the 14th of June. On the 13th of that month, the Resident wrote to Lieut. Edwardes, that Rajah Shere Singh's large force, composed of all the Sirdars in the Punjab, was at Chichawultun, ready to move towards Múltan : but, he added, "I dare not advance them to a point where there is a probability of collision with Múlraj's troops, till Bhawul Khan, or yourself, have gained some farther advantage over the Dewan, and it becomes evident to all that the game is up with him. The whole Sikh army is faithless to the Mahajarah ; a strong desire to aid Múlraj pervades all the soldiers."

It is difficult to conceive why, under such circumstances, Rajah Shere Singh's troops were allowed to proceed to Múltan at all ; and this, indeed, appears to have been the great errror of the first part of the campaign. It led to incalculable mischief in the end. On that same 13th of June, Lieut. Edwardes wrote to the Resident, that the Churunjít Regiment had deserted bodily to Múlraj : "The event is most unfortunate, and commences a new era altogether. It tears the veil from the whole Sikh army, and leaves them all to view as traitors." Lieut. Edwardes now moved on with his force towards the Chenab to join the Bhawulpur troops, and Múlraj became anxious to attack them before the junction. 3,000 of Lieut. Edwardes' men were pushed across the river during the night of the 17th, and he himself slept on the right bank, having resolved to cross with the next detachment. But, becoming anxious, he crossed over early in the morning of the 18th. On his arrival, he found that an attack was hourly expected ; and he gazed on the scene around him with feelings, that amounted almost to dismay. The whole of the Bhawulpur forces, amounting to about 8,500 men, were in the worst possible state of disorganization. Clamour reigned supreme. Futteh Khan, their commander, was under a tree, muttering prayers, instead of heading his troops, and every petty Sirdar was offering his excessively impracticable advice. Lieut. Edwardes, by great personal exertion, and the able assistance of Captain Macpherson, contrived to establish something like order. The firing was kept up on both sides till three in the afternoon, when Múlraj's troops turned their whole fire on the left. "The galling volleys, poured at this time on the new levies, were enough to shake older troops, and their impatience to be led on to strike a blow in their own defence was most difficult to restrain." It was an anxious moment. Lieut. Edwardes' guns

had not reached him. But at half past three, the two fresh regiments, and the guns, sent across the Chenab by General Cortlandt, arrived, and Lieut. Edwardes gave the long wished-for word to emerge from the jungle, and to fall upon the rebels. "I feel unable," says Lieut. Edwardes, "to do justice to the gallantry with which this order was obeyed. Men, whom I had only enlisted a month ago, shook their swords with a will, and rushed upon the rebel cavalry with the most desperate and irresistible valour. The fight was hand to hand in five minutes; and the opposing guns were pouring grape into each other almost within speaking distance. At length Múlraj's army gave way." So rapid and disorderly was the rout, that the greater part never halted, till they were under the protection of the guns of Múltan: and many, who were scattered over the country, never regained the fort. Eight guns were captured in this brilliant affair; and, what was of much more importance, the prestige of the enemy was irretrievably weakened. Múlraj had evidently considered that his troops were more than a match for the half-disciplined, and ill-armed levies of the two revenue officers; and his men were inspired with the same contempt, and went out to battle in the full assurance of victory. This defeat completely changed the current of their feelings. They found that, however equal their forces might be in number, they could not cope with the energy and military skill arrayed against them; and, in the second battle which occurred soon after, the alteration in their spirit was strikingly manifested.

At this time, however, a new and more imminent danger arose, which compelled the Resident to turn for a time his whole attention to the intrigues in the metropolis. The Maharaní Jundakhore, the mother of Dhulíp Singh, had been concerned in every plot in the Punjab from the death of Runjít Singh, and was known to entertain the most decided hostility to the British rule, whatever form it might assume. She had, therefore, been placed in an honourable confinement at Sheikhúpúr, and her allowance reduced to Rs. 4,000 a month. On the 8th of May, a rissaldar of Major Wheeler's Irregular horse informed his commanding officer, and through him the Resident, that efforts had been made to seduce him from his fidelity, and that a general conspiracy had been matured. It was stated, that the conspirators were accustomed to meet together, to the number of about twenty-five, to consult upon the measures to be adopted for the extermination of the hated Feringhís. The Resident laid a plan to arrest them in the act; but the news got wind, and he was obliged to content himself with the arrest of the principal conspirators. Khan Singh,

an unemployed general in the Sikh service, Rung Ram, the Maharaní's confidential vakíl, and two others, were arrested; and, their complicity having been fully and distinctly proved to the satisfaction of the Resident and his council, Khan Singh and Rung Ram were executed within twenty-four hours, the third was transported, and the fourth pardoned on condition of giving evidence against his accomplices. He affirmed that the Raní was the moving spring of the whole plot; but that Shere Singh, Sheikh Emamuddín, and other Sirdars, were deeply implicated in it, and that the army, now on its way against Múlraj, would join him in the end. The sepoys were to be induced by large gifts, and larger promises, to murder their officers; and then it was expected, that the English would be immediately driven out of the Punjab. The plot was in short laid with that judicious villainy, in which the Sikh surpasses all Asiatics, and the Maharaní all Sikhs. All these confessions were subsequently confirmed by letters under the Maharaní's own hand, and, of themselves, fully justified the energetic measures which the Resident adopted against her. The sepoys were instantly tried, shot, transported, or acquitted; the guards at the gates of Lahore were doubled; and the fakirs of the city, who were well known to be the most active agents against the British Government, were ordered to quit Lahore. The Raní was not only deeply implicated in this conspiracy, and suspected to be the instigator of the revolt in Múltan, but she had also become politically dangerous. All the disaffected in the Punjab looked up to her as their natural head; and her removal from the scene of her intrigues was considered absolutely necessary for the peace of the country. However small the legal offence which could be proved against her, every man in the Punjab was well aware, that her restless spirit never ceased from plotting, and that she needed only an opportunity, to slake her thirst of blood upon all who bore the British name, or were friendly to the British power. Fakir Núruddín, an old friend of her husband, with Lieut Lumsden of the Guide corps, and some guards, proceeded to Sheikhúpúr, with an injunction to the Maharaní, from Sir F. Currie and the durbar, to obey their orders. As it was expected that resistance might be attempted by the guards at Sheikhúpúr, they were in part removed, and two companies of the 14th Light Dragoons were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for a march. The durbar suggested that a little deceit was advisable, and proposed that the Raní should be told that her destination was Lahore. This Sir F. Currie peremptorily forbade; and the Raní remained in perfect ignorance of her destination, until she arrived at

Ferozepore on the 18th. After her departure, it was found that she had taken away with her a large amount of treasure, belonging to the Maharajah and the state of Lahore; and Major Macgregor, Agent for the Governor General at Benares, to which place she was sent, received orders to sequestrate all such effects. Much pseudo-pity has been wasted upon this atrocious woman, whose crimes have only been equalled by her strange fortunes. Renowned, even in the harem of Runjít Singh, for her licentiousness, and without any one claim on the British Government, except for the bare means of susbsistence, her energy and activity have procured for her many sympathisers, and some defenders. No deceit was ever practised in the matter of her removal; and she never was closely confined, till her own intrigues rendered severe measures indispensably necessary.

In the latter part of May occurred one of those slight local revolts, which, however unimportant in their results, furnish much instruction as to the course most proper to be pursued in the management of the country. Bhaí Maharaj, a Sikh Gurú, or teacher, had been deeply connected with the Preyma conspiracy, and a price had in consequence been set upon his head. He remained, however, at large, as it was impossible to induce any Kardar to risk the deadly hostility of his neighbours, by the arrest of so popular a character. He had been seen in Umritsír and various other places, but with a small retinue; and the populace invariably refused to lend the slightest aid towards his seizure. After the outbreak at Múltan, his proceedings became more open, and he had evidently a considerable command of money. It was subsequently discovered that this money came from Múltan; and that the Gúrú was one of the numerous emissaries, whom Múlraj employed to stir up rebellion in the various districts of the Punjab. As his band began to increase, he moved slowly towards Denanuggur, at the foot of the hills, closely watched by the Resident, who dispatched Lieut. Hodson and a party of irregular horse to Múkerian, with the view of surprising and securing him. The Mussulman Zemindars, and the Sikh, Misr Sahib Dhyal, whose estates were on the left bank of the Chenab, promised to arrest him, if he should come their way; and the Resident took measures, which necessitated the Gúrú to adopt that line of retreat. He received intelligence, that the next march made by Bhaí Maharaj, who had meanwhile crossed the Raví, would be within 30 miles of Lahore; and the 7th Irregulars, the mounted portion of the Guide corps, and a part of the 14th Light Dragoons, were ordered to leave Lahore at midnight on the 7th of June, and to surprise him. Unfortunately a storm came on, the Raví rose, and

the troops were unable to cross till the following morning. In pursuance of additional instructions from the Resident, they then made a forced march of 35 miles to a place called Jhundhalla, about 30 miles from the Ghat of the Raví. But intelligence of the arrival of a British force had meanwhile got wind. The Kardars, Adálutís, and all other officials were in the interest of the Gúrú, and, when the English forces arrived at Jhundhalla, they found that the object of their pursuit had fled twenty miles further. The Bhaí was, however, thoroughly alarmed; his partisans, who at one time had reached the number of 6,000, quickly dwindled down to 1,200; and with these he moved, at a speed such as a Sikh army only can attain, to Jhung. Here he was met by Misr Sahib Dhyal, and the Mahomedan Zemindars, by whom he was attacked, and, after a hard contest, driven into the Chenab. Nearly 600 men were drowned in that river, now swollen by the melting of the snows, and among them the Bhaí Maharaj himself. At another period, and under different circumstances, the Gúrú would have been the leader of a new revolution; and, even on this occasion, the devotion, with which his followers regarded him to the last, was extraordinary, and only to be accounted for on the supposition, that he united rare personal qualities with the asceticism, on which his religious character mainly depended. It is evident too, from the narrative of those proceedings, that it requires very little exertion to stir up the Mussulmans against the Sikhs. So well aware was Múlraj of the effect, which the junction of the Gúrú would have upon his fortunes, that he endeavored to resuscitate him for the encouragement of his troops; and, during some days, thus produced a very considerable effect, and caused considerable alarm to Major Edwardes. The imposture, however, from some unknown cause, failed, and, though subsequently tried again by Shere Singh, the Sikhs could not be induced to believe that he was alive.

We now turn to Lieut. Edwardes again. Within four days after the successful engagement of Kineyrí, he wrote to the Resident, that the task assigned to the army under him would be accomplished in a few days, and Múlraj and the rebels confined to the fort of Múltan. He, therefore, urged with great importunity, that his troops should not be exposed to the dangers of three months' inactivity, and that the siege should be commenced at once. He said, "All we require are a few heavy guns, a mortar battery, as many sappers and miners as you can spare, and Major Napier to plan our operations. That brave and able officer is, I believe, at Lahore; and the guns and mortars are doubtless ere this at Ferozepore, and only require to be

put into boats, and floated down to Bhawulpur." When it is considered, that a large siege train, and fifteen thousand men, were subsequently employed for more than a month in reducing Múltan, the reader may be disposed to censure the ignorance, or over-confidence, of Lieut. Edwardes. It was natural that he should under-rate the courage and resources of an enemy, whom he had just defeated with his raw levies. But it must not be forgotten, that the resources of Múlraj were then in their infancy; that they were greatly augmented between this period, and the time when the siege was actually commenced, five months after; and that the whole country had not then risen in arms, and imparted the strongest confidence to Múlraj's counsels. To this letter the Resident replied on the 27th of June, in language which gave Lieut. Edwardes every reason to hope, that his representations had made a favorable impression. Sir F. Currie said, that it would be useless to send guns and mortars without artillerymen to work them, and a plentiful supply of ammunition; that the character of the investing force would be in a measure changed by the addition of British materials; and that, if any part of the British army was employed, the force must be so large as to render success certain and speedy. He said that the aspect of affairs was certainly changed by the success which Lieut. Edwardes had obtained; and that another circumstance, which had great weight in determining the impracticability of operations two months before, was the belief that, at this time—the end of June—the fort and city of Múltan would be so inundated by means of cuts from the Chenab, as to render siege operations impossible; but that this apprehension was now removed. He, therefore, requested Lieut. Edwardes, and Lieut. Lake of the Engineers, to report on the local features of the fort and the surrounding country, with reference to the feasibility of siege operations against the fort, within the next two months, and also in October. The next day the Resident wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, that it was highly desirable in a political, as well as in a military point of view, that the means of reducing the fort should be at once provided; that the excitement which was caused, and the injury which was occasioned to all classes of the community, by the continued existence of rebellion in Múltan (confined though it was, to the fort) were incalculable; and, that the altered position of affairs, and the information obtained in the mean time had induced Major Napier (whose opinion his Lordship had taken, when the impracticability of operations two months before was determined) to consider it quite feasible to undertake the siege immediately, with every prospect of early success. He stated that a small force only

would now be required, except in artillery, and that a brigade would be sufficient. On the 1st of July, the Commander-in-Chief replied to the Resident, that he saw nothing in the altered position of affairs, which would justify him in taking upon himself the siege of Múltan at the present moment: that, on the contrary, the success of Lieut. Edwardes rendered it less necessary to risk the lives of the European soldiers at this season. He stated further, that he considered the force proposed by Major Napier quite inadequate; and that he never would consent to an insufficient force, such as one brigade of any strength, being sent. But the most remarkable portion of His Excellency's letter is the remark, that it would appear from the Deputy Commissary General's letter, that the bullock train would have to come from Cawnpore: from which it appeared that, during the two months in which this rebellion had been gathering strength, no preparations whatever had been made for taking the field, even in winter. On the same date, Lord Gough wrote to the Governor General, that he did not feel justified in taking upon himself the responsibility of sending such a force, as that now proposed by the Resident: but that, if his Lordship in council should decide on an immediate movement, the smallest force, which he could recommend, was two brigades of infantry, one of cavalry, and a native troop of horse artillery, in addition to the siege train. The Governor General, after the receipt of Lord Gough's letter, replied to Sir Frederick Currie on the 11th of July, and informed him, that, having carefully considered the various despatches which had been addressed to him, and weighed all the reasons which had been adduced for the immediate despatch of a force to Múltan, he entirely concurred with the Commander-in-Chief, in adhering to the former determination, and in abstaining from moving British troops against Múltan, at this season of the year. The season of the year was thus, in the opinion both of the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor General, the great obstacle to the commencement of operations.

On the 27th of June, Lieut. Edwardes informed the Resident, that he had, in the previous twenty-four hours, received an unbroken series of ill tidings. Sirdar Shumshere Singh was in command of a division of the Khalsa troops, sent to co-operate with Lieut. Edwardes against Múlraj; but they were so notoriously disaffected, that they had been ordered to stand fast at Chichawutní, about sixty miles from Múltan. Contrary to orders, they had advanced in the direction of the town; and the resuscitated Bhaí Maharaj Singh was said to have been sent to welcome them. The four guns of Jhunda Singh's detachment, which had been ordered from Leiah to Jhung,

were said to have arrived at Raj Ghat to join Múlraj ; and Lieut. Taylor gave a most unfavorable account of the troops in Bunnú, among whom conspiracies were at work. Lieut. Edwardes adds, " Reflecting, however, that the treachery attributed to the Chíchawutní force, if really meditated, was not yet accomplished ; that it might be arrested by our advance, but would certainly be hastened by our wavering ; and that a second blow struck now at the rebels, before they can be reinforced, would drive them into the fort, and put us in a position to cut off all fresh comers; above all, remembering (as I do night and day) that the lives of all our officers in Bunnú, Peshawur, and Hazara, depend on the speedy reduction of the rebellion to the smallest possible compass, and the complete humiliation of Múlraj in the public eye, I finally resolved to make not a single halt, but trust to the justice of our cause, and the Providence which defends the right. This morning accordingly we marched from Secundrabad." At the same time, he remarked, that there was not a moment's reliance to be placed on any Sikh army whatever ; and that he heartily wished Raja Shere Singh, and Sirdar Shumshere Singh, and all the Singhs with them, two hundred miles off at that moment, and that he was left alone to cope with Múlraj. Sheikh Emamúddín, who commanded a body of Mussulmans in the pay of the durbar, who were considered to be less infected with treachery than the Khalsa troops, was ordered to join him. His division was united with the force of Lieut. Edwardes, on the 30th of June, and the whole body marched towards Múltan. The Sikh Gúrú, the pseudo Bhaí Maharaj Singh had consulted the stars with great forms and ceremonies, and had fixed the 1st of July as the auspicious day, when Múlraj would be invincible. Inspired with this assurance, the Dewan resolved to fight. The engagement began after midday ; the Bhawulpur force was on the right, under the command of Lieut. Lake ; the Súraj-Múkí Mahomedan corps, with General Cortlandt's ten guns, in the centre, commanded by that General ; Lieut. Edwardes' Pathan levies on the left centre, flanked by his Pathan cavalry ; and on the extreme left the troops of Sheikh Emamúddín, whose fidelity was doubtful. The scene of the engagement was the village of Suddúsain. Múlraj's artillerymen stood their ground with great obstinacy. The solemn blessings and promises of Bhaí Maharaj had inspired them with a desperate courage. At length the enemy was driven from grove to grove ; and the Dewan, who commanded in person, and was said to have had a fall from his elephant, mounted his horse, and retreated precipitately from the field, carrying with him all the guns but two, which remained to

mask the movement, and were desperately served. The Súraj-Múkí regiment of infantry finally decided the day, by a brilliant charge on the guns, led by Mr. Quin, Lieut. Edwardes' writer, but an old soldier. The force of the enemy on this occasion was estimated at 11,000. Many of these were men, who had just deserted from Sheikh Emamúddín's and Rajah Shere Singh's ranks; the majority were old soldiers, and two-thirds of them Sikh and Hindú fanatics, to whom it had become a war of faith to uphold the Khalsa, and their Khuttrí master. The victory of Suddúsain was complete. "Now," says Lieut. Edwardes to the Resident, "is the time to strike, and it is quite painful to me, to see that I have reached the end of my tether, and can do no more." But though the Dewan had thus been discomfited, and was obliged to resign all command of the plain, and confine himself to the city and fort, the treacherous troops of Shere Singh were now advancing to renew and increase embarrassments. He had been ordered to remain at Chíchawutní, but had advanced contrary to orders to Túlumba; and, though repeatedly requested to halt, he at length advanced to Gogran, within six coss of the city of Múltan.

The Resident, on hearing of the first victory at Kineyrí, consulted the Commander-in-Chief, as we have stated, regarding the feasibility of sending a British force to Múltan, to complete the work, which Lieut. Edwardes had so happily begun; and he directed a force to be held in readiness to march, pending the receipt of letters from the Governor General, approving that step. How the proposal was viewed by His Lordship, and by Lord Gough, we have already shown. It has been a matter of surprize, not unmingled with censure, that, after having thus applied for instructions, the Resident should have sent forward the force without waiting for a reply. The Blue Book explains the enigma. Sir Frederick Currie had intermediately received information of the second victory, which had been gained at Suddúsain on the 1st of July, and resolved immediately to take on himself the responsibility of ordering the army to Múltan. On the 10th of July, he sent an elaborate despatch to the Governor General, fully explaining the grounds on which he had ventured to adopt this resolution. To this letter Mr. Elliott, the Foreign Secretary, replied from Calcutta on the 22d of July, stating that nothing had been advanced by Sir Frederick Currie, calculated to weaken the strength of those reasons, which induced the Governor General, notwithstanding the political urgency of the case, to approve of his having refrained from bringing British troops into the field, at this season of the year, or which could have induced his Lordship to alter the resolution, already conveyed to him, that

British troops should not move against Múltan, until the fit season for military operations should commence ; but that, since the Resident considered it necessary, in exercise of the powers conferred upon him, to assume the responsibility, and had publicly issued the orders for carrying his resolution into effect, the Governor General in Council would not withhold his confirmation of those orders. It was his Lordship's wish therefore, that he should immediataly direct the advance he had ordered, and proceed with vigour to carry out, at all hazards, the policy which he had resolved upon. Sir Frederick, on the 10th of July, directed General Whish, commanding at Lahore, to take immediate orders for the despatch of a siege train with its establishment to Múltan,—stating that the fort itself was to a certain extent invested by the Bhawulpur forces, and by those of Lieut. Edwardes, amounting in the aggregate to 18,000 men, and that the fidelity of this force could be depended on. He also stated that there was a force under Raja Shere Singh, and the principal Sirdars of the country, associated with Lieut. Edwardes, which might be relied on, for doing *no mischief* in its present position. We shall see in the sequel, how soon even this negative virtue of our allies disappeared under the machinations of Múlraj. On the 13th of July, General Whish received his appointment from the Commander-in Chief to command the Múltan force, accompanied by the usual complimentary assurances, that his Lordship had the most perfect confidence in his ability. He stated at the same time, that he would not consent to the employment, at such a distance as Múltan, of a British force of less strength than was detailed in his letter of the 1st instant ; thereby giving his sanction to the supposition, that such a force itself would be amply sufficient for the successful performance of that duty. The intelligence of a design to send British troops to Múltan produced the most salutary effect on the motley group of faithful and faithless troops encamped before that city. Lieut. Edwardes wrote thus to Sir Frederick Currie : "In Shumshere Singh's graphic language, the news of a British force being positively about to take the field came upon Shere Singh's camp, like 'fire upon water.' The expression is so good that, as you read, you will, I am sure, fancy that you hear mutiny hissing at being extinguished, and dying away into smoke, with sputtering curses at the ever victorious Feringhís. Had you hesitated to take the field now, I candidly own that I think my position would have been converted, in a month, to one of the greatest peril." Before we proceed to notice the progress, and the proceedings, of General Whish's force, we would make one quotation from a letter of Sir F. Currie of the 31st July,

which tends to show that he was not exempt from those miscalculations and misapprehensions, which were made by almost all others during this campaign. In a leisurely view of the past, present and future, the Resident says, "I do not think that any distinct plan of operations had been determined, beyond what I mentioned in my letter of the 10th, when the outbreak in Múltan occurred; from that time, it has been blended with the whole affair, and lately I have been assured, that, if Múlraj could hold out till November or December, the whole scheme, as at first planned by the Maharaní, would be executed, and a grand struggle take place, in which Sikhs, Hill Rajpúts, and Mahomedans were all to join. I put little faith in this; the combination could never be made." Yet, owing to the extreme dilatoriness of our proceedings, Múlraj was enabled to hold out till November and December, and the combination was made: and, instead of having six thousand troops to cope with at Múltan, we had six times that number to fight against at Chillianwallah.

It has, we know, been usual to ascribe all the difficulties experienced in this campaign to the movement made by Lieut. Edwardes across the Indus; which was also said to have been undertaken not only without orders, but contrary to the strictest injunctions of the Resident. The Blue Book enables us to estimate the value of these assertions. On the 5th of June, the Resident wrote to the Government of India, that, as soon as Múlraj was obliged to re-call his troops from the Indus to defend himself against the advance of the Bhawulpur troops, "Lieut. Edwardes *will cross the Indus again*, and in a very different condition from that in which he crossed it a month ago:" and, on the 6th of June, Lieut. Edwardes himself wrote thus to the Resident—"I am happy to have received your sanction to my detaching General Cortlandt across the Indus, or going myself, if necessary, for the support of the troops of Bhawul Khan." Lieut. Edwardes crossed that river on the 10th of June. At regards the effect of his movement on Múltan, the Blue Book enables us to preceive that the plan (which the Resident appears to have designed, and Lieut. Edwardes to have executed) of confining Múlraj to his own city, was the very best which could have been adopted under existing circumstances. Lieut. Edwardes was thus enabled to afford full occupation to the Dewan and his troops during three entire months, from the date of the assassination of our officers, to that, on which it was announced in Múltan, that a British force was proceeding against it. Múlraj was thus effectually prevented from marching into the districts lying to the North West, between him and Lahore, and raising

the country. If Lieut. Edwardes had been confined to the right bank of the Indus, there would have been nothing to prevent the progress of disaffection: and it is impossible to peruse the papers given in the Blue Book without perceiving that, but for the active and energetic movements of Lieut. Edwardes, the treacherous chiefs and troops of the durbar, who had been sent against Múlraj, would immediately have joined his standard; that a large Khalsa force would have been organized in the month of May; and that, encouraged by our inactivity and the report that we could not venture to move British troops "except at the fit season of the year," and gaining accessions at every step, they would have taken possession of the various Doabs, and appeared before Lahore in the month of June. We should then have been constrained to fight our Súdalapur, and Chillianwalla, and Gúzerat, in those months in which the Commander-in-Chief had declared it to be impossible for our troops to take the field. From this calamity Government was saved by the energetic and admirable movements of Lieut. Edwardes.

We now turn to the Hazara district. The controul of it had been committed to Sirdar Chutter Singh, the father of Rajah Shere Singh, who commanded the troops before Múltan, and of Golab Singh, a chief at Lahore. Shere Singh was considered to be one of the leading chiefs in the Punjab, from his age, his wealth, his landed possessions, and his influence. He had more to lose than any other chief by an unsuccessful collision with the British authorities. His daughter had recently been affianced to the young Maharajah; and the completion of this alliance would have made him the most powerful noble in the kingdom. Associated with him, as the Political Assistant on the part of the British Government, was Capt. Abbott—the gentleman who was deputed by Major Tod to proceed from Khiva to Petersburgh in 1840, in reference to the Russian slaves, who were subsequently liberated. The narrative of his romantic and perilous journey over that unknown country is one of the most interesting works of the kind ever given to the public. He was equally conspicuous as a soldier, an author, and a politician. The Resident thus describes him: "He has many excellent qualifications as a public officer; an indefatigable application to business; a most scrupulous desire to show the strictest justice in all his investigations, decisions, and proceedings; and a kind and eminently conciliatory manner to the natives, coupled with great firmness and intrepidity of character. In Hazara, of which he has made the settlement, he is beloved, in fact almost worshipped, by the people; all persons that I have conversed with, who have come from those parts, are unanimous in their estimation of him.

They say that he has gained such an influence over the inhabitants of the province, that he can do whatever he pleases with a race whom the Sikhs could never control, and whom the wily and shrewd Maharajah Golab Singh was glad to get from under his Government on almost any terms." Since the outbreak at Múltan, there had been but little intercourse between Capt. Abbott and Sirdar Chutter Singh ; and evil-designing men had taken advantage of this circumstance to sow suspicions of the fidelity of the latter in the mind of the former. Perhaps Capt. Abbott might have been too ready, as the Resident supposed, to believe the reports of these treasons. But when it was considered, as the Resident himself allowed, that we were living in the Punjab, in such an atmosphere of treachery, perfidy, falsehood, and deceit, that it was certainly not easy to determine what was, or what was not, worthy of credit ; and when the long perfidious career of the Sirdar was remembered, no one will be surprized, if Capt. Abbott should have regarded Shere Singh with mistrust ; and it must perhaps remain an enigma, whether it was his treachery that caused the suspicions, or the suspicions which caused his treachery. The Pukli brigade had for some time been in a very unsatisfactory state. On the 1st of August, Capt. Abbott was informed that they had broken up their bazar, sold their stores of grain, called in their cattle, packed up their baggage, and were about to march to Lahore. These proceedings were known to the Sirdar ; but he did not choose to report them. Capt. Abbott immediately raised the country, and determined to prevent the brigade from issuing out of the hills. The armed peasantry, who sprung up at his bidding, struck terror into the mind of the Sirdar Chutter Singh, —so he affirmed—and he collected a force near Hurripur for his own protection. He ordered the troops from the city to join him, and directed Colonel Canora, an American, who had long been in the Sikh service, to bring out the guns, which he positively refused to do, without Capt. Abbott's express leave. Chutter Singh repeated his orders more peremptorily ; the Colonel still refused, and, standing by them himself with a lighted match, after having fully loaded them, threatened to shoot any one who attempted to touch them. But he was deserted by his own artillerymen ; the troops of Chutter Singh closed on him ; and he fell pierced with many wounds. Capt. Abbott on the other hand considered that Chutter Singh had assembled troops at Hurripur with the treasonable design of liberating the Pukli brigade, and opposing the British Government. Immediately on the death of Canora, the Sirdar ordered all the troops in the province to his assistance ; and Capt. Abbott organ-

ized the armed peasantry with the determination to oppose that force. The report of this insurrectionary movement had no sooner reached Peshawur, than Major Lawrence wisely despatched Capt. Nicholson, with a small body of men, to seize and to hold Attock, the key of the Indus. The progress of Sirdar Chutter Singh's defection was slow; but there cannot longer remain a doubt, that, from the time of the Múltan insurrection, he was engaged in the national conspiracy against us, and was only waiting a fit opportunity for declaring himself. Canora was murdered on the 6th of August; and, for three weeks after, we have in the Blue Book a very tedious and most uninteresting correspondence between the Resident and Capt. Abbott; the former being most reluctant to believe in the Sirdar's infidelity, while the latter as strenuously maintained it. The Resident then sent the Sirdar Jhunda Singh from Lahore, to bring Chutter Singh to reason. Jhunda Singh was said to have more influence over him than any other man: but the result was eventually, that Jhunda himself turned traitor, and joined the standard of Chutter Singh, who threw off the mask on the 28th of August, marched to Hussan Abdal against Capt. Nicholson, and obliged him to retire upon Attock. The Resident, in his letter to the Government of India on the 1st of September, acknowledged that Chutter Singh had at length, fairly and finally, taken his line, and would use every endeavour to make his rebellion as formidable as possible; but he still clung to the hope, that he might be persuaded to lay down his arms—at the very time that he was organizing the most vigorous opposition to our interest, raising the country, and inviting Golab Singh and Dost Mahomed to join him. The wily Sirdar wrote to Sir F. Currie and the durbar, excusing himself from obeying the order to come into Lahore, because his troops would not allow him, and urging that Tej Singh, or Dínanath, or some European officer, might be sent *to assure the troops and himself.* The Rajah Dínanath was actually deputed on this fool's errand. It failed, as might have been expected. Chutter Sing then gave out that he had devoted his head to his God, and would stand or fall in the cause he had espoused. All the villages, which were known to have rendered Capt. Nicholson assistance, were burnt and ravaged; and the insurgent troops proclaimed with shouts the return of the Gúrúji's rule. The officers in command, in Hazara and Peshawur, implored the Resident to send a brigade to their assistance, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt: but the Commander-in-Chief determined that it would be highly dangerous to send a small force; and that no force whatever should be

sent, till a large body could be collected at the proper season of the year, capable of overcoming all opposition.

Let us now return to Múltan. We have stated, that the Resident ordered General Whish, on the 10th of July, to march, with an army of the strength which the Commander-in-Chief had indicated as sufficient for the purpose, to the siege of Múltan. But, though the rebellion had now been raging for three months in the Punjab, and although the public, both in England and in India, had been assured that Lord Hardinge had placed the moveable brigades in such a state of equipment, that they could march on the shortest notice, such is the dilatoriness which marks almost every military movement in India, that the force under General Whish, consisting of only seven thousand men, did not reach Múltan, a distance of only two hundred and twenty miles, with unrivalled convenience for water carriage down the stream, until *thirty-nine* days after the orders had been issued. The progress of the troops towards Múltan was marked by no incident; and they encountered no opposition. Neither did they suffer from the heat, as the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor General had anticipated; there were fewer casualties than might have been expected, even if they had marched "at the fittest season of the year." The bugbear, which had terrified their Lordships, was found to exist only in their own imaginations; and the soundness of Sir Frederick Currie's judgment, so far as the weather was concerned, in sending a force for the reduction of Múltan at that particular time, was fully vindicated. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt, that, if the preparation for the campaign had commenced with vigour, when the emeute at Múltan was first announced, and, if the Commander-in-Chief had left Simlah on the 15th of July, and marched in person at the head of fifteen thousand men towards Múltan, the war would have been brought to a close within six weeks, without that fearful sacrifice of life, which subsequently darkened our success.

On the 3d of September, General Whish addressed a brief proclamation to the inhabitants and garrison of Múltan, inviting them to an unconditional surrender, and declaring that he should otherwise, in obedience to the orders of the Supreme Government of India, commence hostilities on a scale that must ensure early destruction to the rebel traitor and his adherents. Lieut. Edwardes, to whom the translation of this document had been committed, observed that our treaty with Dhulíp Singh was still in force; that it was against him Múlraj had rebelled; and that, if we were to exclude his name from a proclamation, recalling the garrison of a Punjab fortress to their allegiance,

and mention only the name of Her Britannic Majesty, it would seem, as if we had already determined to confiscate the state. But his advice was overruled; and the inhabitants and garrison were invited to an unconditional surrender, "in honour of Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain." This proclamation, which was issued on the 3d of September, produced no effect. On the 6th, a meeting of officers was held at the General's tent to arrange finally a plan of attack on the fort and city of Múltan. Two plans were proposed; the first, that of taking the town of Múltan by a *coup de main* at any cost, in one day; and the second, that of marching round to the north, and attacking the citadel by regular approaches. Both plans were rejected. Lieut. Lake then submitted a proposition to run a trench from the battery on the extreme right of the Daúdpútra camp, north east to a point called Ramtírut, which would be upwards of a mile; and to throw up heavy gun batteries at such points of this entrenchment, as would drive away the enemy, without much loss of life, and with certain success. This plan was adopted. On the 12th of September, General Whish determined to take the enemy's position in front, and near the advanced picket of the trenches. The columns advanced to the attack about 9 A. M. The position was a strong one, and stoutly defended; the conflict terminating only in a series of hand to hand encounters. The enemy was at length driven from it, but our loss was very severe. We had five officers killed, and twelve wounded; 39 men killed, and 216 wounded. The victory remained with us;—but, within two days after, General Whish raised the siege, which was not renewed for more than three months.

This singular determination to suspend the siege, and to wait for the arrival of reinforcements, which could not be expected to reach Múltan in less than two months, filled the community throughout India, as might well have been anticipated, with indignation; but it was forced on General Whish by the treachery of Rajah Shere Singh. So admirably was that chief able to play the hypocrite, that he deceived even the sagacity of Lieut. Edwardes, who wrote to the Resident on the 4th of September, that, if the intentions of the Rajah were to be judged of by his past conduct, nothing could be more satisfactory or loyal. Since his arrival, he had omitted neither persuasion, threats, nor punishments, to keep his troops to their duty. After detailing various instances of his fidelity, Lieut. Edwardes stated, that on the previous day he had moved out of his camp, and cannonaded Múlraj's troops at the bridge, whom he threw into great confusion: but that he was obliged to retire,

by the heavy guns from the fort, and (as Lieut. Edwardes supposed) by the refusal of Sirdar Uttar Singh's and Sirdar Shumshere's divisions, to take part in these "heretical proceedings." The Rajah acknowledged that he never expected to effect any thing by this move; but he thought it would be a good thing to get a few men killed on both sides, so as to destroy the good understanding between his own Sikhs, and those in the garrison. "Still," writes Lieut. Edwardes, "if Sirdar Chutter Singh should succeed in attracting the Peshawur troops to his standard, and raising any thing like a national movement against us, I should not expect Rajah Shere Singh to remain faithful, however well he may be inclined. It would be expecting too much from a son, and a Sikh." On the morning of the 8th of September, the Sheikh Emamúddín had an interview with Lieut. Edwardes, in which he stated that the Rajah Shere Singh, though hitherto firm in his allegiance, was now "altering his mind;" that messengers had come from Chutter Singh; that the Rajah, after reading the letters, which were in Gùrmùkí, had carefully put them into water, and obliterated all traces of their contents; and that his Mùtbirs were beginning to open their mouths, and talk big, like other malcontents. On the morning of the 9th, Rajah Shere Singh waited on Lieut. Edwardes, to report a mutinous meeting of the troops of the Sirdar Uttar Singh, which had been held on the night of the 7th September, and exhausted himself in complaints against the divisions of that chief and Sirdar Shumshere Singh, although his own troops were daily deserting to Múlraj. In letter of the 10th September to the Resident, in which these and other particulars are given, Lieut. Edwardes says—"It becomes therefore necessary to consider it a probable contingency, that Múlraj's army will be swelled by two-thirds of Shere Singh's numbers; my feeling is that I should like to decide the matter myself, intead of leaving things to run their course, by surrounding and disarming the Sikh force, which I consider present circumstances would most fully justify; but unfortunately they are in such a position, that it is impossible to turn their flank, either right or left, and, if I were to move down on their rear, they would in self-defence be driven into Múltan." The General and Lieut. Edwardes having held a consultation on the subject, it was agreed that the only thing that could be done was to direct the Sirdars to march back to Lahore. Lieut. Edwardes then sent for the three Sirdars, and informed them of the General's wishes. They received the announcement with feelings of repugnance. They said their men would not march; but at the same time they confessed, that, if they remained before Múltan,

the whole force would go over gradually; and that there was no dependence to be placed on them. Shere Singh warmly expostulated against his division being sent away, when they were ready to give their lives in the cause of the Maharajah. It was then settled, that Sirdar Uttar Singh's division should be ordered back to Túlumbah, under pretence of keeping open the road, and Sirdar Shumshere's division to Kurrumpur, for the same purpose; and that Rajah Shere Singh's division should take up a position to protect the ferry. The morning of the 14th was fixed for carrying out these arrangements. On that same day, Lieut. Edwardes wrote to the Resident: "The question of the intentions of the Sikh force under Rajah Shere Singh has this morning been settled, by the camp moving bodily off to Múltan, and joining the rebels. The Rajah put himself at the head of the movement, and ordered the 'Dhurm ka dhosa,' or religious drum, to be beaten, in the name of the Khalsa." The other chiefs were carried away by the troops; but Sirdar Uttar Singh subsequently made his escape from the army, and joined Lieut. Edwardes' Camp; the nephew of Sirdar Shumshere Singh did the same; he himself had endeavored to escape, but had been forced into Múltan. It appears that, four or five days before this event, the Chief Engineer had pronounced his opinion that the force before Múltan was not sufficient for its capture. The idea of raising the siege was combatted by General Whish; but he found that the same opinion had been formed also by other influential officers. Whether the siege would have been continued, if there had been no defection of the Sikhs, it is now idle to enquire. That event rendered our retirement an act, not only of wisdom, but of necessity. On hearing of this treachery of Shere Singh, the General adjourned to the tent of the Chief Engineer, where several officers had assembled: and a unanimous opinion was expressed, that the siege was no longer practicable. Lieut. Edwardes justly considered that we were no longer engaged with a rebel Kardar alone, but with the whole Sikh army in another struggle for independence. It was therefore determined to concentrate the troops, and assume a defensive, but dignified, position; till the British Government could organize its resources for the Punjab war, into which we were thus launched.

The number of troops, which Shere Singh took over to Múlraj, on the 14th of September, amounted to about 5,000, with two mortars, and ten guns; and 3,000 of the Khalsa troops at the same time proceeded towards Jhung, and Lahore, with three guns. Immediately after his defection, Rajah Shere Singh issued his manifesto, to make known "to all the inhabitants of

the Punjab, with what oppression, tyranny, and undue violences the Feringhís have treated the widow of the great Maharajah Runjít Singh, now in bliss, and what cruelty they have shown towards the people of the country": wherefore, "by the direction of the holy Gúrú, Rajah Shere Singh, and others, with their valiant troops, have joined the trusty and faithful Dewan, Múlraj, on the part of Maharajah Dhulíp Singh, with a view to eradicate and expel the tyrannous and crafty Feringhís. All who are servants of the Khalsají, of the holy Gúrú, and of the Maharajah, are enjoined to gird up their loins, and to proceed to Múltan without delay. Let them murder all Feringhís, wherever they may find them, and cut off the dáks. In return for this service they will certainly be recompensed, by the favour of the holy Gúrú, by increase of rank, and by distribution of rewards." It does not appear that the Dewan Múlraj either expected, or desired, to be joined by the Rajah and his troops. He was anxious that the Rajah should desert the British army, but not that he should take up his residence in the town. His troops, therefore, were not permitted to enter the city, till Múlraj was assured of their fidelity. They were encamped outside the Bohur gate, where Múlraj met them, attended by an overwhelming escort; and the *grunth* was brought, in order to administer the oath of fidelity to the new comers. All swore fidelity, except (according to his own statement) the Sirdar Shumshere Singh. After this ceremony, the Dewan withdrew all his own troops from the entrenchments in front of the British army, and told Rajah Shere Singh to occupy them, to the great discontent of his troops. The accession of the Rajah raised the forces of the Dewan to about 15,000 men.

The failure for the time of this expedition was naturally calculated to injure the political reputation of the Resident; and, in one of the earliest letters written after the calamity was known, he addressed the Government of India in vindication of his proceedings. "The force sent from this was generally considered to be larger than was required. I am satisfied that its failure was never for a moment anticipated by any one, if the troops arrived at Múltan in an efficient state:" and no besieging army ever sat down before a fortress, in a more efficient condition, or in a state of higher equipment, than that of General Whish. Sir Frederick Currie likewise remarked that the Chief Engineer gave his professional opinion, that a smaller force would suffice. The Commander-in-Chief was himself satisfied of the sufficiency of the force. The responsibility of despatching an army against Múltan, at this season of the year, at all, rested with the Resident; the responsibility of sending a sufficient force belonged to the Commander-in-Chief. His Excellency's words

on this subject are very clear and decisive : "Unacquainted, as yet, with the political necessity for the immediate movement of this force, yet, as it is to comprise that detailed in my letter of the 1st instant to the address of your Lordship in Council, I do not feel justified in interfering; as neither the character of the army, nor the safety of that portion of it which will be employed, can be compromised otherwise than by the loss of life, which the season of the year may occasion, and which, it appears, will be guarded against as much as possible." Sir Frederick Currie triumphantly refers to the admirable condition of the army: "The troops have, in no way, suffered on account of the season, but have, in fact, been more healthy and effective than the corps in any of the cantonments. When operations were suspended, the wounded and sick averaged only six per cent. of the force."

Immediately on receiving intelligence of Shere Singh's defection, Sir Frederick Currie determined to take possession of the fortress of Govindgur, which the Sikhs considered the key of the Punjab, and looked upon with reverence, as the work on which Runjít Singh bestowed so much attention and treasure, during the latter years of his life. A detachment of that valuable body, the corps of Guides, was sent to this important fortress, who, though under a native officer, took possession of it in thirty-six hours, and before troops could arrive to their aid. At the same time, the Commander-in-Chief at Simla ordered H. M. 20th Foot, and the 31st and 56th regiments of native infantry, to proceed with all practicable expedition to reinforce Major General Whish. This force however never went. On the 20th of September, His Excellency ordered the assembling of an army on the frontier; solicited the permission of Government to organize it into divisions and brigades; and pressed on the attention of the Governor-General the expediency of its being recruited up to the former establishment, of 1,000 privates per regiment of infantry, and 500 sowars per regiment of irregular cavalry.

The Governor-General was now completely aroused to the necessity of adopting the most vigorous measures. In writing to the Secret Committee, he says, "This deliberate exhibition of perfidy, and cowardly malice against British officers, and professedly on the part of Maharajah Dhulíp Singh, has brought matters to a crisis, and compelled us, at last, to come to the conclusion, that no other course is open to us, than to prosecute a general Punjab war with vigour, and ultimately to occupy the country with our own troops." His Lordship therefore ordered the army to be increased by the addition of 17,000

men; "and, as these will be drafted into existing regiments, without adding to the number of European officers, we have observed the most economical scale, by which so large an augmentation can be obtained." He also ordered the Government of Bombay to send a brigade through Scinde to co-operate with the Punjab army, and transferred to some of the Bengal stations three Madras regiments.

Shere Singh continued at Múltan twenty-five days, after he had openly revolted. His presence had always been irksome to Múlraj, who from the first day distrusted the motives of his defection. "He was also," as Lieut. Edwardes remarked in his letter to the Resident, "constantly afraid of the Sikh force exacting rewards from him; a demand which his treasury in Múltan is now unable to meet; and he at last hit upon the expedient of promising them pay, if they would go and have one good fight with the British, which the Sikhs declined." On the 9th of October, Shere Singh marched with all his force from Múltan, and offered battle to General Whish in the plain. He is said to have fired some eight pounders into the camp, and then made for Sirdarpur. Though he is supposed to have taken with him only 5000 men and twenty guns, yet his army was swelled at every step by the old veterans of Runjít Singh, who crowded to his standard, exulting in the prospect of a second draught of the fierce cup of victory and rapine:—and he departed unpursued. Great was the indignation throughout India at the news; and for the second time men mourned over the decay of the old spirit of Assaye and Laswarí. Even the popularity of Lieut. Edwardes could scarcely stand the rumour, that his advice had produced this apparently pusillanimous resolution. We believe that his advice *did* produce it; but on reasons somewhat different from those ordinarily given. The proposal was to despatch eight hundred cavalry, in pursuit of a regular army of 5,000 men, with twelve heavy pieces of cannon, and the finest artillerists in Asia to work them. It was this project, which Lieut. Edwardes resisted, and for a time successfully: but at last General Whish determined to pursue his own course, and despatched this limited force in pursuit—fortunately without success. In truth, the idea of an English army (except when led by a racing General like Sir Walter Gilbert) ever overtaking a Sikh force savours of the absurd. Throughout the war, at Ramnuggur, at Chillianwallah, at Russúl, at the passage of the Indus, the Sikh army waited for, escaped from, or moved round, the British, with the most perfect facility; crossed rivers, which occupied British troops many days; and, in every imaginable mode, demonstrated that the excellence of the British Commissariat

was no match for the simplicity of the Sikh, and that men, who can bivouac in the open air, and live on parched grain, will march much faster, than those who must have double tents, and carry their luxuries with them.

We now leave Shere Singh to pursue his course towards Lahore, and proceed to narrate the progress of events in Hazara, Peshawur, and Bunnú. The reader will remember that the Resident had sent Rajah Dínanath to bring the Sirdar Chutter Singh to reason. The Rajah wrote daily to Sir Frederick Currie, while on his progress towards Hazara; but it soon became evident to the Rajah, that Chutter Singh never intended to give him an amicable meeting, but was rather manœuvring to obtain possession of his person, in order either to induce him to join the Khalsa cause, or to retain him as a hostage. Under all circumstances he would have given out that the Rajah Dínanath was associated with him, to induce others to join in the rebellion. The Rajah was fully aware of the Sirdar's purposes, and avoided the line of road on which his adherents were posted. When the news of Rajah Shere Singh's defection reached Lahore, the Resident considered the time for negotiation at an end, and recalled Rajah Dínanath to the capital. Meanwhile the Sikh regiments in Bunnú, which had long been ripe for revolt, threw off their allegiance, murdered Colonel John Holmes, a most respectable officer, and a very old servant of the Sikh Government, and invested the fortress of Dhulípgur. The Governor, Futteh Khan Tawana, held it against them for some days, and was then obliged to evacuate it for want of water, when he, and six of his followers were barbarously cut to pieces. The Bunnú troops, consisting of four regiments of infantry, 500 cavalry, six troops of horse artillery, and four heavy guns, were then at liberty to join the standard of Rajah Shere Singh.

The troops at Peshawur had hitherto resisted all the allurements of Chutter Singh. On the 13th of October, Major Lawrence wrote to the Resident, that he was still able to hold his ground; and that, when he could do it no longer, he would take to the fort of Shahmírgur, which he had provisioned for 3,000 men for a month. He importuned the Resident to send only a single brigade up the Jhelum; in which case he felt assured that the province might be saved. But, for reasons detailed by the Governor General in his despatch to the Secret Committee, no troops were sent. The Sirdar Chutter Singh had been for a long time making overtures to the troops at Peshawur; but they had resolutely withstood all. Despairing of being able to enlist them on his side, the Sirdar was on the point of marching from the Indus towards the camp of his

son, when the revolt of these troops was brought about through Sultan Mahomed Khan. This man, the brother of Dost Mahomed, was under the greatest obligation to the family of Major Lawrence. He had been detained as a prisoner at Lahore by Runjít Singh, who never would permit him to quit the city. On the appointment of Sir H. Lawrence, as Resident, he received permission to retire on his own jaghíre at Peshawur : yet it was through the instrumentality of this traitor that the troops were induced to break out into open revolt. On the 24th of October, at 8 P. M., they marched down, and attacked the Residency. "Shot, shrapnell, and grape, were poured on the house in rapid succession, and answered by musketry from the Residency wall; and many men were killed and wounded." On the opening of the fire, the Sikh Governor, of whose fidelity no doubt was ever entertained, came to Major Lawrence in a state of frantic alarm, declaring his only anxiety to be the safety of the British officers, and stating, that, as no dependence could now be placed on any of the troops, they ought to seek safety by flight. Major Lawrence, after having held his post for many weeks under the most desperate circumstances, seeing at length that it was no longer tenable, and that the attack must lead, during the darkness of the night, to a fearful slaughter, determined to quit his post. He and Lieut. Bowie, with Mr. Thompson, the sub-assistant surgeon, Mrs. Thompson, and fifty Affghan horse, got out of the south gate, not without difficulty ; and they had scarcely done so, when his own Pathans gutted the house. During the day, Sultan Mahomed Khan gave Major Lawrence the most sacred promises of protection at Kohat (engaging to escort him at any time in perfect safety to Bhawulpur, Múltan, or Scinde) ; and the party therefore pursued their melancholy journey during the night to that town, which they reached the next morning. On hearing of the catastrophe occasioned by that "thoroughly faithless miscreant," the Resident wrote thus to the Governor General:—"I am satisfied that the Governor General will consider that Major Lawrence and Lieut. Bowie maintained their position, as long as it was possible to do so ; and that the ultimate defection of the Peshawur troops, in spite of all Major Lawrence's skilful management, in no way detracts from the merit that is due to him, for the judicious and intrepid conduct, which has kept that force to their duty, so long after the rest of their brethren were all in open rebellion, and using every endeavour, by appealing to their patriotism and their religion, to induce them to join the rebel standard. Major Lawrence had a most difficult task to perform, and he performed it nobly." The defection of the

Peshawur troops completes the circle of Punjab treachery. Within twelve weeks all the Khalsa troops, with all their Sirdars, had broken out into open revolt, and were now in the field, seeking the entire expulsion of the Feringhís from the land of the five waters. Major Lawrence and his party found Mrs. Lawrence at Kohat. She had left Peshawur, in the midst of the troubles, with a strong escort of Affghan horse, under the protection of a son of Súltan Mahomed, but was induced, through the treachery of that young Barukzye, to turn off to Kohat, though there were no difficulties in the way. While there, a chivalrous project was undertaken by Lieut. Taylor of Bunnú to bring them away by a steamer sent to Esakail: but, while engaged in this enterprise, Sultan Mahomed, the faithless traitor, sold them to Chutter Singh; and Chutter Singh sold the district of Peshawur to the Affghans. Major and Mrs. Lawrence, and the rest of the party, were then transferred to Peshawur, where they arrived on the 11th of November. They were strictly guarded, but otherwise well treated in every respect.

From intercepted correspondence, it appeared that Shere Singh left Múltan under instructions from his father, who appointed a meeting with him at Gúzerat, where there was to be a grand gathering of the Khalsa troops. Little did he dream, that *there* would be the last gathering of Runjít's soldiers, and that it was destined to be the grave of the independence of Lahore. Rajah Shere Singh left Múltan with 5,000 men; but, it appears, that there were constant desertions subsequently from the standard of Múlraj to that of the Rajah, to whom the Khalsa troops now looked for the re-establishment of their nationality. Múltan was comparatively deserted for the more dangerous, and ambitious, and tempting enterprizes, on which Shere Singh was about to enter. The Rajah left Múltan on the 9th, and marched with great rapidity towards the Raví, which he crossed on the 11th and 12th. He then moved toward Jhung on the Chenab, with the intention, as was supposed, of proceeding up the left bank of the river to Jellalpur, or Ramnuggur, where it was conjectured he would cross the river to Gúzerat. The Rajah himself gave out that he was marching on Lahore: "but this," said the Resident, "he will not do;" adding that, "if he has any enterprize, *which he has not*, he might occupy Sheikhúpúr and threaten Lahore itself, knowing that without reinforcements we could not march out to oppose him." It seems strange, that one month after it was known that we were involved in a war with the whole of the Punjab, so little care had been taken to strengthen our positions, that we were

unable to march a force out of the capital to prevent the approach of 5,000 of the enemy! The Resident therefore gently hints to the Commander-in-Chief, on the 18th of October, that the advance of a brigade from Ferozepore to Lahore would make the Rajah cross the Chenab, and proceed up the Jetch Doab at once to his destination. But Rajah Shere Singh *did* shew enterprize. On the 22nd, the Resident directed the officer commanding at Lahore, to beg General Cureton to order up from Ferozepore the regiment of cavalry, and the troop of horse artillery, which were said to be ready to march at the shortest notice. This movement, he said, was made necessary by the fact, that Shere Singh had thrown forward all his cavalry to within sixty miles of Lahore, with orders to advance to Sheikhúpur, and to cover the march of his infantry up the left bank of the Chenab to Ramnuggur. On the same day, the Resident wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, that Shere Singh's was a bolder move than he had expected, and could only have been adopted under the knowledge of our having no disposable troops at Lahore. He stated that the Rajah was devastating the country as he went along. "If we could get at him, push him into the river, and take his guns from him, I should be glad of his coming up the left bank of the Chenab; but, as I fear that cannot be managed, I am in hopes, that the movement of the troops upon Lahore will have the effect of making him cross the river at or below Jellalpur." Two days after, Sir Frederick Currie wrote under still greater emergency. Shere Singh was advancing up the left bank of the Chenab with the avowed intention of attacking Lahore, and the Bunnú troops and those of Uttar Singh were marching to join him. He had shown great enterprize. He had pushed forward his advanced divisions to within twenty-five miles of the capital; and his officers were raising the country within twelve miles of it. But this was not the worst. So bold had he grown by our inaction, and the total inefficiency of our equipments, that he actually sent a party to insult us, by burning the bridge of boats constructed on the Raví, within a mile and a half of the city walls! Happily only two boats were destroyed. At the same time his officers attacked a small post of durbar troops, on the right bank of the Raví, within sight of Lahore, and carried off eighteen zumbúrgahs in triumph. While the Rajah was moving about the country with such rapidity, and, as Sir Frederick Currie said in his letter to the Commander-in-Chief, "the garrison of Lahore was menaced, and hemmed in by the rebels," our reinforcements from Ferozepore, which had been cut down, from the

necessity of circumstances, to two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a portion of artillery, were moving up at the rate of *eight* miles a day. If, said the Resident, an attack were made on the cantonments at Anarkulli by the insurgents, and a simultaneous rising were to take place in the city, the population of which is all more or less hostile to us, we should without reinforcements be in a very critical, as well as, in the sight of India, a very discreditable position. Fortunately, this despatch did not fall into the hands of the Rajah; else he might have taken advantage of circumstances, and come down with his whole force on the cantonment, while his emissaries created a simultaneous rising in the city. But his object was to form a junction with the troops coming to his standard from Bunnú and the Hazarah country; and he accordingly crossed the Chenab on the 23d, after having committed the greatest excesses against the Mahomedans of Jhung, at the request of the Hindu residents. Brigadier Cureton at length reached Lahore, and crossed the Raví, with a large and efficient force, consisting of two European regiments of cavalry, one of infantry, and one regiment of native infantry, and three of cavalry, well supported by artillery.

On the same day intelligence was received that the rebel force, under Lall Singh Moraría, had moved towards Gúzranwalla, where he expected to be joined by two other chiefs and their levies. Gúzranwalla is the largest town in the Rechna Doab; and the retention of it appeared so important, that Sir Frederick Currie wrote urgently to Brigadier Cureton, on the day he crossed the Raví, to this effect: "If Gúzranwalla falls into the hands of the rebels, it will strengthen the cause of the insurgents amazingly; and, if they retain possession of it, we shall get neither supplies nor carriage from the Rechna Doab, upon which we now depend to enable the army to move forward: it will also very much damage our credit, if these parties, which are considered our most faithful allies, are left unsupported. If your force were to push on, the insurgents would probably fall back." The Brigadier appeared before the enemy on the 9th, and an attack was ordered for the following day; but in the interim new orders arrived from Head Quarters, with a positive and unqualified prohibition of any active measures whatever, until the Commander-in-Chief came up with the grand army.

The Blue Book gives us a much fuller record of the despatches of the Resident than we were prepared to expect: and it is calculated in an eminent degree to correct that unfavourable impression of his proceedings, which has been produced by the

general ignorance which prevails regarding them. He was certainly incorrect in his calculation of Chutter Singh's intentions. He had too much confidence in the old man's love of ease and prosperity; and he was not aware, that his hatred of the British was a far stronger passion than his fondness for the jaghires, or the influence, or the wealth, which he enjoyed. Sir Frederick Currie also committed an error, as it afterwards appeared, in detaching Rajah Shere Singh, and the durbar troops, against Múlraj, as soon as he heard of the assassination; but he was not then aware of that universal feeling of hostility to our rule, which burned in the breast of almost every Sikh chief. He did not know, that the hatred of the Feringhís, which the Rajah exhibited in his manifesto, after his open revolt, existed in all its virulence, when he was sent against Múlraj in the end of April. But, with this exception, all the proceedings of Sir Frederick Currie, from the first hour of his hearing of the outbreak, until the 13th of November, when his authority was superseded by the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief at Lahore, were marked by promptitude, and decision of character. Immediately on hearing of the rebellion, he determined to despatch a large British force to the rescue of our officers at Múltan. It was only when he learnt that they had actually perished, and that their death was occasioned by the desertion of their escort, that he resolved to postpone the despatch of troops, and to refer the matter to the decision of Government. The reason he gives for this change of purpose is such as to commend itself to every mind. He expected that the other troops of the durbar, marching on Múltan, might act a similar part, and that the British reserve, sent to support and succour, would find itself opposed to hollow friends and actual foes: and, therefore, he would not consent to send a small British force. But at the same time he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, stating the political urgency of the case, and consulting him as to the possibility of undertaking military operations, on the scale required, at this season of the year. His Excellency and the Governor General decided against the movement; but had a sufficient force been sent at the time, there can be no doubt, that it would not have suffered from the climate, and might have been eminently successful. The step, which he subsequently took on his own responsibility, of sending a force to Múltan, on hearing of Lieut. Edwardes' second victory, was in the highest degree judicious. The only objection to the movement on the part of the Commander-in-Chief was the season of the year; and yet the troops had not six per cent. n hospital throughout the march, or in the camp at Múltan

There seems therefore reason to believe, that, if Sir Frederick Currie had been at liberty to carry out his own views, and if he had been vigorously seconded by the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India, he would have brought the campaign to a close, in less than three months from its commencement.

The army, which had been collected at Ferozepore, at length began to move, with all its innumerable impediments. This force, with which the Commander-in-Chief now took the field in person (including the troops under Brigadier Cureton, which were in advance) has been generally computed at 25,000 men. His Excellency marched into Lahore with the head quarters of the army of the Punjab on the 13th of November, and crossed the Ravi on the morning of the 16th.

The active operations of the campaign, under the personal command of Lord Gough, may be said to have commenced on the 22d of November, just seven months and three days from the date of the murder of Agnew and Anderson at Múltan. Early on the morning of that day, an infantry brigade, accompanied by the cavalry division, in which were H. M. 14th dragoons, commanded by Col. William Havelock, and three troops of horse artillery under Brigadier Cureton, marched up to Ramnuggur, from which the camp was about three miles distant; and, not till then was it discovered, that the enemy had retired across the Chenab. A fire, apparently harmless, was immediately opened upon them from the British side of the river; and the artillery were pushed forward to enable them to play with greater effect. The heavy guns of the Sikhs, however, quickly silenced the fire of the six and eight pounders; and the artillery were compelled to retire, leaving one gun and some tumbrils imbedded in the sand. The course of this engagement and its disastrous result are described in the language of a soldier, in Dr. Buist's annals: and a more graphic description of a brilliant but unfortunate charge can scarcely be found in the pages of Napier:—

"A troop of our horse artillery had, by opening against the right bank, showed the position of the enemy's guns; and a steady charge of the 3rd Light Dragoons, aided by Light Cavalry, had chastised on one point the presumption of the Singhs. Cureton had given his consent to another body of these being attacked by the 14th; and the Commander-in-Chief, riding up to William Havelock, had said—"If you see a favourable opportunity of charging, charge!" "The gallant old Colonel," remarks one, who was present, "soon *made* the opportunity." And so it was; for, not many minutes after, William Havelock, "happy as a lover," and sitting as firmly in his saddle, as when he overleapt the abbatis on the Bidassoa, placed himself in front of his cherished dragoons, and, remarking, "We shall now soon see, whether we can clear our front of those fellows, or not," boldly led them forward to the onset. All, who beheld it, have spoken with admiration

of the steadiness and the gallantry of this glorious gallop. The Singhs made a show of standing the charge "*a pied ferme*;" and some of them must have stood well, for sabre cuts were exchanged with effect. Captain Gall, whilst grasping a standard, had his right hand cut through by the stroke of a Singh, which he delivered with the hissing sound of an English paviour driving home a stone. Young Fitzgerald's skull was cleft to the brain by another blow from one of the enemy; but the mass of the Sikhs opened out right and left, and gave way before the victors.

"Thus the first charge seems to have ended, in which Havelock was not even wounded. We pretend not certainly to know by whose order a second was hazarded; but it seems certain that it was executed; and, even regarding the first, there had been misapprehension; for, as Cureton watched its progress, he exclaimed—"That is not the body of horse I meant to have been attacked;" and, riding to the front, received in his gallant breast a fatal matchlock ball.

"We hasten to the end, narrating as it has to us been narrated. Again the trumpets of the 14th sounded, and, overturning at first all that opposed them, onwards in the direction of the island they took their course. The Sikh battery opened on them a heavy fire, and there was a descent of some four feet into the flat; but Havelock, disregarding all opposition and all difficulties, and, riding well ahead of his men, exclaimed, as he leapt down the declivity—"Follow me, my brave lads, and never heed their cannon shot." These were the last words he was ever heard to utter. The dragoons got amongst broken ground, filled with Sikh marksmen, who kept up a withering fire on the tall horsemen, throwing themselves flat on their faces whenever they approached them. After many bold efforts, the 14th were withdrawn from the ground. But their commander never returned from that scene of slaughter.

"It is not yet known exactly how he fell. Probably his charger was struck down by a cannon shot, and then he would have to contend against fearful odds: in fact, his orderly has related that he saw him lying in the nullah, with several dead Singhs around him, and that, being wounded himself, he could not go to his Colonel's aid. Another dragoon beheld him contending against several of the enemy. Havelock died, and his body remained in the sandy level in the power of the Singhs. He is said to have slain several of them with his own hand on this day. We need not be supposed to borrow from the romantic tales of Roland, and of Amadis, if we credit this assertion: for even the stag at bay will fiercely turn upon his hunter; what then the lion in the tiger's den?—We know that few had learnt in youth to wield sabre or rapier like William Havelock; and, at fifty-six, his eye had lost nothing of its native quickness."

For a week after this event, the Commander-in-Chief awaited, about six miles from Ramnuggur, the arrival of his heavy artillery, which came up from the Raví very slowly, but as rapidly as our guns can be moved. It arrived under Brigadier Penny on the 28th. On the 2nd a plan appears to have been matured, distinguished by the military accuracy, and even genius, which mark all the cabinet campaigns of Lord Gough. It was designed that Major General Sir J. Thackwell, an officer celebrated in the Peninsular war, should cross the Chenab, at a certain ford recommended by the Engineers, and should proceed to attack the enemy's flank, while the Commander-

in-Chief himself stormed the batteries in front. The plan was excellent; but it was marred in the execution. Sir Joseph Thackwell set out at the head of a body of troops, on the morning of the 2nd of December: on reaching the ford, he found that it was impracticable for guns; and it was so reported by the officer, whom the Quarter Master General had despatched to examine its condition. The second in command, considering that the attempt would prove abortive, advised a return; but Sir Joseph was far too enterprising an officer to make a retrograde movement; and he marched to Wuzírabad, twelve miles higher up the river. The army crossed the Chenab in boats during the evening and night, and for nine hours bivouacked in the cold and wet upon its banks. At dawn, on the 3rd, the word was given to advance; and the whole force moved forward, in earnest expectation of an engagement with the Sikh army, as the attack was expected to begin at 11 A. M.: but just then, an order arrived from the Commander-in-Chief, positively prohibiting any attack, until Brigadier Godby could arrive with a reinforcement. On the receipt of this communication, Sir Joseph was compelled to detach a portion of his already insufficient force to cover the crossing of that body. About two o'clock, the Sikhs began to fire upon our troops; and the skirmish and cannonading did not cease till five o'clock in the evening. Shere Singh appears to have come down with a very large portion of his troops, and the conflict was for a time severe; but he was unable to make any impression on our ranks. Had our troops been at liberty to charge, it is possible that the victory might have been complete: but the General was still fettered by the orders from Head Quarters, and, when at length he received instructions to act according to his own discretion, there remained but one short hour of daylight. It would have been necessary for Sir Joseph Thackwell, with 7,000 troops, jaded by a long march and three hours fighting, and within an hour of night, to storm three intrenched villages, defended by 30,000 men, and 40 pieces of cannon. Sir Joseph well knew his troops. He knew it was possible for them to conquer the enemy with threefold odds: but he also remembered Ferozeshuhur, and the fearful night after the battle—the night of horrors; and he halted till the morning light should give him time to complete his victory. Wherever the real circumstances under which he acted are known, he will be considered, not only absolved from all blame, but as deserving of all honour. The ford, which he was expected to cross, was pronounced impracticable by the very officer of the Quarter Master's department, who was sent by the Commander-

in-Chief with Sir Joseph's force; and, just at the time when the troops were prepared to charge the enemy, the General was ordered to wait for Brigadier Godby's brigade; while the discretionary order to attack the Sikhs did not arrive, till the shades of evening were closing on the army. In the morning it was found, that the Sikhs had departed with characteristic celerity, with all their guns, ammunition and baggage: and thus the plans of the Commander-in-Chief were completely baffled, and six weeks more of precious time were lost.

We now return to the operations before Múltan. From the day, when the siege of Múltan was raised, until the junction of the Bombay forces, which was delayed by a variety of causes, the army under General Whish was able to effect little beyond petty skirmishes. The sowars of Múlraj swept the country from end to end, and, as was afterwards demonstrated, accumulated so great an amount of provisions, as to enable him to maintain the horde within the walls, without indenting deeply upon his original resources. On the 22nd of September, a singular proclamation, published by Rajah Shere Singh, the Dewan, and his allies, fell into the hands of Major Edwardes. This paper calls upon all the Sikhs of the Punjab to join the revolted forces, and appeals with remarkable judgment to those feelings and passions, which were predominant among the Khalsa. In order to counteract its effect, Major Edwardes at once took upon himself the great responsibility of solemnly assuring the Irregulars under his own command, and those under General Cortlandt, that, in the event of the annexation of the Punjab, every man, who remained faithful to his salt, should be received into the British service. To this decided measure, and to this alone, must be attributed the subsequent fidelity of so large a portion of that force; for, as it afterwards appeared, the leaven of treason had already entered into their ranks. The act was cordially approved by the Resident, and afterwards confirmed by the Governor General. On the 6th of November, General Whish determined to remove a battery, which Múlraj had erected outside the wall of the town, and which greatly annoyed his position. The battery was on the side of the canal, about half a mile from the camp; and the 32nd attempted to storm it, but without success. On the 7th, two brigades, of 1,300 men each, were ordered, under the command of Brigadier Markham, to move upon the battery, and, if possible, take the enemy by surprise. Early in the morning, however, a report began to prevail, that the whole of the Irregulars had gone over to the enemy; and the idea of surprising the position was given up. It was subsequently known, that only

three hundred of General Cortlandt's men, who had not been in the battles of Kineyrí and Suddúsain, had gone over to the enemy,—and evidently with a premeditated design, as the regiment had taken with them all the property in their possession, which they would not have done had they intended to return. The plan of attack was therefore slightly modified. Instructions were issued to Brigadier Markham, and the other officers, to maintain a defensive attitude on the eastern (or camp) side of the canal, and not to attack the enemy's position, unless the Irregulars could be relied on for the occasion. It appeared, however, that the remainder of the Irregulars were faithful to the British; and the original attack was persevered in. In the morning the Sikh sowars, emboldened by the apparent passiveness of their assailants, but dreading to attack the regular troops, poured down on the position held by the Irregulars, on the farther bank of the canal. Lieut. Edwardes called his men to prove themselves more faithful than their brethren had been; and, headed by Mr. Quin, Lieut. Edwardes's head writer, they sprang forward, and, after a sharp hand to hand fight of half an hour, drove the enemy from that portion of the canal, and succeeded in maintaining their position. Meanwhile, the regular troops had crossed the canal in safety; and Brigadier Markham by a rapid movement placed the force under his command in a position to attack the rear of the enemy. Major Wheler, in command of the cavalry, executed a brilliant charge, which drove the enemy up the bank of the nullah, and prevented the removal of the guns which had been posted there. The horse artillery opened their fire; the line advanced; and the rout of the enemy was complete. The batteries were then destroyed, and the force returned to camp, leaving nearly 1,200 of the enemy dead upon the field, an evidence of the furious valour with which the British troops had fought and conquered. This was the last skirmish of any importance, before the arrival of the Bombay reinforcements.

The Bombay force started from Rorí on the 18th of December, and, after an uninterrupted march, arrived before Múltan on the 26th, and took up the position formerly occupied by the irregulars under Edwardes, Lake, and Cortlandt. The new reinforcements, which were all ready for action on the 29th, amounted to 9,000 men, and swelled Whish's force to the number of 17,000, with a train of 64 heavy guns. Three months had now elapsed from the raising of the siege; a delay, which, despite all the interpellations, explanations, and recriminations, concerning it, still remains unaccounted

for, and probably will remain so, until some fortunate historian shall discover, in some forgotten nook of the Chamber of Archives, the memoirs of the Indian Pepys. Nevertheless, when the siege did recommence, and the tardy march of the Bombay forces had placed at General Whish's disposal what he considered sufficient means to obviate all risk of a second repulse, he acted with the decision and energy of a British General. The troops, at the recommencement of the siege, occupied nearly the ground, which had been before taken up on the eastern side of the town. The Bengal regiments were upon the right; the Bombay column on the left; and Lieut. Edwardes' irregular bands a little in the rear, near the scene of the battle of Suraj Kúnd. It was resolved on the 27th, that the suburbs of the city should be cleared, and a position obtained, upon which the breaching batteries might be advantageously placed. Four columns, under Colonel Capon, Col. Nash, Brigadier Dundas, and Colonel Young, moved to the attack upon four points at once: and, although the enemy fought (as Asiatics always fight behind stone walls) with desperate valour, yet the bayonet ultimately proved irresistible, and, at all the four points, the attack was signally successful. Seventeen officers fell; many others were severely wounded; and nearly 300 privates were either killed or wounded: but the loss of the enemy was much more considerable, amounting to about 1,400 men. This brilliant commencement of active operations raised the spirits of the troops, which had been somewhat unduly depressed, and reflected a glory upon the besiegers, which proved highly advantageous to their future attempts. By this dashing affair, moreover, the entire suburbs were placed in the possession of the British, and their batteries advanced to within 400 yards of the town; from whence they began to open with fearful effect. The heaviest battery was posted on the Mundi Ava, a mound to the extreme right of the British intrenchments; and, for the space of five days, the firing continued incessant from cannon, howitzers, and mortars. Night and day the fiery rain never ceased. The buildings within the town crumbled into dust. The populace died in hundreds, or were cut down by the cavalry, in their endeavours to escape. Explosion after explosion shook the ground, and demonstrated the skill and resolute earnestness, with which the Engineers had addressed themselves to their work. At length the great mosque, filled with thousands of maunds of gunpowder, was blown up, and the work of destruction appeared nearly complete. The breaches began to appear practicable on the 1st; but it was not considered

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advisable to attack them till the 2nd, when the troops, selected for the enterprise, advanced in two divisions. The Bengal column, consisting of H. M. 32nd, and the 72nd and 49th N. I., attacked the Delhi, or northern, gate; and the Bombay column, comprising the 1st Fusiliers, the 4th Rifles, and the 3rd and 19th B. N. I. stormed the breach on the opposite side. Major Edwardes, with the irregulars, in the meanwhile opened a sharp fire on the west and south, and succeeded in distracting the attention of the enemy. The Bombay troops effected an entrance after a severe struggle, and were shortly afterwards reinforced by the Bengal column, who had found the Delhi gate impracticable, through the terrible fire of matchlocks from within, and the unfinished state of the breach. A sergeant, named Bennet, was the first to plant the colours on the wall; and ought afterwards to have received a commission for the daring act. The troops bivouacked all night in the quarter they had won; and, in the morning, another attack was made under Colonel Young upon the Doulut Gate, the only one remaining in the possession of the enemy. It was completely successful; by three o'clock, the whole of the town was in the hands of the British forces; and the first grand step towards the reduction of the fort had been happily achieved.

Although the town was now in our hands, and the annoyance of constant skirmishing had ceased, yet the capture of the fort was nearly as distant as ever. During the next five days, the howitzers played upon the fort with tremendous effect. The shells buried themselves in the walls, and, exploding, threw off great masses of masonry and brickwork. On the 5th of January, an envoy was sent from Múlraj to Major Edwardes, with a request for negociation. To this that officer replied, that the time was passed; and that nothing short of unconditional surrender could be listened to. On the 8th, another effort to open negociations was made by the Dewan, and at once refused by General Whish and Major Edwardes. The breaches were reported practicable on the 20th, and an attack ordered for the 22nd: but, on the 21st, a messenger, with full credentials from Múlraj, made his appearance in camp, and offered an unconditional surrender. It was accepted; hostilities were suspended; and, on the afternoon of that day, Múlraj, with 3,500 men, marched out of the fort, and surrendered himself to General Whish. Thus terminated a siege, the most memorable in our Indian History.

Before we proceed to narrate the battle of Chillianwallah, and the victory of Gúzerat, we must refer to two slight emeutes; slight, as compared with the great events of the

campaign, but which excited at the time an interest totally disproportioned to their importance, from the great talent and gallantry displayed in their suppression, and from the circumstance of their occurring within the British territory. In the beginning of November, Mr. Lawrence, Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej states, became aware of disturbances in the districts around Núrpúr and Pathan Kote. Ram Singh, the son of one of the titular Wuzírs of Núrpúr, had embraced the opportunity, afforded by the general disquiet, to raise a small force of 300 freebooters, and to set up the standard of resistance to the British power. He does not appear to have had either project or design, but only a vague hope of embarrassing our officers, and collecting an army. He took up a position on a high hill, commanding the Doab, and covered with a dense jungle. Mr. Lawrence, after collecting a small force, marched towards Núrpúr; while Major Fisher, with about 300 men, on his way to attack Ram Singh, besieged and occupied a little fort called Shahpur, and, after blowing up the bastions, proceeded onwards to join the other divisions of the force, which Mr. Lawrence had collected. Ram Singh was finally attacked, on the 20th of September, in his fastness on the hill. The arrangements were perfect. The hill was ascended on all sides at once, and, after a brief resistance, the enemy fled, leaving eighteen of their number dead on the summit. Owing, however, to the density of the jungle, Ram Singh himself escaped; and, though frequent attempts were made to arrest him, he contrived to reach the camp of Shere Singh.

About the 7th of October, the Resident at Lahore considered that the presence of a small force, in the districts on the farther side of the Beas, would be advantageous; and he requested that Brigadier Wheeler might be despatched, with a sufficient force, to reduce two small fortresses in that country, named Rungur-nuggur situated about 15 miles from the Beas, opposite Srí Hurgovind, and Morarí, about 26 miles to the north of the other. Brigadier Wheeler accordingly marched against Rungur-nuggur, and, after 12 hours' battering, the garrison evacuated the place at midnight on the 15th October. The Brigadier, throwing a small garrison into the fort, pursued his march against Morarí, which he reached on the 24th of October. An effort was made to prevent the evacuation of the place by the garrison, but it was fruitless; and, on October 26th, the fort, which is described as a paltry place, was entered without resistance. In all these movements the celerity and judgment of the officers in command were remarkable; and the regulars appear to have equalled even the lighter armed soldiers, in the rapidity of their movements.

We left Rajah Shere Singh marching at his own leisure, from the banks of the Chenab to those of the Jhelum, after the battle of Sudalapur. In that engagement, the advantage remained entirely with the enemy. Rajah Shere Singh was enabled, under cover of the night, to carry out the plan which he had previously matured; and he transferred his army from the right bank of the Chenab to the left bank of the Jhelum. When it was discovered, on the morning after the battle, that the Sikhs had taken their departure, parties were sent out in pursuit of them: but they had already advanced beyond our reach. The Commander-in-Chief's despatch to the Governor-General, on this occasion, was perhaps the most unfortunate his Excellency has ever written. "It has pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe to the British arms the most successful issue to the extensive combinations rendered necessary for the purpose of effecting the passage of the Chenab, and the defeat and dispersion of the Sikh force, under the insurgent Rajah, Shere Singh, and the numerous Sikh Sirdars, who had the temerity to set at defiance the British power. This force, from all my information, amounted to from 30 to 40,000 men, with twenty-eight guns; and was strongly intrenched on the right bank of the Chenab, at the principal ford, about two miles from the town of Ramnuggur." How completely the Sikh army was defeated and dispersed, was ascertained forty days after at Chillianwallah. Rajah Shere Singh, having thus retired in good order, and without any loss, to a stronger position on the Jhelum, remained for forty days unmolested by our army.

This delay in following up a victory, which was said to have ended in the total defeat and dispersion of the enemy, is a complete enigma. The Blue Book explains it but partially. In his despatch to the Secret Committee, dated on the 22d of December, the Governor General says, "Being satisfied, from accounts which had reached me, that, in any extended advance which his Excellency might attempt to make, he would experience very great difficulty in procuring supplies for the army, I requested his Excellency on no consideration to advance into the Doab, beyond the Chenab, except for the purpose of attacking Shere Singh in the position he held, without further communication with me. This injunction is based upon certain circumstances, and is to continue in force only, while those circumstances remain unchanged. The information, which I have since received, has led me to believe, that, in many material respects, they have undergone a change. I have, therefore, acquainted his Excellency, that, if he can satisfy his own judgment regarding the state of his own supplies, and supports, and communications; if the intelligence

he may receive, and the reconnoissances he may be able to make, shall satisfy him that the enemy may be attacked with success, with such force as he may have safely disposable, and without a heavy loss—in such case, I should be happy indeed to see a blow struck that would destroy the enemy, add honour to the British arms, and avert the prospect of a protracted and costly war." This fearfully long sentence is very unlike Lord Dalhousie's clear, brief, and vigorous composition ; and the complication of words is but an index of the complication of ideas, under the influence of which it was penned. The real meaning of these passages is, that Lord Dalhousie, somewhat injudiciously, interfered with the military movements of Lord Gough, on whom the entire responsibility of the campaign rested, and laid on him an injunction not to advance beyond the banks of the Chenab. It is true that Lord Hardinge had controlled the military movements of Lord Gough to an extent, which, when fully revealed, will create no small feeling of surprise ; but Lord Hardinge was a soldier, and Lord Dalhousie a civilian. This, however, was the only interference with the proceedings of his Excellency, chargeable on the Governor General during the war. Perceiving the error, which he had inadvertently committed, the interdict was taken off, on, or before, the 22d of December. The delay, which took place in the advance of the British troops, from the time, when the guns were across the Chenab, until the 22d of December, is therefore to be attributed to the Governor General's injunctions. The subsequent delay of twenty-two days belongs to the responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief.

While the army under Lord Gough was encamped in the vicinity of Rajah Shere Singh, Lieut. Taylor was employed in the siege of Lukkí, a fort of considerable importance, at this juncture, beyond the Indus. That officer had proceeded on a chivalrous expedition for the rescue of Mrs. Lawrence from Kohat, and had reached Esakail on the Indus, when he heard that she had been treacherously surrendered by Súltan Mahomed Khan to the Sirdar Chutter Singh. Seeing no further object in remaining at Esakail, he had intended to proceed, by way of Lukkí, to Dera Ismael Khan, and from thence to Múltan, in time to meet the Bombay column. But, as the people of the country had come in to him, and professed their perfect allegiance, he thought that he could do Government more service, by marching into the district, and assuming the civil management of it. The garrison of Lukkí, however, appeared determined to hold out, and he resolved to besiege it : and, collecting a small body of soldiers, he sat down before it, on the 11th of December. On the 14th, two batteries had been constructed,

but his fire was very weak and ineffective; his guns were old, honey-combed, and untrue, and the carriages were falling to pieces; he had none but hammered shot, carelessly made, and not nearly large enough for the bores of the guns; still he persevered in the siege for a whole month, and the garrison at length surrendered. Had they held out twenty-four hours longer, Lieut. Taylor would have been obliged to raise the siege, and probably to retire across the Indus; as Mahomed Azim Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed, arrived the next morning in Bunnú, with a force of between three and and four thousand Affghans; and the same night his messenger reached Lukkí, with tidings that the relieving force was at hand. But they were too late. Had Lieut. Taylor retreated across the Indus, the Dúranís would have taken possession of Bunnú, Murwit, and Esakail, and would have been enabled to co-operate with the Sikhs on the Jhelum. Lieut. (now Major) Edwardes, seeing the importance of supporting Lieut. Taylor, sent him large reinforcements; which enabled him to hold the district with perfect ease, till the Dúranís precipitately retreated from it, as soon as they heard of the battle of Gúzerat.

While Lieut. Taylor however was thus successful in Bunnú, the gallant Lieut. Herbert was obliged to abandon Attock. Though the place was so weak, that it could not have withstood a vigorous cannonade of a few hours, yet that gallant officer had now held out for six weeks, under such disadvantages, as few have ever been exposed to. He had hitherto relied on his Mahomedan troops, when combating against the Hindú Sikhs; but Dost Mahomed himself had now reached the banks of the Indus, and summoned all the Mússulmans in it to his standard. Lieut. Herbert held a durbar of his officers, on the 1st of January, to ascertain the state of their feelings; when all disguise was removed, and he found that there was no longer hope, that either they, or their men, would oppose the Amír. Two rafts were secretly prepared, and at midnight he left the fort, and embarked on the Indus. Of his subsequent adventures we have no account: but he fell into the hands of the enemy, and joined Major Lawrence in his captivity.

The fall of Attock, and the advance of Chutter Singh to his son on the banks of the Jhelum, at length induced the Commander-in-Chief to determine to attack the Sikh position, before the arrival of reinforcements. Sir Henry Lawrence had returned from England to the Punjab, and was at this time in the British camp; and the revived activity of our armies was generally ascribed to his importunity.

The Sikhs lay in a long intrenched camp, which stretched from Mung and Chillianwallah to Russúl, a distance of nearly

a mile and a quarter ; but with their main strength concentrated towards Múng. At Russúl, however, the intrenchments were the strongest; and the rear rested upon a broad pass, which afforded a ready means of escape in case of defeat. The Jhelum rolled half a mile to the right of their intrenchment at Múng, and was spanned by a bridge of boats; so that their whole line lay at a small angle from the river, while the pass, and the bridge at either extremity, afforded the means for a rapid and unpursued retreat. The Commander-in-Chief determined, with his usual judgment, to dislodge the enemy from Russúl, and thereby to turn their flank, and compel them, either to retreat across the Jhelum in disorder, or to fight him on ground of his own choosing, and with their forces completely inclosed by his army and the river. The plan was admirably laid; and, on the morning of the 13th of January, the troops were ordered to move to their new encamping ground. By the time they arrived in front of Múng, they were weary, and exhausted with a long march, and six hours' fatigue under arms. They were almost beyond the range of the enemy's guns; but, at one o'clock, an unlucky shot fell near the Commander-in-Chief: and, in an instant, the old chief's blood mounted to his forehead, and, without plan or reconnoissance, orders were issued for an instantaneous attack on the enemy's position. A brisk cannonade was kept up for nearly two hours; and, at three o'clock, with jaded troops, and three-fourths of the day already passed, an attempt was made to storm intrenchments, defended by Sikh batteries, and Sikh artillerists. The brigade, commanded by Brigadier Pennycuick, consisting of Her Majesty's 24th, and the 25th and 46th native infantry, though unsupported by artillery, charged some batteries, which had been placed on an acclivity. The guns were spiked; but a raking cross fire from a body of Sikhs, posted in the jungle, compelled the regiments to retreat with terrific loss. The Brigadier, forty-nine officers, and almost one-half of the privates, fell, either killed, or wounded, under those fearful volleys. Colonel Mountain, at the head of another brigade, stormed the central position through the jungle, right in the teeth of the enemy's batteries, and under a fire, which mowed the men down by scores. The 3d dragoons and 5th light cavalry made a charge against the enemy, who had advanced too far : but the 5th cavalry held back, and, in spite of the exertions of the officers, refused the encounter ; and the 3d, in its fierce charge, was almost surrounded. Captain Unett, their commander, perceiving the danger, immediately gave the order to turn, and to cut their way through the enemy ; which was effected, in perfect order. On the right, the brigade of Brigadier Pope, comprising the 14th dragoons, 9th lancers, and 1st and 6th light cavalry, charged on

the batteries through the jungle, under a fearful fire. The fire became heavier; the regiments appeared to be totally unsupported; the 14th remembered the skirmish and the slaughter of Ramnuggur, and that Havelock was not there; and some voice from the ranks shouted "Three's about!" The note was instantly repeated from mouth to mouth; the retiring became quicker; the expostulation and threats of the officers were unheard; and the regiments swept through their own hospital line, overthrowing dúlies, doctors, and apothecaries, in their course, and never drew bridle till fairly beyond the scene of confusion.

The disaster of H. M. 14th Dragoons has been the theme of much discussion; and a charge of cowardice has been echoed through the land. But the Fourteenth was noted in every Peninsular field for its reckless gallantry; and, six weeks before, the regiment proved, that it had lost no portion of its ancient valour. The character of a regiment does not change in a day, or in a twelvemonth either; and the Sikhs were no more terrible at Chillianwallah, than at Ramnuggur. The truth appears to have been, that, the men, finding themselves totally unsupported, their Brigadier just wounded, and with a lively recollection of the former ambuscade, obeyed an order given by one of their own number. Every one else thought that it had been given by some superior officer. The officers were carried along by the rush of 600 horsemen; but the whole regiment was, we believe, as utterly free from fear, as English soldiers are or can be. Brigadier Pope did *not* give the order; for he was at the time in the hospital, wounded by a cut across the brow. Thus, with a heavy fire from Colonel Brind, ended the battle of Chillianwallah, one of the most disastrous engagements we have ever fought in India—an engagement, by which no one advantage was gained, and in which British troops were checked by a barbarian enemy, who had not even the advantage of numbers.

The victory, as it was called, was most dearly purchased on our part. "Our loss amounted to no less than 2,300 killed and wounded, of whom nearly 800 were slain. Twenty-six officers were killed on the spot, or died of their wounds; sixty-six were wounded. Her Majesty's 24th, and the 30th and 56th native infantry, were so entirely disabled, that they were compelled to be disjoined from the force, and sent back to Ramnuggur and Lahore. Her Majesty's 20th, and the 24th native infantry lost both their colours; the 25th and 26th lost each one; the 5th cavalry lost the colour they won on the field of Maharajpore." The Sikhs now took up their quarters at Russúl, in the immediate neighbourhood of the scence of conflict, and watched Lord Gough's movements, at the distance of five miles, expecting

daily to be joined by Chutter Singh. The Affghans, to the number, it was said, of 10,000, were to the north of them, watching the progress of events. Immediately after the battle of Chillianwallah, Lord Gough summoned H. M. 53rd regiment from Lahore, and H. M. 98th from Ferozepore, and also General Wheeler, with a body of 5,000 men, who had been occupied, during the greater portion of the campaign, in reducing and levelling several forts in the Jullundhur, and in some severe skirmishes with a body of rebels, who had obtained possession of Kote Kangra. Lord Gough also began to intrench himself, waiting for the fall of Múltan, and the arrival of the force employed in besieging it.

The army of the Punjab remained in a state of total quiescence opposite the enemy, until the 6th of February; when a rumour was spread abroad, that the Sikhs were no longer in their Camp at Russúl. The officers of the espionage department smiled incredulously:—for, having lately most liberally rewarded a sepoy with 7 rupees for important intelligence, how could any thing of consequence escape them? The rumour, however, grew and prevailed, and at length it turned out to be an absolute fact. The Commander-in-Chief rode over the ground, which the Sikhs had vacated, and the intrenchments, which they had thrown up, and which it would have cost thousands of lives to capture. But the men and the cannon, which should have defended them, were gone: and, it became manifest, that the Sikh army of 30,000 men, with sixty guns, all lying within four miles of the British encampment, had marched round the army of the Punjab, had escaped the eyes of its Commander-in-Chief, and was now in his rear, in full march for Lahore.

Various reasons have been assigned for this move on the part of Shere Singh, and want of food, of pay, and of excitement, have each been put forward as the cause of it: but the supposition, that it might be a magnificent stroke of generalship, of which the greatest general would have been proud, has been overlooked. The march placed Shere Singh at once in the most fertile districts of the Punjab, with full privilege of plunder, and with the road open to Lahore or Delhi. Had he been successful, he would probably have turned aside, crossed the Sutlej, and fallen upon the provinces of Northern India, like a devastating torrent. By the success of the movement, the hope of unlimited plunder, the desire of renewed liberty, and all the strongest impulses of man's nature, would have been enlisted against us. The warrior races of the North might have taken arms, and every petty prince might have poured in his horde of armed and half-disciplined dependents.

From all these evils, real and imaginary, the state was saved, by a conjunction of circumstances in great part fortuitous.

Shere Singh found the Chenab guarded by Brigadier Markham's brigade, and the 53rd Foot. General Whish left Múltan on the 27th of January. He was detained on his way for the reduction of the fort of Chiniout; but, on receiving the most pressing injunctions from the capital, he pressed forward by forced marches, and arrived at Ramnuggur on the 13th of February. He there heard that the whole insurgent force was in full march on the Chenab; a part of them having already crossed at Wuzírabad. Without waiting for orders, he pushed on two nine-pounders, and some irregular horse, up the bank of the river, on the 14th. The next day, a larger force under Col. Byrne was sent in the same direction. They marched over twenty-four miles of ground, and reached Wuzírabad in the evening. It turned out that the enemy had not crossed; but there can be no doubt, that, but for this timely arrival of our troops, they would have done so. On the 16th, Brigadier Markham's brigade pushed on to a ford, half way between Ramnuggur and Wuzírabad; and half the force crossed. On the same day, Col. Byrne despatched a considerable force under Col. Alexander to Súdra Ghat, where a body of 6,000 Sikhs were on the eve of crossing. They were not able to effect their purpose, but were driven back on their own head quarters at Gúzerat. These rapid and energetic movements prevented the army of Shere Singh from pouring down on Lahore; for it was the intention of the Sikhs to have pushed on to the capital, before they could be overtaken.

Shere Singh, thus defeated in his attempt to gain posession of Lahore, was anxious to regain his formidable intrenchments at Russúl; but he found himself hemmed in by our troops, and was constrained to make preparations for the final stuggle at Gúzerat, on the very spot, which his father had pointed out to him, at the beginning of the campaign, as the field where the battle of Sikh independence was to be fought. We need not enter into any detail of the position of the various brigades in this engagement. The glory of the victory of Gúzerat, one of the most complete we have ever won in India, belongs almost exclusively to the artillery. Contrary to his usual custom, the Commander-in-Chief allowed himself to be prevailed on to give his guns full play. Never, in any battle fought in India, has there been so formidable an array of artillery brought to bear upon any enemy. For two hours, one hundred pieces of cannon, for the greater part of the largest calibre, poured in such a destructive fire, as no enemy had ever been exposed to in this country. The Sikhs themselves described

the effect of that torrent of shot by, the expression, that they felt themselves, "as if in hell". They stood their ground, however, with undaunted bravery, till they saw all their guns dismounted; and, at length, losing all heart, they fled in confusion, leaving their whole camp equipage and stores, with an incredible amount of ammunition, in our hands. Fifteen hundred Affghan horse, conspicuous for their boldness, made a desperate attack: but they were charged, in the most magnificent style, by the Scinde horse, mustering only 500 men. Amidst all the exploits of that memorable day, none excited more applause, than the mode in which this body disposed of the Affghan cavalry. Sixty pieces of cannon were the fruit of this splendid victory. Our loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to about 800 men.

General Gilbert, well known as the best rider in India, was despatched, with 15,000 men, and 30 guns, to complete the ruin of the vanquished army; and, at the head of this force, the flying General crossed the Jhelum on the 28th. General Campbell captured the strong fort of Rhotas: Colonel Steinbach moved from the hills, where he had remained with Golab Singh's own troops: Capt. Abbott came from Nara, with a body of irregulars, to watch the campaign; and the Sikh chieftains found that further resistance was hopeless.

On the 6th of March, the European prisoners in the hands of the Sikhs were delivered up. On the 8th, Rajah Shere Singh came in, to make arrangements for the surrender of the chiefs and troops. On the 14th, General Gilbert reached Rawul Pindí, and received the surrender of the whole body of the Sikh army, 16,000 in number. The men, sad and downcast, but with a soldier-like sternness of feeling, cast their swords into the heap, as they passed, and salámed to the spirit of the steel. The total number of guns surrendered was forty-one, which, with those taken at Gúzerat, Chillianwallah, and Múltan, made the whole number of pieces of ordnance, which had fallen into our hands during the present campaign, One Hundred and Fifty-eight.

These events were made known by the Governor General in a very spirited notification, which communicated a thrill of delight to the whole community of India; but no sentence in that document attracted greater admiration, than that, in which his Lordship declared, that the war would not be considered to be concluded, till Dost Mahomed Khan and the Affghans had either been driven from the province of Peshawur, or destroyed within it. The gratification of thus putting a termination to the campaign was granted to Sir Walter Gilbert; and

we cannot give a better description of his dashing exploits than in the language of Dr. Buist:—

"The moment the Sikhs could be disposed of, Gilbert once more pushed on, in hopes of overtaking the Affghans, before they had crossed the Indus, or, at all events, of preventing them from destroying the means of communication across. By a forced march of forty-six miles, they approached the Indus in thirty-one hours: the troops arrived at Attock in the forenoon of the 17th. When about six miles from the river, intelligence was received by Major Mackeson, that Attock had just been evacuated by the enemy; that they had taken three guns along with them from the fort, and were about to destroy the bridge of boats, to prevent us following them. Upon this, Gilbert and Mackeson, with a small escort from Nicholson's irregulars, with Lumsden's Guides, and the whole Staff, pushed ahead at a gallop, and only slackened their speed on reaching an eminence close by the river. About one hundred of the enemy were here seen dealing destruction on the bridge: 5,000, or 6,000, were drawn up on the opposite bank. The sight of British officers, supposed to be at least two days' march distant, set them all a scampering; and fifteen of the best boats forming the bridge were consequently secured. The principal object we had in view was thus completely accomplished, and the means of following on the heels of the flying foe attained. The artillery now came up, when the Affghans found it convenient to withdraw, after firing some guns at us, which did no harm. The fort of Attock was occupied immediately; and, early the following morning, a brigade crossed over, and took possession of the small fort of Hydrabad, by which the town is commanded. Negociations had been entered into with the Khyberis, in hopes that the flight of the Affghans might be intercepted, and they left to receive the punishment, they so well deserved, near the famous battle-field of Jumrúd. Since quitting Lord Gough's camp, General Gilbert had succeeded to admiration in carrying to a successful issue every plan he had undertaken to execute,—securing, in doing so, the fullest confidence of those under his command. Vast numbers of disbanded Sikhs were now returning to their homes in a state of destitution and wretchedness: the bulk of them seemed to belong to the Protected States; a large number were men from Hindústan: in both cases allured to the field as mercenaries, or in hope of plunder, with no feelings of vengeance to gratify, or objects of patriotism or ambition to serve. A mismanaged insurrection anywhere in India would bring thousands of such miscreants into the field against us.

Gilbert crossed the Indus on the 19th and 20th, and pushed on by forced marches for Peshawur, where he arrived on the 21st and 22d. The Affghans, flying in terror of their lives, without baggage or impediment, had proved too fleet for him: they had ascended the passes, and got beyond his reach, before he could approach within twenty miles of them. The gates of Peshawur had been shut against them; but they burnt the cantonments and the house of the resident, and destroyed the suburbs and villages around. The war was now entirely over: and, so soon as the intimation of the complete success of General Gilbert reached the Governor-General, a proclamation was issued, intimating that the Sikh Sovereignty had ceased, and that the Punjab was annexed to our dominions."

Lord Dalhousie now determined on the final coup d' etat. On the 29th of March, a strange scene appeared in the capital of the Punjab. There, in full durbar, stood the chiefs, who had so long swayed the destinies of the country of

the Five Rivers, and the boy Maharajah, whose dominions were about to be absorbed: and, in the midst of that crowd of almost sovereigns, the secretary of the hired servant of twenty-four grocers pronounced the deposition of a monarch, the conquest of a country larger than their own, and the completion of an Empire, more extended than that of Rome, and mightier than that of Genghiz Khan.

The document itself, that transferred the dominion of five millions of human beings, was most simple and authoritative.

The war having thus been brought to a successful termination, the Governor-General determined at once on the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions. This article has been extended so much beyond our original design, that we have left ourselves no room for those reflections, which this important and indispensable measure naturally create: but we trust that an opportunity will hereafter be afforded us of resuming the subject, and of reviewing the political arguments by which it was justified, and the happy results which were expected to flow from it. At present, we shall simply remark that, on the 29th of March, Mr. Elliott, the Foreign Secretary of Government, appeared at Lahore in the *last* Sikh durbar; and, in the presence of the chiefs, who had adhered to our cause, and of the young Rajah Dhulíp Singh, read a proclamation of the Governor General, containing the decree that the family of Runjít had ceased to reign, and that the country of the Five Rivers was incorporated with the British Empire; which, in the course of less than a century, had thus been extended from the Mahratta ditch to Peshawur. The reasons, which influenced his Lordship's decision, we record in his own words:—

"The relations which exist between [the two states], the duties and obligations of each, were marked out in the treaty of Lahore, and in the subsequent articles of agreement, concluded at Bhyrowal.

The British Government has rigidly observed the obligations, which the treaty imposed; and it has fully acted up to the spirit and letter of its contract.

It has labored to prove the sincerity of its profession, that it desired no further aggrandizement. It has maintained the Government of the Council of Regency. It has advised the adoption of measures, which improved the condition of the troops, and lightened the burdens of the people at large. It has given liberally the use of its forces to aid the administration of the State of Lahore. It has carefully avoided to offend by any of its acts the feelings of the people, and has meddled with none of the national institutions and customs.

How have the Sikhs, on their part, fulfilled the corresponding obligations, which the treaty imposed upon them?

There is not one of the main provisions of the agreement which they have not either entirely evaded, or grossly violated.

In return for the aid of British troops, they bound themselves to pay to us a subsidy of 22 lakhs per annum.

From the day, when the treaty was signed to the present hour, not one rupee has ever been paid. Loans advanced by the British Government, to enable them to discharge the arrears of their disbanded troops, have never been repaid; and the debt of the state of Lahore to this Government, apart altogether from the vast expenses of this war, amounts to more than 50 lakhs of rupees.

They bound themselves to submit to the full authority of the British Resident, directing and controlling all matters, in every department of the State.

Yet, when the British officers were murdered at Múltan by the servants of a chief officer of their State, and, after having been deserted by the troops of the durbar, who, unhurt, went over previously to the service of the murderer, the Government of Lahore, in reply to the orders of the Resident, neither punished the offender, nor gave reparation for the offence: but declared, that their troops, and especially the regular army of the State, were not to be depended upon, and would not act against the Dewan Múlraj.

The conduct of the Sikh troops, in their various districts, speedily justified our suspicion of their hostility.

Repressed for a time, their disaffection broke out in one quarter after another, till, ultimately, nearly all the army of the State, joined by the whole Sikh people throughout the land, as one man, have risen in arms against us, and, for months, have been carrying on a ferocious war, for the proclaimed purpose of destroying our power, and exterminating our race.

Thus we see that, not only has the control of the British Government, which they invited, and to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, been resisted by force of arms, but peace has been violently broken; and the whole body of the nation—army and people alike—have, deliberately, and unprovoked, again made war upon us.

If it should be alleged that this has been merely the act of a lawless soldiery, similar to that which was committed in 1845, and that it has been done against the will, and in spite of the opposition, of the Sirdars: I answer, admitting it to be so, what justification does that furnish for them, or what security can the reflection afford to us?

That which we desire to see—that which we must have, as indispensably necessary for the future prosperity of the territories we already possess, is peace throughout our bounds. That which we desire to secure in the Punjab is a friendly and well-governed neighbour, and a frontier without alarms, and which does not demand a perpetual garrison of 50,000 men. Of what advantage is it to us that the Council and Sirdars are friendly, if they have not the ability to control their army, which is hostile?

If the Sikh army and Sikh people are eager to seize, and have the power of seizing, on every opportunity of violating the peace, which we desire to render permanent, of what value to us, as a state, is the impotent fidelity of the Sirdars? But the fact is not so. Their chiefs have not been faithful to their obligations. The troops and the people having risen in arms—their leaders have been the Sirdars of the State, the signers of the treaties, the members of the Council of Regency itself.

If you will refer to the roll, which was lately transmitted to you, of those who surrendered to Sir Walter Gilbert at Rawul Pindi, and to other documents, which have from time to time been forwarded, you will find there an array of the names of the Sirdars, who then surrendered, and were disarmed.

Analyse it, and you will find there, not merely men who are of note in the Punjab, but the very chiefs whose signatures are affixed to the treaties of peace. For it is a shameful fact, that of the Sirdars of the State, properly so called, who signed the treaties, the greater portion have been involved in these hostilities against us.

If irresponsibility should be sought for the Sikh nation, in the statement that their Government, at least, has taken no part against us—you will not admit that plea, when I acquaint you, that, while the Regency, during these troubles, gave no substantial or effective assistance to the British Government, some of its chief members have openly declared against us, and one of them has commanded the Sikh army in the field.

In the preceding paragraphs I have said, more than once, that the Sikhs have risen in arms against the British. I request you to dwell upon the phrase: for I desire to press upon your attention the important fact, that this rising in the Punjab has not been a rebellion against the Maharajah Dhulip Singh; that, on the contrary, the Sikhs have constantly professed their fidelity to their Maharajah, and have proclaimed that it is against the British and against the British alone, that this war has, from the beginning, been directed.

That the destruction of British power, and the expulsion of the British themselves, was the real object of the war (and not an insurrection against the Maharajah and his Government) does not rest upon my assertion alone, or upon inference. It has been avowed and declared by themselves, in all their own letters and proclamations to the neighbouring chiefs, to Mahomedan powers, and to the native soldiers of the British Government.

I will only quote a single passage from one of these proclamations, which was issued by Rajah Shere Singh. It sets forth distinctly, and in a few words, the sentiments and objects, which are declared in all the similar documents, and fully establishes the correctness of the statement I have made. It runs thus :—

'By the direction of the Holy Gúrú, Rajah Shere Singh and others, with their valiant troops, have joined the trusty and faithful Dewan Múlraj, on the part of the Maharajah Dhulip Singh, with a view to eradicate and expel all the tyrannous and crafty Feringhís. The Khalsají must now act with all their heart and soul.

All who are servants of the Khalsají, of the Holy Gúrú, and of the Maharajah, are enjoined to gird up their loins, and proceed to Múltan.'

And the paragraph concludes with this truculent injunction, addressed to the inhabitants of the Punjab :—

'Let them murder all the Feringhís, wherever they can find them.'

This is not all. Not content with making war themselves upon the British, the Sikhs have labored to induce other States and Sovereigns in India to attack us also.

There are in the possession of the Government many letters, which have been addressed by the Sikh Chiefs to the neighbouring Powers, Mussulman, Hindú, and Sikh, earnestly invoking their assistance; and the burden of every letter is the necessity of destroying and expelling the British.

The bitterness of their enmity has carried them yet further still. No one ever thought to see the day, when Sikhs would court the alliance of Affghans, and would actually purchase their assistance by a heavy sacrifice. Yet their hatred to the British name has induced them to do even this. They invited the Amír, Dost Mahomed Khan, from Cabúl, to their aid. They promised him, as the reward of his assistance, the province of Peshawur, and the lands which the King of Cabúl formerly held; a possession, which the Sikhs themselves valued beyond all price; which for years they had struggled to obtain; and which they gained, and held, only by vast expenditure of treasure, and with the best blood of their race.

The Amír of Cabúl came. He raised immediately the standard of the Prophet in their land, defiled the temples of the Sikh religion, plundered their villages, and most brutally treated their people: yet, for all that, the

Sikh nation continued to court the Amir of Cabúl still. They have fought, side by side, with his troops, and, after their defeat, applied for the continuance of his assistance. So inveterate has their hostility to us proved to be, that the securing of Affghan co-operation against the British has been sufficient to induce the Sikhs to forget their strongest national animosity, and has, in their eyes, compensated even for Affghan cruelty to their people, and for Mahomedan insults to their religion.

Such have been the acts of faithlessness, and violence, by which the Sikh nation has, a second time, forced upon us the evils of a costly and a bloody war!

If the grossest violation of treaties—if repeated aggressions, by which its national security is threatened, and the interests of its people are sacrificed—can ever confer upon a nation the right of bringing into necessary subjection the power that has so injured it, and is ready to injure it again; then has the British Government now acquired an absolute and undoubted right to dispose, as it will, of the Punjab, which it has conquered.

The British Government has acquired the right; and, in my judgment, that right must now be fully exercised.

I hold that it is no longer open to this Government to determine the question of the future relations of the Punjab with British India, by considerations of what is desirable, or convenient, or even expedient.

I hold that the course of recent events has rendered the question one of national safety; and that regard for the security of our own territories, and the interests of our own subjects, must compel us, in self-defence, to relinquish the policy, which would maintain the independence of the Sikh nation in the Punjab.

I cordially assented to the policy, which determined to avoid the annexation of these territories on a former occasion.

I assented to the principle, that the Government of India ought not to desire to add further to its territories; and I adhere to that opinion still. I conceive that the successful establishment of a strong and friendly Hindú Government in the Punjab would have been the best arrangement that could be effected for British India; and I hold that the attempt which has been made by the British Government to effect such a settlement of the frontier state, the moderation it has exhibited, and its honest endeavours to strengthen and aid the kingdom it had re-organized, have been honorable to its character, and have placed its motives above all suspicion, whatever may now be its policy towards the Punjab.

Experience of subsequent events has shown us, that a strong Hindú Government, capable of controlling its army, and governing its own subjects, cannot be formed in the Punjab.

The materials for it do not exist; and, even if they were to be found, it has now become evident, that the object, for which the establishment of a strong Sikh Government was desired by us, would not thereby be accomplished.

The advantages, which we hoped to derive from such a Government, were the existence of a friendly power upon our frontier; one which, from national and religious animosity to the Mahomedan powers which lie beyond, would be an effectual barrier and defence to us.

But we have now seen, that the hatred of Sikhs against the British exceeds the national and religious enmity of Sikhs against Affghans; so that, far from being a defence to us against invasion from beyond, they have themselves broken out again into war against us, and have invited the Mahomedan powers to join with them in the attack.

Warlike in character, and long accustomed to conquest, the Sikhs must of necessity detest the British, as their conquerors.

Fanatics in religion, they must equally detest us, whose creed and whose customs are abhorrent to the tenets they profess.

It was hoped, that motives of prudence and self-interest might possibly counteract these feelings; that the memory of the heavy retribution, which their former aggression brought upon them, would have deterred them from committing fresh injuries; and that consciousness of our forbearance, and conviction of our friendliness, might have conciliated their good-will, or, at least, persuaded them to peace.

Events have proved how entirely this hope must be abandoned. If, in less than two years after the Sutlej campaign, they have already forgotten the punishment which was inflicted by us, and the generous treatment they subsequently received, and have again rushed into war against us, it would be folly now to expect, that we can ever have, either in the feelings, or in the reason, of the Sikh nation, any security whatever against the perpetual recurrence, from year to year, of similar acts of turbulence and aggression. There never will be peace in the Punjab, so long as its people are allowed to retain the means, and the opportunity, of making war. There never can be now any guarantee for the tranquillity of India, until we shall have effected the entire subjection of the Sikh people, and destroyed its power as an independent nation.

It may probably be suggested, that it would be well for us to avoid the appearance of extending our conquests over another Indian kingdom; and politic to retain the Sikh nation as an independent state, while we provided, at the same time, for our own security, by introducing a larger measure of British controul into the Government of the Punjab, and by effecting such further changes, as would place all actual power in our hands.

I am unable to recognise the advantage of such a course.

By the articles of Bhyrowal, the Government of the Punjab was intrusted to a Council of native chiefs, subject to the authority of the Resident in every department of the State.

If a more stringent and really effectual controul is now to be established, the army of the State must be reorganized, and made directly subject to the orders of the Resident.

The native administration must be set aside, and European agency must be generally introduced. The Maharajah would be the Sovereign on the throne, and the Punjab would be governed for him by British officers.

Short of this, no change can be introduced, which will give to the Resident any more effectual controul than he has hitherto held.

But, if this be done; if a British functionary is at the head of the Government; if European agents conduct the duties of civil administration; if the government of the chiefs is removed; if the army is (as it will be in such a case) entirely ours, raised, paid, disciplined, and commanded, by British officers; then I say, that it would be a mockery to pretend that we had preserved the Punjab as an independent State. I conceive that such a policy would neither be advantageous to our interests, nor credible to our name.

By maintaining the pageant of a Throne, we should leave just enough of sovereignty to keep alive among the Sikhs the memory of their nationality, and to serve as a nucleus for constant intrigue. We should have all the labour, all the anxiety, all the responsibility, which would attach to the territories, if they were actually made our own; while we should not reap the corresponding benefits of increase of revenue, and acknowledged possession.

Nor should we, by such shifts, gain credit with the Powers of India, for having abstained from subverting the independence of the State. Native Powers would perceive, as clearly as ourselves, that the reality of indepen-

dence was gone; and we should, in my humble judgment, neither gain honour in their eyes, nor add to our own power, by wanting the honesty and the courage to avow what we had really done.

It has been objected, that the present dynasty in the Punjab cannot with justice be subverted, since Maharajah Dhulip Singh, being yet a minor, can hardly be held responsible for the acts of the nation. With deference to those, by whom these views have been entertained, I must dissent entirely from the soundness of this doctrine. It is, I venture to think, altogether untenable as a principle; it has been disregarded, heretofore, in practice; and disregarded in the case of the Maharajah Dhulip Singh himself.

When, in 1845, the Khalsa army invaded our territories, the Maharajah was not held to be free from responsibility, nor was he exempted from the consequences of his people's acts. On the contrary, the Government of India confiscated to itself the richest provinces of the Maharajah's kingdom, and was applauded for the moderation, which had exacted no more.

The Maharajah was made to tender his submission to the Governor General in person: and it was not, until he had done so, that the clemency of the British Government was extended to him, and his Government restored. Furthermore, the Maharajah having been made to pay the penalty of the past offences of his people, due warning was given him, that he would be held, in like manner, responsible for their future acts. The Maharajah, in reply, acknowledging this warning, says: "If, in consequence of the recurrence of misrule in my Government, the peace of the British frontier be disturbed, I should be held responsible for the same."

If the Maharajah was not exempted from responsibility on the plea of his tender years at the age of eight, he cannot, on that plea, be entitled to exemption from a like responsibility, now that he is three years older.

As the Honorable Company most fully approved of his being deprived of the fairest provinces of his kingdom, in consequence of the misdeeds of his people, in 1846, it cannot, on the same principle, condemn his being subjected now to the consequences of whatever measures the repeated, and aggravated, misdeeds of his people may have rendered indispensably necessary for the safety of British interests."

The last act in this great drama was the trial of the hero. The Governor-General had, from the first, resolved, that Múlraj, if taken alive, should receive a fair trial; and, if pronounced guilty of the murder of Agnew and Anderson, should suffer the penalty awarded. He was accordingly brought to trial, on the 31st of May, before a Court composed of C. G. Mansel, Esq., C. S., President, H. Montgomery, Esq., C. S., and Colonel Penny. J. B. Bowring, C. S. acted as counsel for the prosecution, and Captain G. W. Hamilton for the prisoner. The defence demonstrated at once the exceeding ability of Captain Hamilton, and the exceedingly untenable nature of the line of defence adopted. We have already given the details of the evidence adduced, and have only to add the penalty, by which they were expiated. The commission adjudged Múlraj to death, with a recommendation to mercy; and the Governor commuted his sentence to transportation for life.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. *The History of India, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone. 2nd edition.* 1849.
2. *Bhárat-barshiyá Itihás Sár; or, Brief History of Hindustān, by Baidanáth Banerjya. 2 Vols. Chandrika Press.* 1848.

It was the boast of that shallow philosopher of the modern utilitarian school, the late James Mill, clerk and censurer of the Hon'ble East India Company, that he had never visited India, and yet had written as good a history of it, as if he had. Professor Wilson, in his notes on Mill has exposed the fallacies of the reasoning he uses, in his remarks on ancient India, and the Hindu character. We are glad to see that Mr. Elphinstone has come into the historical field with very different qualifications. Fully prepared for his work by his intimate acquaintance with Hindu manners and society, his name will be enrolled in the same catalogue with Malcolm, Munro, and other worthies. At an early period, he won the approbation of Bishop Heber, a man who had few equals in his quick appreciation of all the salient points connected with Hindu manners or observances. Mr. Elphinstone has been long and favourably known to the world by his history of Kabul. The present work, though brief, shows the touches of a master hand; of one, who has penetrated into the arcana of Hinduism, and who, in a single sentence, often gives the result of the perusal of volumes. We trust this work will be introduced as a class-book into the educational institutions of this country. MacFarlane's Indian Empire is too diffuse for a school-book, and is better adapted for private reading. Marshman's History of India is an excellent compilation; but it has not been continued further than to the arrival of the Portuguese in India; we hope, however, the author will carry it on to the present time, as it is eminently calculated to cherish a taste for the study of Indian History. We are rather surprised that up to this time no work has been written, giving a detail of the history of the Agra Presidency, such as Marshman has given of that of Bengal. But hitherto there has been little encouragement for the production of such books. In the Government educational institutions, for instance, the students have been lamentably ignorant of the history of their own country. How indeed could it be expected to be otherwise, when many of the teachers and professors themselves knew little, and cared less about it? Historical study in Bengal has hitherto been chiefly confined to the members of the Asiatic Society; but we trust that this work of Mr. Elphinstone's will serve as a pioneer to give a new impulse to it, even as Arnold's lectures did to the philosophy of history in England.

Mr. Elphinstone has a valuable chapter on the state of the Hindus at the time of the appearance of Manu's code. He ascribes the compilation of that work to the 9th century B. C.; and that of the Vedas, from internal evidence, to the 14th century B. C. In Manu there is no mention of the worship of Rama, or of the *sati* rite; Brahmans then could eat beef, and they intermarried with women of inferior castes. The complication of its laws shows that the Hindus must have been, long previous to that period, a civilized people. Mr. Elphinstone next refers to changes in caste, shown in the servile occupation of many Brahmans now; in their supersession under the Mogul Government, owing to the introduction of the Persian language; in their having lost the direction of the consciences of families and individuals, in consequence of their being supplanted by Gosains and other monastic orders; and in the increase of the mixed classes, though "these castes in many cases coincided with trades, as Manu assigned to each of the mixed classes a hereditary occupation." Notwithstanding the depressing influence of caste, Mr. Elphinstone mentions instances of men rising superior to it; for instance, "the Raja of Jyepur's prime minister was a barber; the founder of the reigning family of Holkar was a goat-herd; and that of Scindia, a menial servant; the first good Hindu miniature painter in the European manner was a blacksmith." The introduction of monastic orders in the 14th century also operated against caste; "as all distinctions of caste are levelled on admission."

Mr. Elphinstone has a valuable chapter on that ancient municipal system of the Hindus, "the village communities; little republics having nearly every thing they can want within themselves. They seem to last where nothing else lasts: Hindu, Pathan, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same." The testimony of Munro, Malcolm, and Metcalfe, shows that these were the most complete systems of municipal self-government that ever existed. We would recommend this chapter to the attentive perusal of "Young Bengal," and of those Chakrabartis, who have been so clamorous for political power, and who, when indulged with it in the late conservancy arrangement for Calcutta, have provided themselves with good salaries, but have left the City of Palaces in a state that would be a disgrace to a town in Burmah.

Mr. Elphinstone next refers to the changes in religion; to the origin and tenets of Buddhism; to the present state of Philosophy, Astronomy, and Mathematical Science; to Geography, Chronology, Medicine, Language, Literature, Fine Arts, Commerce, Character, and Manners.

We have then an account of the Arab conquest, and the Mohammedan invasion, with a lively sketch of the history and character of the principal Mogul emperors, and particularly of the illustrious Akbar. Some light has recently been thrown on this portion of Indian History, by the labours of Mr. Elliot, in his recent work on the Mohammedan historians of India.

We have formerly endeavored in this review to expose the pretences of the Vedantists, and to show that they are worshippers of their own reason. We now refer to an attempt in this "*Bhárat-barshiyá Itihás*" to prop up a decaying superstition—in fact, to infuse life into a mummy. The author, Baidanáth Banerjya, professes to compile his history from Manu, the Ramayana, the Rajabali, &c. He seems particularly sharp on Mr. Marshman's History of India, accusing him "of a crafty design in it to seduce the Indian youth to the Christian faith." The following are some of the statements of Mr. Marshman, which he calls in question: "The Brahmans brought the Vedas from Scythia: the Hindus are of low origin, like the hill tribes: the age of men, as given in the Puránas, is improbable." He replies, that the Bible allows that men lived formerly to the age of one thousand years; and that the names, and the durations of the reigns, of a long line of kings are given in the Hindu histories. We would remind Baidanáth Banerjya of the impositions practised on Wilford in questions of chronology; and that the legends of the Puránas stand on the same ground of authenticity as the tales of Ariosto. We are surprised at his bringing forward the following statement as an argument:—"If what has been written by the divine Vyas is pronounced a lie, on the assertion of a Mr. Bentley; then all detailed in the Bible may be pronounced to be the same, by the conjecture of any common man." That is to say, if a learned man overthrows a false statement by direct scientific demonstration, any other man can overthrow any other statement, by simply conjecturing it to be false. The Baboo does not appear to comprehend what reasoning is. He adduces the antiquity of the Puránas in favor of his argument: but surely he can not have read what Professor Wilson has established, in his preface to the Vishnu Purána, regarding the modern compilation of these works. He also asserts that all the Indian languages are derived from the Sanskrit—which the Dakhin, or Dialects of Southern India, assuredly are not.

The author does not hesitate to avow his full belief in all the puerilities of the Puranas, as for instance, that Brahma appeared in the form of an egg, and that the sea was churned. He gives us also the legends of *Narsingha*, springing from a crystal pillar, to kill the atheist, of Bán Raja, &c. &c.

He refines on the notion of the different castes being sprung from various parts of Brahma's body; but by this mode, like Julian the apostate's mode of arguing, any superstition may bear a rational appearance; and the pungent sarcasms of a Lucian may be considered superfluous. To Prithu Raja he attributes the arrangements respecting the *sangkar barna*, or mixed castes. This indicates that even the divison of labour and classification of various trades have been associated with religious objects. He reckons the Kayasthas among the mixed classes. What will the author of the Kayastha Kaustabha reply to this, who has written three volumes to vindicate the claims of the Kayasthas to wear the Brahminical paitá? At the same time

we render the writer of Kayastha Kaustabha but common justice, when we state that his work displays much historical research, and antiquarian investigation. We only wish he had given us the data for some of his statements.

Index to the Civil Law of the Presidency of Fort William, from 1793, *to February* 1849 *inclusive, by Thos. C. Fenwick.*

Among the commentaries and notes, which have been published to facilitate the understanding of English Law, an Index has always been considered most necessary. It is an adjunct to the study of Law. An Indexer is no less valuable for consultation, than Attorneys and Barristers. And so long as there will not be a good digest of the English Laws, and precedents will be annually multiplying, the Indexer and his Index will always be in demand.

The study of the British-Indian regulations is now beginning to be intricate. With circular orders and constructions, it is beginning to put on the glorious uncertainty of its parent—the English Law. We, therefore, consider any attempt to make us acquainted with the Regulations as worthy of our attention.

Mr. Fenwick deserves the support of those, who make the Regulations of this Presidency their study, for the 1st part of his excellent Index, embracing the Civil Law. The work will be completed in three parts; and Nos. I. and II. include all the Revenue and Judicial Laws of the local Government.

So far as we have been able to consult the Index, and to examine its correctness, we feel bound to speak in laudable terms of Mr. Fenwick's exertions; and we sincerely hope that he will receive that encouragement, which he so well merits, to enable him to publish the following Numbers, and to complete his task.

We subjoin "The Preface" to the Index, which will at once explain Mr. Fenwick's object:—

"The want of a work, like the present one, has so long been felt, 'that the compiler has no apology to make in offering it to the 'public. He has spared no pains to make it as complete and 'correct as possible; but, should some errors be discovered, which 'have escaped his observation, he hopes that, in consideration of 'the extensive character of the work, they will not be judged too 'harshly.

"It may be thought by some, that there was no necessity for 'compiling a new Index, commencing prior to 1828, as the one 'prepared by Mr. Dale, up to that period, is sufficient in every 'respect. The object of embodying the whole epitome of the Civil 'Law for this Presidency into one volume was to spare the trouble 'of consulting two books on the same subject; and, notwithstanding 'the excellency of Mr. Dale's Work, the compiler has no hesitation

'in asserting that the present one, even up to 1828, will be found 'more copious.

"The compiler takes this opportunity, publicly, of offering his 'grateful thanks to the Honorable J. E. D. Bethune, Esquire, but 'for whose generous aid, this work had perhaps never issued from 'the Press."

We are happy to learn from the newspapers, that Government has subscribed for fifty copies of the work.

Glimpses of the Beautiful, and other Poems, by James Henderson. Glasgow. 1848.

We hail, with sincere pleasure, the advent of a poet to this most prosaic of capitals. Mr. Henderson's little volume exhales the true aroma. It is written in a healthy, generous, earnest spirit, with much vigour of thought, and rare excellence of versification. As the first production of a very young man, it is, in many respects, a remarkable work, and gives high promise of future distinction. Mr. Henderson has in him the elements of a genuine "maker." He has fairly won his way into the pleasant land of poesy; and, though far yet from that place to which he may one day justly aspire, he may say, proudly and truly, "I too am of Arcadia!"

The poet has a noble vocation; and urgently is a true poet needed in this city, and in this land. Living, as we do, in the midst of an effete idolatry, stripped of awe and terror, while retaining all its degradation, meanness, and vice, surrounded by selfishness and corruption, and habituated of late to examples of immorality, fraud, and crime, on account of which our national character "stinks in the nostrils"—it is truly grateful and refreshing to hear amongst us noble thoughts and generous aspirations, expressed in eloquent words, which by their beauty and harmony will find their way into hearts, where the voice of the preacher and the schoolmaster would seek entrance in vain.

This is to us the great charm of Mr. Henderson's poetry. He is thoroughly in earnest. With a fine eye and a keen relish for natural beauty, with strong national and individual affections, his chief sympathies are with the poor and the oppressed, and the bent of his hopes, desires, and aspirations is towards the happiness and progress of his brother men. He has not yet attained full power of utterance; his thoughts want condensation, and his verses, that high art, which, in an hour of inspiration, produced Wordsworth's Tintern Abbey, Coleridge's Genevieve, Longfellow's Excelsior, and Hood's Song of the Shirt. We cannot promise immortality to any thing, which he has yet produced; although many of his verses are rich in promise, and might have been written, without any discredit to their reputation, by his favourite models, Hood, or Charles Mackay.

On the other hand, he is too often beguiled into common place

by his fatal facility of versification; and his more ambitious efforts are not generally the most successful. We do not affirm that Mr. Henderson either is now, or is ever likely to be, a great poet; but he is young, and strong, and "moving in the right direction:" and we trust that he will yet give to the world verses, which shall become "household words" in this far land, and, appealing to the higher nature of the up-springing myriads of educated native youth, shall evoke a nobler spirit within them, than they have ever yet manifested. The measure and the handling of the following lines are redolent of Hood; and they are not unworthy of that exquisite writer.—

Leave the poor wretch, with his agonies choking him,
Leave him to fancies deridingly mocking him:
Pass by the palace, its portals are shut.

Mutter not scornfully,
Enter *here* mournfully,

This is the dwelling of those that are human;
This is the shelter of man and of woman;
'Tis but a hovel, a plague-smitten hut!

Misery! misery!—see where it lingers,
Crushing the husband, the children, and wife!
Busily, busily, want's bony fingers
Savagely tug at the thread of their life.
Baleful disease, like a demon sits over them;
Poverty's shrivelled hand sharpens their features;
Huddled together, with foul rags to cover them!
Made in God's image! Jehovah's own creatures!
Hushed is the baby's plaint, fitfully slumbering,
Quickly! ay, quickly, its last feeble breath shall come!
Hopeless, the mother, its struggles is numbering:
Soon the last pang, and the moment of death, shall come.
Would, as his dogs, that the lordling might cherish them,
Speak to them gently, and shelter, and nourish them!

Then were they fed,
Then were they thought of,
Feeling no dread,
Want knowing nought of.

In the Stanzas, "We are moving," Mr. Henderson reminds us, not unpleasantly, of some of the better poems of Charles Mackay; but Mr. Henderson's larger and more healthy spirit will not linger long in a school, where it can find no free play; and, as he feels his own strength, he will launch out into purer air, and more hallowed regions. We quote a few stanzas from this fine poem:—

Days foretold by bards and sages,
Bright with living glory,
Hasten to adorn the pages
Of undying story.
Clouds, that dimmed the fair horizon,
Frown no longer o'er us;
Errors, that the soul would poison,
Flee away before us.

In the past, dark shadows slumber,
Never to awaken ;
And the wrongs, we blush to number,
To the dust are shaken.

Every day we are improving,
Hasting to perfection ;
We are moving, we are moving,
In the right direction.

Other lands, with sad recitals,
Tell where freedom flows not ;
Serf and vassal now are titles
That our country knows not.
As a beacon we are lighted,
To illume the nations,
And the wrong shall yet be righted
In their habitations.
Man no more, abased and humble,
Crouches and dissembles ;
Hoary thoughts and fashions crumble,
And oppression trembles.

Blissful thought ! we are improving,
Soon to reach perfection ;
We are moving, we are moving,
In the right direction.

The following beautiful lines to Spring, show a fine eye, and a happy pencil :—

Spread thy mantle o'er the plain,
Gem the mead, and robe the mountain ;
Deck the bank with flowers again,
Bright beside the gushing fountain.

Gentle Spring ! gentle Spring !
With the glen's wild loneness mingle ;
And abroad thy beauties fling
In the dell and hollow dingle.

In the valley nurse the smile
Of the lily's snowy whiteness.
On the primrose breathe the while,
And adorn its dewy brightness.

As the lingering sunbeams rest
On the violet's tiny splendour,
Sweetly kiss its silken breast ;
Softly guard its petals tender.

Here is an extract, in a more vigorous strain :—

It may be glorious, great, and good, to meet the ruthless foe
That would usurp our liberties—our birthright overthrow ;
It may be noble and divine the tyrant to withstand,
Who would dishonour and profane our own loved fatherland .
A sacred duty it must be the despot's will to brave,
For man should never tamely wear the fetters of a slave.

But who may know how deeply earth hath drunk life's crimson flood,
When to the Juggernath of war men gave their living blood ;

When 'neath the idol's chariot-wheels they lowly bent them down,
And sought by human sacrifice the glory of renown ?
Ah ! who may know the ruin wrought—the wreck of manhood's power,
Nor mourn the fearful ills that cloud the battle's awful hour ?

The leaguer'd wall, the famish'd foe, the breach, and clashing steel,
The cannon's roar, the victim's groan, the pangs the dying feel,
The savage shout, the virgin's shriek, the look of wild despair,
The dark revenge, that slays the child, and mocks the old man's prayer,
The orphan's wail, the widow's tear—all mingle in the strife,
Where slaughter triumphs and exults, with demon passions rife.

What though the ear of Peace may hear no victor's loud acclaim,
It leaves no country desolate, no cities wrapt in flame !
What though it list not to the shouts that bid the conqueror hail,—
It knows not of the hearts that break with grief's untimely wail !
Yet hath it triumphs nobler all, and treasures richer far,
Than e'er the conquering hero won on reeking fields of war !

* * * *

Then science works her mighty spells, and wonders are revealed,
And nature's ancient mysteries are all unveiled, unsealed ;
Earth stoops to man's dominion then—and then, as with a rein,
He binds at will its giant strength, nor heeds its struggles vain :
His high behest the light'ning hears, and, at his mandate proud,
To be his fettered slave it comes from out the thunder cloud.

We shall conclude with another extract of a few lines in Mr. Henderson's happiest manner :—

Love's the lesson wisdom teaches ;
Gentle are her words,
Sweeter than the brooklet's murmurs,
And the song of birds.
As we all are fellow-pilgrims
To a brighter sphere,
Why should strife attend the moments
Of our sojourn here ?
For a higher purpose truly
We were fashioned, when
Deity in fairest traces
Crowned our souls with heavenly graces.
Brothers ! we are men !

The few extracts we have made (and we had marked many others) will bear us out, we trust, with our readers in our belief that there is something in Mr. Henderson's thoughts, and in his verses, which separates him from the common herd of rhyme-spinners ; and that, whatever may be his comparative rank, there is a genuine poet amongst us.

We wish him a long and a bright career.

SANDERS, CONES AND CO., NO. 14, LOLL BAZAR.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Histoire Generale des Voyages. Paris.* 1752.

2. *Voyage de Bernier. Amsterdam.* 1709.

3. *Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Carreri.*

4. *Relation de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiés, par M. Melchisedec Thevenot. Paris.* 1696.

5. *Elphinstone's India. Vol. II.*

IN a previous number of this Review we made an attempt to describe something of the Court and Camp of the best and wisest prince Muhammedan India had ever beheld. In the present number we intend to describe that of his great grandson. To this we are urged by two main considerations, the character of the age, and the materials at our command. The appearance, moreover, of Sir H. M. Elliot's work has not unnaturally suggested the comparison of India as it appeared under the Moguls, and India under the Company's rule. That volume has met with, to a certain extent, adverse criticism, and some doubts have been raised as to the soundness, or the justice, of its conclusions. It is therefore just possible that a few readers may not be unwilling to peruse a description of the Government of Aurungzebe, taken not from native historians, but from the accounts of men who saw with the eyes of travellers and of Europeans. For, in this attempt, we regret that Sir H. M. Elliot's researches, as hitherto published, will afford us no material aid. Those, who have read his work, are aware that few of his extracts relate to epochs at all subsequent to that of Akbar. But we need hardly say that we await with anxiety the continuation of his undertaking, for the soundness and accuracy of which, the author's practised scholarship, elaborate research, and varied talents, will be our ample security.

There is a notion prevalent with many readers, that complete, or even average, accuracy in historical points is unattainable, whenever the scene is remote. And to corroborate this and similar views, a foolish story of Sir Walter Raleigh is usually quoted, in which that polite scholar is said to have confessed

himself unable to arrive at the merits of a quarrel which happened under his very windows. From this is deduced the impossibility of knowing how things really happened three or four centuries ago. But, in this age of severe historical criticism, it is hardly necessary to do more than remind the reader, that time alone can pass a true judgment on many important questions, which have divided the opinions of cotemporaries: that stirring events are often as accurately represented to the third and fourth generations, as they were to the majority of men living at the date of their occurrence: and that, under the guidance of impartial eye-witnesses, we can be carried back some centuries, and, with the eye of historical faith, form a true judgment, not only on the more momentous transactions, but can realise to ourselves the interior of the household, the domestic economy, the dress, the spectacles, the meals, the ways of intercourse, the forward or the retrograde movements of civilization, and all the other details, which enthusiastic antiquarians dote on, and grave writers of history do not wholly despise.

The seventeenth century, in which Aurungzebe reigned, gave birth to a succession of Eastern travellers of every European nation, active in body, ready with the pen, eager to contemplate, and sound to judge. The preceding hundred years had also had their generation of oriental adventurers; but these mainly issued from one and the same nation; and, at the time of which we are treating, their sun had set. Few nations however, for the period of a century, had made more use of their opportunities. They had navigated dangerous and unknown seas with success, had made descents, and had stormed cities, under the guidance of such leaders as Albuquerque, and under the example of such exiles as Camoens. They wielded the sword with one hand, and the crucifix with the other. They freighted merchandise from every harbour of the East. Their monasteries and churches towered side by side with the mosque or the pagoda, in places devoted to superstition and to intolerance, and in the very capital of Muhammedan India. They made converts by hundreds. They enlisted and disciplined soldiers. Their forts gave protection to travellers, and their prowess repelled viceroys. They parcelled out lands, obtained the grant of charters, exacted tolls, levied taxes, and made their wrath to be dreaded and their alliance to be courted, by ministers and by kings. The recollections of their fallen greatness did not easily pass away. Even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, a Múllah

amused and cheated the youth of Aurungzebe with tales of the great Portuguese sovereign, as the first incomparably of all the petty princes, who divided amongst themselves the island of Farangistan.

The successful example of this people soon attracted wayfarers from every other European kingdom. The seventeenth century witnessed a great influx of men, who came to seek their fortunes, or to improve their knowledge, in the inexhaustible East. Such may fairly be divided into two sets, each marked by the most opposite and irreconcileable characteristics. In the first set were congregated the very dregs of European society, and the vilest parts of human nature. Scoundrels, who had escaped the stake or the gallows, who had pillaged convents, murdered their employers, or from privateers had become pirates; men who had outraged all the laws of society, and who sighed for the supposed license of an Indian Court, went to seek their fortunes in the camp, or the kingdom, of the Mogul. Some took refuge with the King of Arracan, and, issuing thence on piratical expeditions, and in galleys of remarkable swiftness, turned the flourishing islands of Lower Bengal into dreary wastes. Others sought favour at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Nor were such men wanting in that boldness and activity, which, in certain states of society, ensure success. If they could mount a horse, if they could point a gun, if they could handle a matchlock, if they displayed trueness of sight and activity of body, they were certain of lucrative, and even honourable, employment. They had their horses, their attendants, and their separate residences. They might, in virtue of their office, beat the bodies of true believers. Special immunities were granted in their favour, and their strangest requests were complied with in open durbar. Their misdeeds of whatever kind—a blow hastily struck, or the privacy of a dwelling invaded—were passed over with a moderate reproof. Leagued together by a consciousness of similar guilt, French and Portuguese, English and Dutch, sailors, runaways, and convicts—they lived and died in the country of their adoption, leaving no memorials, but in the rumours current of their disorderly conduct, and in the scandal conferred by them on the Christian name and character. Their evil doings were unwritten, and perished with them.

But there was another, and a very different, race of travellers, who visited India under the various motives of curiosity, traffic, philosophic inquiry, or restless desire. These, too, were of all nations—the phlegmatic Englishman, the lively Frenchman, the inquisitive Neapolitan. They were mostly men of education, and, to a disciplined mind, they

united a manliness of disposition, and a fixity of purpose, which no dangers could daunt. Some of them had stood in the presence of European Kings, and some were the correspondents of acknowledged *savans* and statesmen. All were eager to test the truth of those reports which Europe had listened to, of the vast riches, the despotic government, the strange customs, and the natural, or the artificial, wonders of the East. They came accordingly with ears open, ready to receive and write down everything told them, in the spirit of that truth-loving simplicity, which characterises the Prince of all travelling companions, and the Father of all accurate narratives. No wonder, then, that they occasionally fell into absurd and even childish errors. They jotted down unhesitatingly, and, with perhaps a naive caution against belief, every marvellous incident which lying Portuguese Priests, or ignorant Pandits, thought fit to recite in their presence. Add to this, that their researches were confined, and unaided by the published accounts of previous travellers, from whose errors they might have derived warning, and from whose experiences they might have gathered hints. Accordingly, in one point of view, their accounts appear puerile, fabulous, and unworthy of a second perusal. They have misquoted dates. They have miscalculated distances. They have spelt Eastern names after a fashion, which would puzzle Gilchrist, and astound Elphinstone. Neither the artist's pencil, nor the surveyor's skill, were forthcoming to embellish their tale. They have drawn maps of the Peninsula, where Hooghly appears as an island, and where Rajmahal is seen on the very shores of the Bay of Bengal. Their journals are illustrated by pictures of men, where Asiatics have white, and Europeans black, faces, and where the trees, the fruits, and the animals of the jungle resemble no one single object in Indian landscapes. They have made awful havoc of Indian mythology, and have plunged in inextricable confusion, tales of caste, and sacred puranas, and social customs. They have told us of countries, which they had never visited, either beyond this river or sea, or on the *other* side of that range of mountains; in which black men stabbed elephants with daggers, and handled tigers, as if they were puppies; in which bullock's horns, if planted in the ground, took root, and grew luxuriantly; in which women exposed such naughty children, as refused to suck, to have their eyes pecked out by the crows.

These absurdities are however invariably related as information gained from others, are charged on localities which they had never seen, and are usually followed by doubts as to their accuracy, expressed with the most amusing simplicity. Far

different was the case, when they related the effects of their own personal experience. Here no romantic visions filled their imagination, and no plea of sophistry could blind their clearer judgment. They battled their own way through the difficulties of nature, and the obstructions of man. No invincible prestige was attached to their national character. The respect they inspired, the success they might attain, were due solely to their adroitness, their equanimity, and their individual courage. From them, Hindu and Mussulman, viceroy and merchant, soldier or peon, had nothing to fear, and sometimes not much to hope. Every ordeal of climate, or of circumstance, had therefore to be undergone. To brave the dust, the fierce sun, and the rain; to sleep at night under a clump of bamboos; to be exposed to every variety of pillage or extortion; to bribe swarms of officials, and to evade the custom house; to present the humble nuzzur in open durbar; to fight with robbers or Rajputs in broad day-light, and on the king's highway; to employ alternately entreaties, threats, and blows; to rid themselves of troublesome intruders by diplomacy, or by the drawn steel; to travel on miserable ponies, and to be jolted to death by camels; to follow the Emperor's camp for weeks together; to live on rice or water-melons; to bribe the imperial khansamah for the remnants of the imperial table; to gain admittance into the policy of Eastern cabinets, and to listen to the *on dits* of the Harem; these were amongst the experiences, to which every one of the travellers we shall enumerate, had more or less to submit. On points which they noticed, while thus circumstanced, their testimony is unimpeachable. They did not write to foster pre-conceived prejudices, or to sacrifice to the idols, either of the forum, or of the cave. It was not their object to gratify the passions of demagogues by invidious comparisons, in which the hollow splendour of a native dynasty should be preferred to the solidity of European states. They told their unvarnished tale of the enormities they had witnessed, and the abuses by which they had suffered. Whenever they describe the cities, the palaces, or the tombs, they had visited, the shows at which they had been present, or the toilsome marches they had endured, the reader is at once transported to familiar localities, and will candidly allow that he is perusing a narrative, written by shrewd and intelligent eye-witnesses, and stamped with the impression of authenticity and truth.

We proceed briefly to notice the characteristics of the principal European travellers, who visited the Mogul's Court during the seventeenth century. First in order of time, and in appa-

rent importance, is Sir Thomas Roe. Most readers are aware that he visited the Court of Jehangír, as an accredited ambassador from our own King James the First. He describes with considerable minuteness the morals and manners of the Eastern court, the drunken violence and the furious outbreaks of Jehangír, and the numerous calls on his own patience and purse. But the chief impression left by his narrative is, that its author was unfitted for the duty he was selected to perform. He made little or no way with the chiefs of the durbar, or into the mysteries of the cabinet. His best intentions were repeatedly thwarted, or foiled, by some hidden and more practised opponent. He was stolid, or querulous, where he ought to have been uncomplaining, or active. In the intrigues, and the counter-plots, and the warfare of party, which encompassed the throne, he appears to have been as little at home, as an English cockney, ignorant of continental languages and customs, who lands for the first time at Havre, or Ostend. The main result of his embassy seems contained in the fact, that the Emperor suspended over his own throne portraits (probably presented by Roe) of the King and Queen of England, of the Lady Elizabeth, the wife of the Count Palatine, and of the Director General of the East India Company, Mr. Thomas Smith. What omen of future supremacy to the adventurers from the West might not lovers of coincidence draw from this one fact?

Edward Terry and Captain Hawkins were men of different mould. They travelled at the same epoch as Roe; but they were more active, and less given to complaint. The only defect we find in the narrative of the latter is extreme brevity. But from the elaborate account of the former much interesting information may be obtained.

John Albert Mandelsoe was born of a distinguished family in the Duchy of Mecklenburgh, and in his youth had been a Page in the Duke of Holstein's Court. To an insatiable desire for travel he sacrificed both his comforts and his fortune. He visited Moscovy and Persia, as an attaché to an embassy, from which, at the termination of the business in hand, he made his escape, and took the not unusual route to India, from Arabia to Surat, and thence across the continent to Agra. His narrative is well worthy of a perusal, though unequal as a performance to the narratives of the three remaining travellers.

But from these three men, who all visited India during the reign of Aurungzebe, the most valuable and the most curious information is attainable. The first, John Baptiste Tavernier, was born at Paris in the commencement of the seventeenth century, and, at

the age of twenty, he had already visited the most remarkable courts and countries in Europe, and had familiarised himself with the language in use at each. A jeweller by profession, he next turned his attention to the East, and made bargains successively at the courts of Turkey, of Persia, and of Hindustán. How he spent thousands in presents to Nawabs and Naibs ; how he travelled from Surat to Agra; how thence, in company with Bernier, he visited the plains and the marshes of Bengal ; how his profession naturally led him to recount the progress of commerce, the facilities of intercourse, the texture of precious cloth, and the value of diamonds, in preference to the maxims of Government, and the general administration ; and how he derived wealth from his travels in spite of plundering and deceit, may best be learned from his own entertaining pages. The second of the triumvirate, on whom we mainly rely, is an inhabitant of the sunny South, the Doctor John Francis Gemelli Carreri. He resided on the shores of that beautiful bay, the sight of which, according to a well-known Italian proverb, ought to leave a lover of the picturesque nothing further for which to live. Natural curiosity and domestic misfortunes were, he tells us, his motives for travelling. Of the three, he is the most discursive in his narration, the most piquant in his anecdotes, the most amusing in his simplicity. As he travelled for no one particular aim, but to see and to hear, there are few Indian topics, on which he does not give us something. Natural productions, the beasts and the birds, manners, Hindu theology, state maxims, the causes of Portuguese supremacy and degradation, anecdotes of the camp, the convent, and the Harem, accidents by water and land, complaints of personal inconvenience, and remarks on the tendency of Eastern despotism, are scattered plentifully throughout a narrative, which owes very much to the author's own liveliness and observation, but occasionally something, we are compelled to say, to the labours of others who had gone before. His plagiarism is, however, confined to specifications of caste or creed. Where he saw or suffered personally, his narrative is clear, picturesque, and beyond suspicion. He tells us, for instance, that he left the shores of Arabia in a vessel, piloted by a "miserable tobacconist," and, through the unskilfulness of this Pilot, sailed, twice over, a voyage of twelve hundred miles : that at Diu he heard a marvellous account of a native, who had carried St. Francis on his back over a river in Bengal, and who, in virtue of this good deed, had lived to a surprising age : that at Bazaim he saw a juggler, who, without any other visible support, rested on a bamboo "thirty spans in the air :" that he was offered the appointment of Advocate to the Portuguese monasteries, on six hundred pieces

of eight a year, and that he refused the place: that one day he discovered the virtues hidden in the bamboo, and marvelled to see how the natives, on whom fair words were thrown away, understood a man's thoughts under its sovereign power, and did good service with readiness; that the lower order of natives, generally, were such a degraded set as to receive a beating with thanks, and to return a salaam for kicks: that he travelled all the way from Goa to Muttra, experiencing *en route* all manner of inconvenience: that he never lost an opportunity of smashing idols, and images, when no one observed him: that he wept over Suttees: that he finally reached the Emperor's camp: that there he laughed much at a kotwal, whose "foolish copper trumpet" reminded him of the swine-herds of his native Campania; and that by means of a Christian and of an eunuch his friend, he obtained an audience of Aurungzebe in the year of grace 1695. All this and more, relative to India, we are told by the worthy Doctor, who after this expedition, proceeded on his return to Goa, went on to Macao, visited South America, and completed the tour of the world.

Last of the three, though not last in date, and certainly the first in importance, we have the ardent, the enlightened, the philosophic Bernier. To the vivacity, the wit, and the humour of the Frenchman, he united the Englishman's perseverance and energy. He made friends of the humble and the great. He spared neither pains nor money to arrive at an accurate knowledge of whatever passed around him. Whether it was his skill as a physician, or his character as an individual, that procured him the support and patronage of Danishmand Khan, one of Aurungzebe's chief Amirs, we are not told: but we can see clearly that few men in any court in the world ever enjoyed such facilities for observation. Nothing could repel his ardour, disturb his equanimity, obscure his judgment. He had no credulity for the long-winded absurdities of Pandits, and no belief in the so-called miracles of Mahommedan jugglers. He could talk in fluent Urdú, translate from Persian, and quote couplets from the Gulistan with accuracy. The influence of his master and his own social qualities appear to have given him free access everywhere. Not in the recital of tales of cruelty or licentiousness, as current in Agra or Delhi, does he vindicate his claims as an author and a traveller so successfully, as in those chapters devoted to the internal administration of a kingdom, which he had traversed in person, from Balasore to Kashmír. Here we have the activity of a man, who travelled, just as the natives travel, on horseback in Upper India, and in a budgerow throughout Bengal: the rapid enumeration of those causes which had

turned gardens into jungles: the graphic description of a system, where the watchword was misrule, and the chief maxims were oppression and violence: the characteristic anecdote, the logical deduction, the honest invective, the indignant remonstrance, the profound remark. Those who may be inclined to doubt the validity of these assertions may refer to the author himself. They will be enabled to travel over the India of Aurungzebe in company with a man, amiable as a companion, and delightful as an instructor; quoted with approbation by Gibbon, and referred to on numerous occasions by Elphinstone; a cotemporary historian more accurate and less prejudiced than Burnet; a narrator of incident and anecdote, almost as minute and as pains-taking as Boswell.

Thus much for the materials on which this attempt is based. We next proceed to consider how far the character of Aurungzebe can fairly be taken to represent the genuine character of Eastern absolutism. Here possibly we may be met by objections on the score of cruelty and crime. The man who imprisoned his aged father, planned and plotted for years against his nearest relatives, despatched one brother by the sword and another by poison, the man whose life is represented as a tissue of craftiness and fraud, should never be taken, it may be said, as a fair sample even of the oriental despot. But considerable misapprehension is prevalent as to the crimes or the vices of Aurungzebe. That he could practise successfully every sort of artifice, that he clothed ambitious designs under the guise of humility, that he appeared occupied with rosaries and beads when he was meditating on sovereignty, that he lured and duped his unfortunate brothers to their destruction, that no sentiments of filial piety or of honour restrained his systematic ambition, is not for one moment to be denied. But blood was by him only shed when absolutely necessary for the attainment of some cherished object, or for the removal of some competitor. When he had once reached his high place, his whole system of policy underwent a change. There were no wholesale butchery and no ruthless proscriptions. He had been cruel and calculating only when state reasons required it; and they were reasons which, however repugnant to common morality, almost justified his course in the eyes of the native population, and well nigh dazzled the judgment of cotemporary travellers. Had he failed, or had he even wished to live unmolested in a private situation, Gwalior, or the poppy draught, would equally have been his fate. Add to this that his private morality was unimpeachable. In the enjoyments which the law of Mahomet

permits, he was unvaryingly temperate: from those which it forbids, he refrained altogether. The wine of Shiraz never tempted him to those excesses, which turned Jehangír's palace into a tavern, and which lightened the sorrows and the hard campaigns of Baber. Strange stories, too, were current in the zenana relative to his rigid asceticism. He would spend whole nights in conversing with pious múllahs, or in reading the koran, until the wondering eunuchs, who attended at the chamber door, believed him to be assisted by the powers of darkness. He prayed regularly five times a day. His food was of the plainest and simplest kind. He worked caps with his own hand; he distributed justice, he read petitions, he endorsed them with his own pen. His continence, his diligent application, his mildness to the officers of state, and to his numerous dependants, his wonderful powers of endurance in health and in sickness, his methodical habits of business, his love of detail, his familiarity with affairs, were the theme of universal admiration and praise. No unbecoming parallel to his character suggests itself in that of the Emperor Augustus. Like him, in the search of power, he had been crafty, ambitious, and unpitying: like him, on its attainment, he became tolerant, equitable, and mild. But Aurungzebe needed the galaxy of talent, the monuments of art or of utility, and the unbroken quiet of thirty years, after which we are half tempted to forget the deliberate massacres of Perusia, and the faithless surrender of Cicero. Had gifted pens been devoted to his service, and had the last years of his reign been undisturbed by the growing insolence of Mahratta leaders, his name might perhaps have been lightened of its obloquy, and his era have been quoted as that of unexampled prosperity and peace. Even all the crimes of his early days, even the failings of his later years, the economy degenerating into avarice, and the diplomacy bordering on suspicion, have not prevented Mússulmans from comparing him with the enlightened Akbar, and, even at this day, from recounting with approbation the main points of his character, and the policy of his not unprosperous reign.*

The above remarks on Aurungzebe's peculiar position are necessary, in order to escape the charge of having purposely selected a sovereign whose career was stained by cruelty and bloodshed. We shall now attempt to describe something of the internal condition of his empire; and commence naturally with the two great cities, which are still known in India, to this

* Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 554.

day, as those respectively of Akbar and Shah Jehan, and in which invariably centered the wealth, the power, and the magnificence of the empire.

It was a part of Aurungzebe's policy to have no permanently fixed residence, but to live alternately at the old or the new capital. The appearance of Agra, with its enclosing wall of redstone, its seventy mosques, its eight hundred baths, its fifteen bazars, its eighty caravanserais of two and three stories in height, its magnificent buildings and spacious gardens, the residences of Rajahs and Amirs, suggested a comparison disadvantageous to Ispahan, in spite of the well known Persian proverb that it was "one half of the world," and almost unfavourable to Paris. On the banks of the Jumna was situated the Imperial palace. It was surrounded by fortifications, enclosed by a large moat with the usual draw-bridge and portcullis, and had four principal gates, destined respectively for the Emperor himself, for the princes of the blood, for the nobles, and for the commonalty. Occasionally a magnificent present, or some secret influence, might procure for an anxious European the coveted privilege of inspecting its hidden mysteries. Inside, we are told by a fortunate individual, who managed to gain admittance, were three (if not four) spacious courtyards, surrounded by airy porticos, or by lengthened galleries, or by ranges of small apartments for the swarming inmates of the palace. From one of these galleries, facing the river, the Emperor might behold at his leisure the combat of wild beasts in the lists below. The skill of French or Italian artists had been employed to adorn another; and the walls were decorated with gold, with azure, and with frescoes. In a third, a vine of rubies and emeralds, intended to represent the vintage in its various stages of maturity, but left unfinished owing to the enormous expense, hung down in graceful festoons from the roof. In a fourth was the throne of massive gold, more celebrated as the peacock throne, and studded with jewels of incomparable lustre and size. The other quarters of the city presented a strange mixture of splendour and of wretchedness, of poverty and of pride. The buildings had been raised at various times, and without any regard for symmetry and space. With the exception of four or five principal streets, the remainder of the town was a confused assemblage of alleys, lanes, and culs-de-sac. In this respect, Agra showed at a great disadvantage, when compared with the elegance and order by which the new Delhi was distinguished. But to compensate for this inferiority, the tomb of Akbar at Secundra, and the inimitable Taj Mahal, carried away the palm from the new sister city, and the latter emboldened men

of taste and judgment to declare, that in all the celebrated structures of Europe or Asia, they had met with no monument of art so classical in design, so august in appearance, so exquisite in detail, so harmonious in proportions.

From Agra to Delhi the traveller passed over a noble road, laid down by Jehangír, as straight as a line, and bordered with lofty trees, the date, the cocoanut, and the banyan. Delhi had, like Agra, its enclosing walls, though without the usual ditch, and a palace or fort. Outside the walls, on the bank of the Jumna, a splendid public garden had been laid out, round which extended a cleared space, where the horses of the imperial palace were taken to exercise. The city was distinguished by two principal streets, and five or six others of smaller size; but here again appeared, in spite of greater symmetry, the same partial union of wealth and poverty, which had characterized Agra. There were houses, or rather miniature palaces, with verandahs to the four quarters of the heavens, and ample courtyards to catch every changing breeze. Others, again, were crowded together, built of common brick, dirty, close, and ill-ventilated. Nor was there wanting the usual number of thatched houses, which distinguish native towns, and which are generally burnt down, during the hot winds, every other year. Two buildings in the city attracted especial notice, the grand mosque, and the caravanserai of Begum Sahib, the eldest daughter of Shah Jehan. The former was a fine piece of architecture, principally of red stone, contrasted by a pavement and turrets of the whitest marble, and adorned by three magnificent doors of entrance. To this mosque the Emperor, on every Friday, would go in state, when the road from the palace was lined with infantry, and the dust was laid by an endless host of water carriers. The Caravanserai was compared by Bernier to the Place Royale at Paris. It had galleries and arcades on all four sides, and was filled by a constant succession of Persians, Usbecks and other merchants, with the wealth and the traffic of Central Asia. But the object, which most excited, and least gratified the curiosity of Bernier, was the Zenana. It was guarded with the usual jealousy of eastern despotism, and closed to strange eyes. Of the beauty or the worth of its inmates Bernier had evidently formed no high opinion, as he applies to them, amongst other epithets, those of *honteuses* and *imbeciles*. But their chambers must have been repositories of elegance and art. Once, when a favourite stood in need of the physician's aid, he was permitted to enter. His head was enveloped in a Kashmír shawl, and he was conducted to her presence by an

eunuch. But he saw nothing save at a furtive glance, and he returned with only such stories, as the attendants related to him, of the comfort and luxury of the inmates, the reservoirs of running water in every apartment, the cool grottos, the endless jets d'eau, the gold and azure of the walls, and all the numerous appliances to defy heat.

The degree of splendour, daily exhibited during the Emperor's residence in one or other of the capitals, was such as we can only realise in part, and (with every fair deduction) from the accounts of eye-witnesses, it must have surpassed the grandeur of Louis the Fourteenth. Early in the morning the Emperor presented himself at the Jarokha, or lattice, for the gratification of his subjects, and at eleven and at six o'clock in the day, he received in durbar the salutations of his nobles. From this daily service no one was exempted save under the most special reasons; and a deduction from the monthly pay was the invariable penalty of non-attendance. On these occasions the King's elephants were passed in review, or the latest batch of horses from Kabúl or Arabia underwent inspection, or the stranger, just arrived from the land of the Feringis, was admitted to make his salaam. Nor did the internal affairs of the empire fail to occupy some portion of the day. Monday was devoted to the affairs of Lahore, Delhi and Agra; Tuesday to Kabúl; Wednesday to Bengal and Patna; Thursday to Guzerat; Friday to the weekly state procession to the grand mosque; and Saturday to the Deccan. These sights were deeply impressed on the memories of those who beheld them. The long lines of each nobleman's retainers, the elephants, the palanquins and the horses, the crowd of suitors for justice, the unvarying habit of exacting presents in durbar from all new comers, the occasional acts of summary and impressive justice, the fulsome compliments, the waving of chowries and the peacock's plumes, the low soft music of the Emperor's band, which played during the whole audience, and the presence of men from all parts of India, and from almost every nation in Europe and Central Asia, contributed to form a spectacle of which the strangeness, in the eyes of our travellers, was not removed by even a daily repetition.

Besides these usual exhibitions, state ceremonies took place, in which the solemn and the ludicrous were singularly blended. Once every year the Emperor was weighed in scales, before the whole Court, against sacks of gold and silver, when a few pounds increase to the imperial weight was obviously a source of gratification and joy. At another time he held a fancy fair in the palace. At this, the beauties of the Zenana for once came

forth from their privacy: the wives and daughters of Amirs and Rajahs attended: and the nautch girls from the bazar were not denied admittance. It was an Eastern Saturnalia. The Emperor bid, and the haughty ladies enhanced the price: female voices disputed in a high key: in short, it was a scene, says an eye-witness, of reiterated jokes, and buffoonery, and unseemliness. The full resources of the Court were, however, not displayed, save from some more weighty cause. One year only was rendered memorable by the arrival simultaneously of five different embassies from as many foreign princes. The first three may be summarily dealt with. The Sharif of Mecca sent his batch of Arabian horses, and a broom of great sanctity, which had been used to sweep the bait-ulla, or small chapel in the centre of the great mosque; a place of the highest importance in the eyes of a true believer, as the first temple dedicated to God by the patriarch Abraham. The king of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, and the ruling prince of Bassora, each sent a similar present of horses, but without any sacred gift. The fourth embassy, from the Christian King of Abyssinia, brought with it a bull's horn full of civet, some elephant's teeth, a live zebra, and twenty-five slaves, which, with a strange inconsistency to the faith he professed, the dusky representative of the primitive church intended to be guardians of the Mahommedan Harem. But the unlucky embassy had met with mishaps by the way. Several of the slaves died on the voyage to Surat, together with the zebra: and Sevají, then commencing his memorable forays, and only known as a rebel with a few followers, plundered the cortége of every thing, but the zebra's skin, half a dozen slaves, and the empty bull's horn. At length they reached Delhi, but in such forlorn and miserable plight that all the influence of Bernier and of his patron, Danishmand Khan, was barely sufficient to procure them an audience of the Emperor, followed by the usual presents of a sir-a-pa, or long robe, some brocades, a jewelled dagger, and six thousand rupees. Far different was the reception given to the fifth and last embassy from the Shah of Persia. Every bazar, through which the cortége had to pass, was decorated for the occasion; and the road was lined with horsemen for miles. Deputations of nobles were sent for the usual istikbál, or meeting: the royal artillery saluted the ambassador on his arrival: his letters were received by Aurungzebe's own hand, and his presents were passed in review before all the courtiers, who gazed with admiration on twenty-five horses of the purest breed, twenty camels, brocades, stuffs and carpets curiously worked, and numerous jars of the precious

bed-mushk. On the other hand, the whole splendour of the imperial city was displayed, and the hall of audience was adorned with all the magnificence of the East, and with all the artistic skill of Europe. Thirty-two pillars of marble were inlaid with the choicest specimens of mosaic work, or painted with the most natural imitations of flowers: in the centre was a small couch, canopied, spread with a gold cloth, and hung with the weapons worn by the Emperor himself, the battle-axe, the scimitar, the quiver, and the bow. The place assigned to the officers of state, or to the nobles of rank, who mustered their strength, was portioned off by a balustrade, covered alternately with plates of gold and silver. Before the couch, which served as a throne, ran a small rivulet of clear water, six inches in breadth, at which the candidate for an audience respectfully stood, until a given signal informed him that he might advance, and lay his credentials at the sovereign's feet.

The details of this costly splendour, centering round one exalted object, when related by divers of those old travellers, appear to have excited in their minds the different feelings of awe, of admiration, and of mistrust. But, before entering on the state of the provinces from which this vast wealth was drained, we shall endeavour to describe the third city, in which equally with Delhi and Agra, the court resided for a considerable portion of the year. It resembled the other capitals in the vast amount of its population, far surpassed them in regularity of construction, and was inferior only in permanence and stability. It was, in truth, nothing more or less than the camp. No sudden emergency induced Aurungzebe to exchange stone for canvass walls, such as induced King James the II. to pitch his camp at Hounslow. It was a part of the state policy, handed down from the days of Humayun or Baber, which recurred at stated periods with the changes of the seasons. From the end of October to the middle or end of March in every year, the Emperor took the field with his court and army, for the purpose of quelling some rebellious foe, for indulgence in his favourite pursuit of hunting, or for the mere object of keeping his unwieldy forces in activity and exercise. The propinquity of great towns and the usual lines of intercourse were rather shunned than sought; and the moving city carried with it every thing that could facilitate intercourse, minister to comfort, or provide against want. The Emperor had his double set of tents; and his example was followed by every Amir or Rajah, who could well afford the expence. Agra and Delhi were almost entirely deserted. A huge multitude composed the camp, brought there by the various motives of duty, of necessity,

of profit, of curiosity, and of crime. The nobles brought their horses, their elephants, and their retainers; the banian his sacks of money and his notes of hand; the múdí his stores of rice, of ghee, and of grain: the juggler practised his vocation by day, and the thief plied his silent trade by night. Whenever this mighty armament changed its position, the greatest pains were taken to ensure regularity and order. One set of the royal tents moved on the evening before the change, and an officer was especially charged with the duty of fixing on the encamping ground, and of marking out the four quarters of the city. Whenever the Emperor purposed to make a stay of two or three days' duration, the locality was chosen with a precision and care, such as would not have dishonoured a Roman legion in the field. A detachment of pioneers levelled all inequalities in the ground. A host of attendants and coolies erected the durbar tent, the ghúsal-khana, which then designated the cabinet, where only the highest nobles entered to pay their respects, and the khalwat-khana, or secret council-house. At no great distance rose the private tents of the Emperor, of which the kanats were lined with flowered satin, or with the famed cloth of Masulipatam: adjoining were the apartments of the begums and the zenana; and, a little further off, space was reserved for the officers of state, for the royal stables, where the horses were tethered with ropes of silk, for the menageries containing the tiger, the buffalo, and the nilgao, for the hunting leopards, for the arms, the accoutrements, and the presents given in durbar, and, lastly, for the dried fruits, the saltpetre, the betel, and the never-failing water of the Ganges. From this central spot were drawn the great thoroughfares. One broad street was designated as the royal bazar, and invariably pointed to the direction in which the host would next move. The quarters of the Amirs, of the lesser Mansabdars, and the smaller bazars were sketched with equal accuracy. Posts of bamboo were planted at every crossing, ornamented either with a red flag, or with the tail of the Thibet ox, by the aid of which the traveller, lost in the confusion and bustle, might be enabled to retrace his steps. The whole was surrounded with a palisade and ditch, over which were planted a number of small field-pieces. Men estimated the circumference variously at from three to six miles, and the multitude at not less than two hundred thousand souls. The confusion, which prevailed in spite of all these attempts at symmetry, when the camp broke up, may perhaps be conceived by those who have witnessed a cold weather campaign under Lord Hardinge, or Lord Gough. The tents were struck long before daybreak, and the

heavy artillery moved on by the usual high road. But the Emperor, all the nobles, and all the camp-followers, with the light artillery, or that of "the stirrup," so called from its close attendance on the mounted cortége, just skirted the villages, and made their way over the open plains. Whole crops were destroyed by the moving host. Roads were hastily cut to facilitate progress through the jungle. Bridges of boats were built, on emergencies, to cross streams and nullahs. But, in spite of means and appliances, the armament was occasionally put to great inconvenience, and even loss. When it diverged to some well-preserved hunting ground, all trace of the right road might be lost for days together. Portly cavaliers endured the sun's heat till three o'clock in the day, or rode through grass jungles six and eight feet in height. Camels, ponies, and bullocks, floundered and perished in quicksands: elephants fell down ravines: the beauties of the harem were scared out of their senses. With all this we may imagine the signal to be given for encampment. Chaos and confusion, according to the law of nature, preceded the state of order and array. A few solitary tents, belonging to the richer and nobler class, and sent on previously, formed the nucleus of the town, which arrived piece meal on elephants, camels, and coolies: clouds of dust marked the long files of the beasts of burden: the artillery of "the stirrup" fired a salute: the palanquin, or the howdah, of some great lady might be seen surrounded by a crowd of insolent retainers, who made way for their mistress by abuse and blows: tents were pitched and thrown down again: Bernier himself was lost in a maze of kanats and tent ropes: it was one universal scene of shouts, imprecations, and entreaties. Night fell, as the camp gradually assumed its wonted appearance. Innumerable fires were lit: beacons were erected at the crossings: the beasts were picketed, and the noise sank into a deep hum: even that gradually died away; and the silence was only broken by the periodical shouting of the watchmen, and the tramp of the kotwal's guard. Such was the spectacle, which might be seen every week, for five months of the year, in various parts of the Empire, from Agra to Lahore: a spectacle which has left behind it one lasting memorial in India, in a so-called camp-language, the most harmonious, the most polished, and the most universal of Indian dialects: a spectacle, which, narrated by travellers returned from the east, gave rise to a rumour in the marts and palaces of the West, that the great Mogul made a yearly grande chasse, with his wives, his children, his courtiers, his menageries, and a train of one hundred thousand followers.

The condition of the vast army, maintained at the court and throughout the Empire, forcibly illustrates the power and the policy of Aurungzebe. A very exaggerated account estimated the standing force at three hundred thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot. It is obvious that the last item includes the countless tribe of camp-followers; for the most accurate of our authorities has recorded, after deliberate inspection, that the condition of the infantry was most wretched, their pay mean, their number small, their discipline lax, and their equipments despicable. The total amount of this branch of the army, including European gunners, never exceeded fifteen thousand. The main strength of the Emperor lay in the cavalry, over which were set in the order of their rank, the Amirs, the Mansabdars, and the Rozindahs. The Amirs were from thirty to forty in number, the partisans of rebellions, the pillars of the state, the Governors of provinces. They commanded nominal quotas of ten, five, and one thousand men; and they received monthly pay from the treasury in proportionate ratio. Five thousand rupees a month was the allowance attached to the highest dignity. The Mansabdars were about two hundred in number; and their pay varied from seven, to as low as one hundred rupees a month. The Rozindahs, or, as their name implies, "men of the day," received more than the soldiers of our irregular cavalry, or about thirty rupees. The total of cavalry on service, either near the court, or dispersed through the provinces, might amount to two hundred thousand, without counting the other contingents, which tributary sovereigns or governors of districts were called on to supply or levy on emergencies. The park of heavy artillery numbered seventy pieces: that of "the stirrup," sixty of brass; and two or three hundred zambúruks were mounted on camels. The stables were never filled with less than three thousand horses, of Arab or Persian breed: nine hundred elephants composed the fíl-khanah; while the droves of mules, the herds of bullocks, and the hosts of porters, were literally past all enumeration.

The commanders of the army, and the chief ministers of state, were generally selected from the men of pure Mogul descent, and of the Mahommedan religion. Amongst these the highest value was set on the light olive complexion, which, as yet undarkened by a lengthened residence in Hindustan, retained evident marks of the colder climate of Central Asia. But of the Hindu race, there were some who could neither be awed by severity, nor dismissed with neglect. There were men nurtured in the sandy regions of India, whom heat had

failed to enervate, and in whom patriotism was not wholly extinguished : men conspicuous for their lofty bearing, faithful as retainers, formidable as foes. They derived an unbroken descent, it was said, from that second order in the Hindu polity, which had vainly contended with a more powerful priesthood for temporal dominion over the conquered races of India. Their princes had ever been remarkable for a high personal sense of honour : their princesses had maintained unspotted chastity, and had, in occasional sieges, displayed signal heroism ; while among them, as a body, there prevailed a spirit of union and of independance, such as even Akbar could not always controul, and such as Jehangír never dared to provoke. Without their promised aid no revolution in the Court would have been complete, and no pretender to the throne would have thought himself secure. There were amongst them two chieftains, Jai and Jessant Sing, whose forces had decided the event of more than one battle ; while in the times of peace their contingents, and those of similar barons, were employed by he Emperor, either to awe other Rajas, to quell disaffected tMussulmans, or to exact the revenue of recusant feudatories. Special regard was accordingly paid to their prejudices of caste, and to their outbursts of pride. Like other Amirs, the Rajput Princes in their time mounted guard at the Palace ; but they were permitted to reside for such time in their own tents, or in a separate building. Their retainers followed them everywhere ; and the boldest adventurer amongst the Patans, the Usbeks, or the pure Moguls, respected these chivalrous sons of the soil, who openly avowed a dislike to confinement within four walls, and who instantly repaid an insult with the cold steel. Thus in the Emperor's army the elements of activity and valour were not wholly wanting. But a contemplative spirit, such as that of Bernier, could not gaze on this varied array of forces without indulging thoughts of the comparative efficiency of European or Oriental tactics. To the noble spirit of Rajputs, to the courage displayed by Mussulmans in the civil wars which he had himself witnessed, ample justice is done in his narrative. He had not however lived in the seventeenth century, and in the age of Louis the Fourteenth, to be ignorant of the irresistible influence of order and of discipline. Countless numbers covering the plain, long lines of elephants, of camels, and of horses, splendid trappings, luxurious tents, occasional despotic command and implicit obedience, in his mind never compensated for the want of nationality, and the absence of systematic union and controul. In one place Bernier makes honourable mention of certain English merchants, who repulsed

the Mahratta, Sevají, when he burnt Surat, and who extorted admiration from his plundering companions. In another he gives vent with honest exultation to an opinion, that all these numerous hordes, neither animated by patriotism, nor swayed by a sense of shame, would never make a moment's stand against twenty-five thousand of that famous French infantry, serried in close array, and led on by the Captains, who had conquered at Rocroi, at Fribourg, and at Nordlingen.

The arrangements for the collection of revenue and the administration of justice, together with some details as to the internal condition of the empire, are perhaps equally worthy of our attention with the account of the army and the camp. We commence this part of our subject with the Police of the metropolis. Here are unquestionably found considerable traces of regard for life and property, and of impartiality to all classes. There was a kotwal, appointed for all the large towns, as well as for Agra and Delhi, who was accountable to the Emperor, or the Governor alone. But his office was entirely unknown throughout the district. His powers were evidently more unconfined in their operation, and his local rank was higher than that of the native officer, who, with designation mainly unchanged, is now located at the principal station of every zillah. The retention of the name under the Company's rule in particular localities is easily understood. The term kotwal was retained in those places, where such an officer had held authority for time immemorial under the native regime, or, in the large towns; but where no similar functionary was in existence, or in the district generally, the deficiency was supplied by the designation of darogah.

With a durbar open for five days in the week, to which the humblest were not denied access, and with a sovereign, whose vigilance extended to the minute details of every department, it is very conceivable that a full measure of justice was occasionally meted out. A bell was suspended at the door of the Palace, which any impatient suitor had only to ring. In the reign of an uncertain tyrant like Jehangír, or of a confirmed voluptuary like Shah Jehan, we may readily believe that, as told us, death was the penalty of such as made groundless calls on the sovereign's time. But with a Prince like Aurungzebe, who was accessible even to a fault, many petitioners had not to complain of neglect. At times too, those acts of summary retribution, or of unbending justice, were displayed, which, in the eyes of the native population, to this day, atone for whole months of tyranny. An insolent Jogi persisted in outraging the decency of all the respectable inhabitants of Delhi, by his matted hair, his

disgusting filth, and his obscene appearance. After a fair amount of ineffectual warning, his head was cut off! A Hindu writer avenged the insulted honour of his family by stabbing to the heart the offender, who happened to be a Mussulman of some consequence in the harem. Yet Aurungzebe was proof against all the bed-chamber influence, and all the outcries of vindictive relations. The Hindu was permitted to turn Mussulman, and live. A third offender, whose conduct touched the honour of the Emperor's family, met, through misapprehension, with a worse fate. He had obtained entrance into the secret apartments of Roshanara Begum, had remained there in concealment for some days, had been committed to the guidance of certain females at the time of his departure, had been by them deserted in a labyrinth of gardens and inclosures, had been discovered wandering about in the morning by the king's guards, and had on inquiry given no other explanation of his conduct, than that he had obtained ingress by climbing over the wall. Aurungzebe simply ordered that he should return by the way he came. This command was interpreted literally, and the unhappy wretch was thrown violently from the top of the walls to the bottom.

Such is some of the court scandal, which Bernier's knowledge of the language and his prolonged residence enabled him to collect. But the effects of a grinding despotism on the one hand, and of habitual lawlessness on the other, were too evident to escape his vigilant eye. There were many powerful nobles at the metropolis, who did what was right in their own eyes, and who met with no interference on the part of the Emperor. That personage, it is true, exacted on their part never failing attendance and obsequious respect. Without his permission they could not undertake a journey of twenty miles, or absent themselves from durbar for a single day. Few of them had even an acre of land. The governorship of a populous town, the charge of a province for a twelve-month, a dress of honour, a few words of favour, a prominent place in the assembly, a hind quarter of venison killed with his own fowling-piece, a cap embroidered by his own hands, were the rewards by which Aurungzebe flattered and humoured the most conspicuous, or the most dangerous, of his nobles. On one favourite he might now and then bestow a jaghir. To another he would concede the privilege of absence from durbar, and the undisturbed enjoyment of literary and philosophical pursuits. But no single Amir could have a reasonable prospect of acquiring an honest independance. The pay of a commander of thousands was often in arrear for two months, and that of his household for six. He was largely indebted to wealthy banians: and, after his death, his

son was seen begging for bread. Every item of property left by a deceased noble went to swell the Emperor's treasury, and the durbar was sometimes besieged by the widow, who, with little to fear and every thing to gain, wearied out the despot's patience, and obtained support. Even the greatest men about court dared not engage in any speculations with the avowed sanction of their authority and name. Amir Jumla, the Warwick of his day, to whom Aurungzebe owed his sceptre, only ventured to hold mines in Golconda, *benami*, or under some man of straw. A haughty Rajput, like Jai Singh, alone might occasionally defy imperial mandates, and retire to those hereditary lands, where the master found some relief from the eternal etiquette of a court, and the subjects some relaxation from the oppression of adventurers.

But Aurungzebe did not always care to check abuses of authority and high position on the part of his courtiers. There were men residing within a mile of his palace, whose extortions prudence or policy might teach him to overlook. If they were regular in attendance at the durbar, if their cavalry was handsomely equipped, if their horses were well groomed, if they laid expensive presents before the throne, they might hope, that official inquisitiveness would not pry too closely into the insolence of their retainers. Accordingly the accumulated weight of oppression fell heavily on the mechanic, the tradesman, and the merchant. To have sparkling diamonds, was the greatest crime a jeweller could commit. To set out for show, piles of goods, or bales of rich stuffs, was an imprudence of which the fruits were speedily felt. No man could be certain, that, on the morrow, one-half his stored wealth would not be plundered, or bought at a nominal price; no man could count on the secure enjoyment of his labour and of his time. Trade was thus restricted, industry fettered, and activity repressed. The rich, who really desired to fill their mansions with the products of the loom, or the chisel, with embroidery and hangings, with works of utility or of elegance, maintained, amidst a crowd of other retainers, artificers and handicraftsmen as their domestic servants. Those, who were unable to afford this continued expense, used to seize on the readiest pair of hands in the bazar, lodged the hapless individual within their own courtyards, and forced him to work till their pleasure was satisfied, under valid threats of the korah (the lash), and under doubtful promises of pay. Men were thus compelled to conceal their wealth, or deny their skill. There was nothing like honest competition, or expansion of resources. Trade could only be carried on furtively, by the grant of a special charter, or under favour of the great. Even in intellectual

pursuits, there was no emulation; and the traveller looked with wonder on a populous city, where commerce only existed by the permission of pomp and pride, and where learning was transmitted, without honourable rivalry, in the privacy of families, and the retirement of four walls.

If such things prevailed in the heart of the metropolis, and under the immediate eye of the emperor, it would not be difficult to form plausible conjectures as to the condition of the provinces. But here we are furnished with the direct testimonies of men, who had no favourite theories to support, and in whose mystification no native could have interest. It is gathered from the concurring testimony of sundry travellers, that, in many divisions of the empire, the authority of Aurungzebe was little more than nominal. There were still Rajahs, who in their own kingdoms maintained unimpaired, the traditions of their ancestors, the customs of the Hindu religion, and the authority of their own name. The respect they paid to a mandate from Delhi or Agra, was like that of English feudatory Baron, in exact proportion to the awe they felt of the emperor's army. They paid tribute readily, when refusal was either impolitic or impossible: or they delayed to send their quotas, until a detachment was sent to bring them. But meanwhile the condition of their subjects was undoubtedly better than that of men exposed to a continual succession of greedy Viceroys, unconnected with those, over whom they were placed, by ties of blood, and undeterred by feelings of shame or compunction. It is true, that the territories of these petty princes were often inundated with robbers and outlaws; that no single traveller could pass through them in safety; that armed caravans, or companies of merchants, were repeatedly attacked and plundered on their borders, and king's messengers exposed to contumely and insult. But the position of the ruler, who permitted these outrages on others not his subjects, was permanent: he had succeeded to the discus or the chattar held by a long line of ancestors: he derived his descent, perhaps, from the solar or the lunar race: he talked about the glories of the Pandús, and the learning of Mithila: he commanded a reverence from cultivators, who enjoyed under him the free exercise of their religious rites, and some respite from progressive taxation: he paid respect to Brahmans; he permitted Suttee; he distributed large sums in a so-called charity; and he exhibited annually splendid shows. Men, who could no longer endure outrages near the metropolis, flocked to him in numbers, and settled under his protection. His rule, tinctured as it was by some show of justice, and founded on hereditary right, to natives and to Europeans seemed undoubtedly pre-

ferable to that of the Usbek or the Pathan nobleman, whom the favour of the sovereign had hastily placed over a large and wealthy province, and whom the sovereign's displeasure might as hastily degrade.

There were thus, we may fairly assume, places which still retained some shadow of the fabled patriarchal government. But it is difficult, without the semblance of exaggeration, to pourtray the condition of those districts, which, confiscated at the time of conquest, and regularly annexed to the empire, were the main sources of the imperial revenue. Authority over them was granted under three different tenures. In some rare cases it was that of a Jaghirdar, who had obtained his fief for a term of years, or for his natural life: or that of a Governor, who was obliged to transmit to Delhi all surplus revenue, beyond his own pension, and the pay of his troops; or lastly, of the farmer, who was bound down to the transmission of a certain yearly sum. But in any case there was no division of authority, and scarce any limit to an absolute will. The main business of the Governor or farmer was to collect the emperor's dues, and to exercise the whole civil and criminal authority. The period of power might variously extend from one to five years. For the sake of appearance, the Governor or farmer was accompanied by a person, specially deputed by Aurungzebe, who bore the title of Wakya-nawís, and who, as his name imports, was commissioned to keep the court informed of occurrences of note, and of the general tenor of the administration. But the governor must have been ill-versed in his trade, who was unable or unwilling to allow this functionary a fair proportion of the spoil. *Ils s'accordent et s'accommodent ensemble*, is Bernier's expressive phrase. With a perfect understanding between the man in authority and the Wakya-nawís, all went on smoothly. The governor represented every department in the state. By him revenue was collected, troops called out to quell a disturbance, robbers decapitated, rival claimants satisfied or deluded, taxes enhanced or remitted, justice distributed or denied, a rule exercised as formidable and despotic, as that of Aurungzebe himself. The effects of this system were manifest in villages deserted, fine plains uncultivated, and tanks or temples abandoned to wild beasts. Terry specially mentions the number and the variety of the wild beasts, as one of the plagues of India, more to be dreaded, than even the government, the heat, and the diseases. Mandesloe shot deer as they bounded past him over the high road between Agra and Delhi. Gemelli Carreri carried his gun with him whenever he went out for a stroll. Whole tracts of country were set apart for the preservation of kingly game; whole tracts, under the

oppression of governors, returned by a natural transition to their primeval jungle. To shoot a deer, or to kill a tiger in these sacred places, was a crime. They were preserved for those occasions when the emperor took the field in person, under the operation of forest laws, of which the strictness might have done honour to the Norman Duke. The peasant might snare a stray quail or a partridge, but larger game was destined to receive its death-blow from the imperial hand. When a tiger or a lion fell to the emperor's gun, its death was noted with circumstances of great ceremony. A scribe came forward with his pen and tablets ready in hand: the Amirs stood round in admiration: the dead animal was duly turned over and inspected; and the length of his claws and whiskers, the date of the occurrence, and all other particulars, were gravely recorded in the archives of state.

Traces of energy and vigour, the redeeming points of despotism, were, however, not entirely wanting; and works of public utility or ornament variously represented the pride, the statesmanship, or the beneficence of their founders. The great high way from Agra to Delhi has already been mentioned. Another, in the form of a dyke, as firm and broad as those which line the coast of Holland, extended from the country of Kamrúp or Assam, into the plains of Bengal. Every populous town had its public caravanserais; and many were ornamented with bridges of ten and twelve arches. Tavernier and his companion, of course, usually forded or were ferried across the rivers, which interrupted their path; but they enumerate, and in terms of considerable praise, bridges of stone or brick at Gwalior, at Sasseram in the district of Shahabad, at Ahmedabad, at Dacca, at Kadamtala near Dacca, and at a place with an obscure name on the road from Benares to Patna. Tavernier also mentions the canals of Bengal; but he has evidently mistaken the natural nullahs for the works of man's hand. On the other score, examples of summary justice occasionally deterred the robber, and re-assured the ryot. In suitable localities, forts were erected, where officers collected tolls, and had criminals punished. At one of these, near the division of the Ganges above Moorshedabad, Tavernier was startled by the aspect of a row of heads, garnishing the gateway, like those which frowned on the adventurous Dalgetty on his arrival at the castle of Macallummore. Another party saw the road lined with the bodies of one hundred robbers, expedited after the fashion of Jean-qui-pleure, and Jean-qui-rit. At another spot, the same person met a convoy laden with the heads of three hundred rebels, sent as a

present to the king, whose authority they had dared to set at nought. Generally speaking, wherever the emperor's service was interested, difficulties seemed to vanish. In a country, notoriously insecure for life and property, might be seen yearly the spectacle of one hundred bullock carts, each laden with fifty thousand rupees, quietly conveying the revenues of Bengal to the state coffers at Agra.

But occasional acts of salutary justice were balanced by others of passion, of licentiousness, and of caprice. One governor beheaded some unfortunate nautch girls, who refused on a frivolous pretext to dance before his assembly. Another, from interested motives, pardoned a Persian Doctor, although he had, in a transport of jealousy, murdered his wife, his four children, and their thirteen attendants. Shah Jehan poisoned one man in open durbar, and boiled another alive for intruding on his privacy and sullying his honour. These are recorded on unimpeachable authority. How many similar instances must have passed away without a record! Besides all this there was the general system, where the tenure of office or favour was proverbially insecure, where freedom of trade, interchange of property, direct inheritance, or extension of private resources, were all fettered or clogged by innumerable restrictions, where there never could be a respectable middle class, where there was not even the semblance or the shadow of law, where a jealous suspicion stifled all patriotism or fidelity, and where, under an immutable law of human nature, habitual oppression, if it failed to generate resistance, generated habitual falsity and fraud.

The religion of the Hindus, it may easily be conceived, though not openly attacked under Aurungzebe, was exposed to constant insults from the zeal or the insolence of the faithful. One amusing story is told of a mahout, who had trained an elephant to destroy daily with his trunk one image out of a number, which adorned the threshold of a temple on the public road. It was considered an act of clemency if a Hindu, arraigned on some criminal charge, was permitted to escape by adopting the Mohammedan faith. Large contributions were levied from Brahmans on the occasion of an eclipse, when, according to their fantastic theology, the moon is swallowed by the Giant Rahu. But on the great question of Suttee, Mussulmans listened to the dictates of reason and truth. This rite was only conceded to a formal request, preferred to the principal officer of the district. But permission seems rarely to have been refused, if we may judge from the number of instances on record. Of the travellers,

to whose narratives we refer, various were the impulses, experiences, and impressions. They were plundered. They were promoted to favour. They thought the great Mogul the richest monarch in the world. They looked on him as indigent in the very midst of his treasures. But however dissonant their accounts as to the morals, the statistics, or the policy of the east, in Suttee they are invariably consentient and uniform. They had come burning with curiosity to see if those strange tales were true, which said, that Hindu wives followed cheerfully to death the husband, whom in life they had reverenced and obeyed. Their curiosity was amply gratified. Not one of them but witnessed half a dozen of these spectacles. Bernier, indeed, prevented one by threatening the loss of a pension, which had been assigned to the children of the deceased husband, by his patron Danishmand Khan. But in all other cases his efforts were useless. Mandesloe received a bracelet, as a last gift from one unfortunate widow to the Feringi stranger, who had come to see her die. In other respects the circumstances of the sad tale are well nigh the same in every recorded instance. The Mahommedan dignitary employed, as he thought best, his earnest entreaties, remonstrances, and threats, in nine cases out of ten, to no purpose. Then came the scene, which those sturdy travellers could hardly describe without tears, which has been witnessed by many men still living, and which posterity shall blush to think our fathers ever sanctioned. There was the pile placed in a dried reservoir, or in a pit dug for the purpose: the crowd of officiating brahmans, and of relatives without one single sign of sympathy and remorse: the deformed hags, the discordant music, the pitchers of ghee to accelerate the closing scene, and the burning sandal wood: the victim deluded with juggling, or stupified by drugs: the howl of delight, which arose, when the pile was fairly kindled, and the attendants who occasionally shared the untoward fate of their mistress. Surely, if the Company's rule had introduced no one other measure, the single abolition of this infernal rite might half atone for the imputed aggressions of questionable morality, and for the decried tendencies of an imperfect or an unjust legislation.

By those, who are familiar with the acts of atrocity depicted in the orations against Verres, or with the well-grounded charges of extortion or violence, which under the later Commonwealth, or the early days of the Roman Empire, frequently pursued a retired Proconsul into private life, the condition of the provinces, under such a government as Aurungzebe's, will be easily realised. And yet Rome possessed many elements of order,

and many aids to justice, which India had not; frequent and regular communication by sea and by land, ready appeals, publicity of procedure, a Senate not yet stripped of all love of freedom, nor deadened to all sense of justice, the indignant eloquence of men like Thrasea, remissions of annual tribute after the calamities inflicted by nature or by man, sympathy with oppressed innocence, and an implanted reverence for discipline and for legality: yet all these things could not check, or could not atone for, the evils of abused authority, as recorded by one of the most brilliant of orators, and by the most philosophic of historians. Unoffending citizens were put to death, wives and daughters were torn from their homes, lands were seized, temples were plundered, the humblest images of devotion, which adorned the private chapel or the domestic hearth, were forcibly taken away, whole provinces were ground down by a succession of rapacious governors: and for all this, a few stray individuals were occasionally banished to Seriphus or to Gyarus. With none of the above checks in India, there were even greater tendencies to abuse. The governors were adventurers from distant lands. Their tenure depended on the machinations of an enemy, or the influence of a friend. The displeasure of the Emperor was fatal to them; nor was his favour always a subject for joy. The present of a cap, worth a few rupees, but embroidered by the Emperor himself, might be a direct intimation to the viceroy, that some substantial return in the shape of a large extra sum of money must be paid into the state treasury. To furnish this, it was necessary to have recourse to intimidation or torture. In any case, whether exactions were practised for the private or the public good, there was no counterpoise, save in the jealous suspicion with which Aurungzebe occasionally inspected every department of state. Where oppression resulted in private advantage, his vigilance was naturally lulled. In other cases, help was remote, and remedies were as bad as the evils they attempted to cure. It was a far cry to Delhi. Such a state of things could not evidently endure for long. Early in the seventeenth century, a sensible Mohammedan Governor of Patna lamented to Roe the unfortunate condition of India, where rights were neither secured by prescription, nor protected by law. Half a century subsequently, Bernier, after a deliberate survey of the empire, prophesied that all this enhanced oppression and tyranny would infallibly end in some tremendous dissolution. Nor was the unwieldy empire long kept together, though its fall was hastened by causes, over which even a more powerful mind, than

that of Aurungzebe, could perhaps have had no controul. Under the standard of a leader noted for his cruelty and his daring, an insignificant people gradually rose into importance. From assailing travellers, they took to plundering convoys: from plundering convoys, they sacked walled cities: after the pillage of cities, they dared to harass armies in the field. Their tactics and their morality were admirably fitted to advance them to power in the decline of a great empire. To good faith, or to the commonest rudiments of honesty, they were utter strangers: and pitched battles, or decisive engagements, they never ventured to risk. Thus, in addition to the consciousness of early crimes, and to the terrors of an unseen world, the close of Aurungzebe's long and adventurous life was embittered by the insults of the perfidious and active Mahratta. He died at Ahmednagur, having almost reached the patriarchal age of ninety. Exactly fifty years and four months later, Clive was encamped on the plains of Plassey.

Our attempt in this paper has been to illustrate the policy, and not to describe the historic events of Aurungzebe's reign. It is to the effect of such a policy, that many of the difficulties are owing with which any subsequent government will have to contend in the introduction of reforms. Not that either Hindu or Mussulman dynasties have failed to bequeath to India many great and worthy memorials. The Hindu has left behind him some of the elements of self-government in his village institutions, and in his local functionaries, who should protect the rights of the community in which they are born and bred. He has left to attest the days of his prosperity, stupendous monuments of labour and art, a rich, copious, and a varied literature, and a national character, of which the best qualities are versatile ingenuity, and, in cherished objects, unexampled perseverance. The Mussulman commands our attention by those classic structures, in which severity and elegance are skilfully harmonised, by the introduction of another language, the vehicle for history, and by some semblance of a legislation, intended to prohibit or to punish crime. Time has dealt variously with the splendour and the policy of either race. The accumulated wealth of provinces, the stored jewels, the peacock throne, most of the public works of utility, and some of those dedicated to religion, have either been dispersed, or have perished. The literature of the two nations still invites the researches of the learned, and their inscriptions on monuments of stone yet arrest the attention of the traveller. Meanwhile, the present activity of trade at least equals that of former days, and the natural fertility of

the soil, which two hundred years ago rivalled the Egyptian Delta, has over a far wider surface increased twofold. But with those monuments, which time has not defaced, and with that fertility, which oppression could not wholly exhaust, there has also descended to us the hateful legacy of faithlessness and corruption. A system, such as we have endeavored to describe, has produced effects on the national character of both Hindu and Mussulman, which the wisest legislation will not speedily repair. Any character, passing through such an ordeal, will be found vilified and deteriorated. Whence, but from the rarity of truth, proceeds the difficulty of reforming any one department of the state? Why should caution be redoubled, checks be multiplied, and supervision exercised to the utmost extent of jealous minuteness? Why is it that Laws, which proceed fresh from the hands of the legislator on a mission of good, in one short twelvemonth are found perverted to the vilest purposes of hatred and oppression? Why is the statesman's brain racked to produce measures, which, while they give security to just rights, it shall defy even the perverse ingenuity of orientals to convert into engines of violence or fraud? What causes disunite families and set brothers at variance, consume in litigation many a fair inheritance, turn Courts of justice into sinks of iniquity, wise provisions into instruments of torture, Zemindars into tyrants, and Ryots into slaves? It is nothing, but an universal want of good faith and honesty. No one, who takes a calm and deliberate survey of the causes which retard the progress of Indian civilisation, but will admit that the main source of popular grievances is an absence of truth in the people themselves. The corruption of one particular department is decried, just as it happens to fall within the scope of individual observation, or, from subordinate causes, to attract more general notice. But it is not that men in peculiar situations are marked by corruption, unknown elsewhere. Perhaps the plague is more virulent in one place than another. The general want of honesty, which has long injured the efficiency of this department, may almost bring that one to a stand. But more or less, it pervades everything: and men, who arraign the corruption prevalent in the executive police, or in the collection of the revenue, or in the salt, or in any one branch which protects public or class interests, may possibly, some day, be inclined to consider, whether, after all, the main evil does not proceed from the corruption of the people.

The most inveterate enemy of the Company will at least allow, that the native population are but sorry materials to work

with; and the unprejudiced observer will feel a satisfaction in the thought, that to such a native population the intentions of Government have been mild and beneficent. Our rule in India has, in fact, for the last fifty years, been one of the very best intentions. Comprehensive measures and vigorous reforms are perpetually about to be given to the world. A new enemy starts up from some unforeseen quarter, and the promised measures are immediately shelved and forgotten. But excuses, based on pressing emergencies, will not always be valid. Those men, who would prefer a native dynasty to the present Government of India, are well nigh beyond the power of argument, and may be consigned to the operation of their own prejudices, as Hume placed beyond the pale of reason, English Whigs, who maintain the reality of the Popish plot, Papists, who deny the Irish Massacres of 1641, and Scottish Jacobites, who believe in the innocence of Queen Mary. Those men on the other hand, who laugh at incoherent rant and unscrupulous outcry, may think, that a comparison with the regime of Aurungzebe, or of any other Sovereign, in which the Company shall appear to advantage, is after all, no very great praise. That British functionaries are not habitually rapacious, that power is not perverted to gain, that districts are not plundered, that a numerous population may unhesitatingly confide in the good faith and the impartiality of Government and its officers, is no more than what every man has a right to expect. It were deep shame to the British character were it otherwise. But a high sense of honour in individuals, and an anxiety for the rights of aliens, will not compensate in the eyes of posterity, for the absence or the deficiency of those measures, which, unattended by a direct and visible return of income, repay their projectors ten-fold, by strengthening the hands of Government, by binding together the interests of rulers and subjects, and by diffusing the signs of progression every where. For measures of this kind, to which we have an undoubted claim, Sir H. M. Elliot has demanded the period of six centuries. Grant us but one-twelfth of that time; grant that the remainder of this century may pass without foreign invasion or external aggrandisement; and we shall repose our faith in the independance of delegated viceroys, and the irresistible current of public opinion.

As we write, we are incontinently reminded of the favourable position of the empire at this moment. The era of peace, so long prayed for and predicted, seems about to commence. That splendid province, whose ultimate acquisition the ardent have desired, the timid have deprecated, statesmen pondered over, and

all thinking minds have revolved, has at length been annexed to the British empire. The Temple of Janus, open for so many wars, extending over a long series of years, has now been shut: the Indus now forms the natural boundary of the Peninsula, as certainly as the Euphrates should have been an impassable barrier to the Roman power in the East. In both cases the true *limes imperii* has been reached. *Ulterius tentare nefas.* We have perhaps reached the turning point in the long lane. Hitherto, no appanage of any empire, ancient or modern, has given such noble opportunities for the growth of administrative or executive talent, created more Captains, witnessed so many splendid instances of devotion, of self-denial, or of daring, rejoiced the mother country by so many successes, celebrated so many triumphs. In the service, or under the auspices, of the Company, have arisen men, whose toils on Eastern ground have won for them an European reputation, whose incidental researches in Eastern lore have surpassed, in the result, the practised and proverbial industry of continental scholars, whose strategy has in other fields been weighed in the balance and not been found wanting, whose diplomacy has been marked by a rigid adherence to good faith, and whose comprehensiveness of intellect and integrity of purpose have won or increased for them those hereditary honours, which, ennobling as they are, can yet hardly enhance the genuine nobility of their possessors. The rule of the Company, were it to terminate to-morrow, without having left any more enduring monuments of administration, might yet be perpetuated in the skill of its commanders, in the integrity of its officers, and in its general character, which has respected the rights and the prejudices of the highest, and with the humblest of its subjects has literally passed into a proverb. But posterity will demand something more; nor will history pass a favourable judgment on any race of men, who should fail to stamp their own impress on the face of such a country. The present head of this empire has commenced his Indian career by an act, with which other men might have deemed themselves fortunate to close a long and useful administration. Henceforth may his talents be devoted to consolidate our resources, to extend our best interests, and to lay the permanent foundation of those peaceful measures, which, with thinking minds, shall far surpass the most advantageous of treaties, and the most splendid of triumphs.

ART. II.—*Memoirs of the Bengal Artillery, from the formation of the Corps to the present time, by the late Captain E. Buckle, Assistant-Adjutant-General, Artillery; edited by J. W. Kaye, late Lieutenant, Bengal Artillery. London:* 1849.

THE satisfaction which we should have felt in introducing to our readers the forthcoming work, whose title we have just transcribed, is over-clouded by the recollection of the circumstances under which it has been produced. It was well known for some years before Captain Buckle, driven homewards by the pressure of ill-health, resigned the important regimental office, which he had held so creditably to himself and so advantageously to his corps, that he had long been collecting materials for a memoir of the Bengal Artillery, and had been engaged, in brief intervals of leisure, in their arrangement and reproduction in the form of an elaborate work of military history. In the immediate circle of his own private friends it was known, moreover, how deep was the interest that he took in the progress of this work; how laboriously he pursued his investigation into the past history of his regiment; and what gratification it afforded him, in the midst of much that was necessarily dull and thankless, to exhume, out of a mass of long-buried records, or a heap of printed volumes with the damp of years upon them, some neglected historical fact, some forgotten statistics, or some illustrative anecdote, which had never reached the ears of the present generation. It was emphatically a labour of love. It was the recreation, after hours of office drudgery, of the last few years of his sojourn in India—of the last few years of his life. His health had been for some time perceptibly failing; and, for many months before he finally determined to turn his back upon Dum-Dum, he had suffered under one of the most distressing and most fatal disorders of the country. Like many others, who have been buoyed up by such delusive hopes, he thought that he could weather it out a little longer. Intervals of seeming convalescence gave him new confidence and courage; and he was disinclined to anticipate the date at which he had originally designed to visit Great Britain. But the hot weather of 1846 tried him severely; his disorder was aggravated; and at last he reluctantly determined to strike his tent, and to seek renewed health beneath the milder sun of his native country. He embarked on board the steamer leaving Calcutta in September; and it was hoped that the sea-breeze would check the progress of his malady; but, as the vessel steamed down the bay, he grew

worse and worse, and on the 19th of that month, off the island of Ceylon, rendered back his soul to his maker.

It was, we believe, one of his last expressions of earthly solicitude, that the manuscript of the memoir of the Bengal Artillery, on which he had been so long and anxiously employed, should be given over to his executor, an old brother officer and most esteemed friend, to be dealt with as might seem best to him. It was the known wish of the deceased, that the work should be published: indeed, the thought of laying before the world a fitting memoir of the distinguished regiment, to which he was attached, had often in hours of sickness and weariness been a solace and a stimulant to him. It is an ambition worthy of any soldier to be the historian of his corps. Captain Buckle's executor, when the manuscript was entrusted to him, being in England at the time, placed it in the hands of the Editor, who at once undertook to superintend its progress through the press, and to bring the narrative down to a later period:—for the original memoirs extended no further than the close of the operations of Generals Pollock and Nott in Afghanistan. Captain Buckle's manuscript has been faithfully followed. The Editor says, in his preface, that he pretends to no other qualifications for the task entrusted to him than the cheerfulness with which, both from respect for the memory of the deceased, and affection for the regiment of which he had himself been a member, he undertook the labours it entailed—and such aptitude, as may be supposed to be the necessary result of a life spent in literary pursuits; and he has given us without alteration the very words of the author's text. With one or two exceptions, where blanks had been left in the copy, the work, as far as it went, was left in a state fit for publication. But "that, valuable and interesting as are its details, it would 'have been more valuable and more interesting if he had lived 'to complete it, is no mere conjecture of the Editor." The marginal pencil notes, which appeared in the manuscript, indicated the writer's intention of furnishing fuller information on many important points already touched upon, and of supplying many details, which in the progress of the work had escaped his notice, but which subsequent enquiries, or, in some cases, the suggestions of experienced friends, had enabled him to introduce; and which would have been introduced, had he lived to see his book through the press. These were such shadowy memoranda, that the Editor could not avail himself of them; they were for the most part, indeed, only intelligible to the author of the book. Perhaps it is almost as well that the narrative was not amplified. It already extends to 500 pages;

and, unless there had been some condensation in other parts, the introduction of a large number of additional details would have unduly inflated the work. It is now a volume of goodly proportions; and we think that few readers will complain that the details are not sufficiently profuse.

Captain Buckle's memoir is written in a plain, soldier-like style. There is no straining after effect—no ambitious efforts at fine writing. The book is not made up of words. The author had something to say, and he has said it in very intelligible language. But he had no experience in the art of book-making. He was not a practised writer. The memoir is not wanting in the art most serviceable to such a work—the art of clear orderly arrangement; but there is no other art, or artifice in it. So much the better. A more practised literary craftsman would have written a worse military memoir. Coming from such hands, it would have smelt of the lamp; it would have wanted the freshness—the crudity some may call it—which is the great charm of soldiers' books. The value of the work is in the matter. The manner has not the stamp of Paternoster Row; but we could not wish it to be other than it is.

The history of such a regiment as the Bengal Artillery is twofold. There are the active-service life of the corps, and the changes of its internal economy to be recorded. There is, so to speak, a foreign, and there is a domestic, side to the picture. Captain Buckle has given due prominence to both. He has fully narrated the services of the Bengal Artillery; and all the different progressive modifications both of its *materiel* and *personnel*. The services of almost every officer in the regiment from its first formation are here faithfully chronicled. The length of the index, which the Editor has added to the work, sufficiently attests the minuteness of the record. It is not a mere muster-roll of commanding officers. Every captain and subaltern, who has in any way distinguished himself, has here his proper historical niche. It is possible that some living officers may think too much prominence has been given to the services of one, and too little to those of another. The chronicler of cotemporary events must lay his account to be charged with divers offences of omission and commission: what pleases one, offends another; and he is fortunate if he escapes the reproaches of many. In this respect the Editor, who has been compelled to chronicle the events of the two last wars, is in a more unfortunate position than the author. He treads upon more dangerous ground. The best thing that he could do, under such circumstances, was, what he has done, viz. to follow as nearly as possible the official

documents at his command. But we all know that official documents are not always the most infallible "guides to truth." The real history of a corps is not to be found in the gazettes.

The last sentence in Captain Buckle's manuscript is this: "The troops (under Generals Pollock and Nott) were received 'on their return by the Army of Reserve at Ferozepore, assembled in case its aid should have been wanted; and medals 'were bestowed for the different services, bearing the inscriptions of "*Candahar; Candahar, Ghuznee, Caubul*, 1842; '*Ghuznee, Caubul*, 1842; and *Caubul*, 1842; the obverse of 'all was similar, and this and all the medals, since that for 'Ghuznee, were worn on a parti-colored ribbon of light tints, 'called "the ribbon of India," ill-fitted for a military decoration." And here, with the return of the victorious army from Afghanistan, and the magnificent spectacle at Ferozepore, the story might, not unfitly, have been closed. But there was no rest for the Bengal Artillery. There were years then of hard service before them. Lord Gough's great Indian battles had yet to be fought. Captain Buckle had made some memoranda for a record of the services of the corps in the Gwalior campaign, although of a very slight and desultory character. But these, and indeed nearly all the other services of the corps, were soon to be dwarfed by the magnitude of the operations, in which the regiment was to be engaged on the other side of the Sutlej. As the memoir was passing through the press, new deeds were done for the Editor to record. It would have been a pity to have left un-chronicled the services of the corps throughout the great Punjab campaign; and it might have seemed better to chronicle them imperfectly than not at all. But there was this difficulty about the matter. These great operations in the Punjab seemed to come somewhat inopportunely to destroy the proportions of the entire work. Had they been narrated at a length and with a minuteness, proportionate both to their positive and comparative interest and importance, the size of the volume would have been extended beyond all reasonable compass, and the cost of it would have been a bar to the general circulation, which it is desirable that such a volume should obtain. If it be objected, therefore, that in the earlier parts of the volume greater prominence is given to events of comparative insignificance, we would remind the reader that the work was written (and printed indeed,) before the war in the Punjab was brought to a close; and that the chapter, devoted to the services of the Artillery in those memorable campaigns, must be regarded therefore as a supplementary chapter, rather than as a component part of the original work.

Our object in this article is really to review the book; that is, to pass its contents in review order before that great general, the public. We have anticipated, in an elaborate article recently devoted to the "Bengal Artillery," the historical matter, which the publication of this volume would have otherwise afforded us a fitting opportunity of laying before our readers. We have now, therefore, little or nothing to do, but to enrich our pages with some extracts from Captain Buckle's memoir, before the work itself passes into the hands of the public; and, in doing so, we are mistaken if we put not forth the best possible invitation to the military community to possess themselves of the work itself.

We commence our extracts, as in duty bound, with some account of the first formation of the corps:—

"The first company of Bengal Artillery was raised in 1749; the orders were received, it is believed, from Bombay, then the chief presidency. A company was ordered, at the same time, at each presidency, in the Court of Directors' general letter of 17th June, 1748. A copy of the warrant for that at Madras will be found in the "Artillery Records" for October, 1843, and for Bombay, in one of a series of papers entitled "Three Years' Gleanings," which appeared in the *E. I. United Service Journal* in 1838, and some extracts from which are made hereafter in these pages: the entire warrants are too voluminous for insertion. A similar one was most probably sent to Bengal, but all records perished when Calcutta was taken.

Admiral Boscawen was requested to supply such aid in raising the companies as he could spare from the fleet, for gunners; and the master-gunner was appointed to the Bombay company. The companies were to be completed as early as possible, and all the gun-room's crew, who were qualified, were to be included.

The "gun-room's crew" appears to have been the denomination given to a certain number of men set apart for the duties of the artillery; their officers were called gunners, gunner's mates, &c., and combined the magazine duties with the more properly called duties of artillerymen.

The new company was to consist of one captain, one second captain, one captain-lieutenant, and three lieutenant fireworkers; four serjeants, four corporals, three drummers, and one hundred gunners; the established pay was as noted below:

Captain and chief engineer	£200	per annum.
2nd captain and 2nd engineer	150	„
Captain-lieutenant and director of laboratory	100	„
1st lieutenant fireworker	75	„
2nd ditto ditto	60	„
3rd ditto ditto	50*	„
Serjeant	2*s.*	per diem.
Corporal	1*s.* 6*d.*	„
Gunner	1*s.*	„

In an old and rather curious volume of travels in India, entitled "Account of the trade in India, by Charles Lockyer," published in 1711, and relating to a period a little antecedent

* There were probably some perquisites or other sources of emolument.

to this date, we find a notice of the "gun-room crew" at Madras, with the rates of pay received by the different grades. "The garrison" he writes "consists of about 250 European 'soldiers, at ninety-one *fanams* (£1-2-9) per month, and 200 'Topasses, or Black Mongrel Portuguese, at fifty, or fifty-'two fanams a month. The gun-room crew is about twenty 'experienced Europeans to manage the guns, at 100 fanams 'per month. The Captains are paid fourteen pagodas, per 'month, Ensigns ten pagodas, Sergeants five pagodas, and 'Corporals the same pay as the gun-room crew. Chief 'Gunner of the Inner fort, fourteen pagodas; Gunner of the 'outworks, twelve pagodas, and their mates in proportion." These rates of pay appear to be sufficiently liberal, seeing that, at that time, the Governor had only £200 per annum salary, and £100 gratuity; the councillors had from £100 to £40 per annum. Senior merchants drew £40; junior merchants £30: factors £15, and writers £5. There were in those days at Madras, "two Ministers" at £100 per annum each; one Surgeon at £36; two Assay Masters at £120; one Judge at £100; an Attorney General at fifty pagodas (gratuity) per annum; and a Scavenger at 100. The Scavenger, it would seem by this, ranked above the Attorney General; and, as we are told that "lawyers are plenty, and as knowing, as can be expected from "broken linen drapers and other cracked tradesmen, who seek "their fortune here by their wits," we cannot be surprised that the legal dignitary was in no very high repute.

"This by way of digression," as Mr. Lockyer says at the end of a passage, which is much more to our purpose in this article. He complains that the European soldiers were a shabby looking stunted set of men, because the Company would only enlist Protestants. "I wish" he says "for the honor 'of the English nation, they would decline sending such 'diminutive dwarfish crooked recruits, as of late have gone 'to supply their settlements: to say no better could be had in 'time of war is an evasion my own experience proves alto-'gether light: for since 'tis no matter what country in Europe 'they are of, let but three captains be sent to Ireland, in 'less than three months, they could raise a regiment of picked 'fellows, who would be able to do them service: besides they 'look like men, which is enough for them at Fort St. George. 'Objecting to their religion looks like partiality: for the Topass-'es in India are all of the same principles. The Queen's 'Officers list none but Protestants to serve in her troops, 'wherefore the country is quite over-run with lusty men, 'who are ready to starve for want of employ." This exclu-

siveness, as we have shown in a former article, and as we shall presently further illustrate by a quotation from Capt. Buckle's memoir, continued to a much later date. One more passage, however, must we give from the old volume before us, if only to show how little change the character of the European soldier in India has undergone in a period of nearly a century and a half. "New House is the soldiers' lodging, and 'scene of many a drunken frolick. It fronts the main guard, 'and has a strong battery on the other side against the River; 'one company at a time sleeps in it, of whom a corporal and 'two soldiers walk the streets every hour in the night, to sup-'press disorders, and apprehend any, who cannot give an 'account of themselves. *Pay day comes once a month, when 'they'll be sure to have the enjoyment of the few fanams left 'them by their creditors; their debts, if within due bounds, are 'all cleared at the pay table.* Every one keeps his boy; who 'though not above ten years old, is procurer, and *valet de 'chambre*, for 7 or 8 *fanams* a month."—One need not look for a more accurate description than this of the European artillery-man of the present day.

Fortunately our artillery *officers* of the present day are very different from the occasional pictures we find of them in the writings of the last century. Let us see what they were, when Colonel Pearse took command of the corps. Captain Buckle says:—

"On the death of Major Kindersley, 28th October, 1769, Lieutenant-Colonel Pearse succeeded to the command of the regiment, and, as its organization is much indebted to that officer, it is fortunate that we are able to quote from letters to his early friends his record of the state in which he found it:—

'When I first came into command of the corps, I was astonished at the ignorance of all who composed it. It was a common practice to make any midshipman, who was discontented with the India ships, an officer of artillery, from a strange idea that a knowledge of navigation would perfect an officer of that corps in the knowledge of artillery. They were almost all of this class, and their ideas consonant to the elegant military education which they had received. But, thank God! I have got rid of them all but seven.'

The strange idea above referred to appears to have affected the Home Government at a still earlier period, as, on the first formation of artillery companies, "such assistance as the fleet could spare" was given. To this idea are we indebted for many terms, which have hung about the corps till the present day: our tindals, lascars, serangs, cossibs, all came from the naval nomenclature; and their etymology would most probably be found in the Portuguese dialect, which has retained its influence on shipboard. From the same fountain of "English (not) undefiled" must have been drawn the "bankshall," a name by which our gun-sheds are known throughout the regiment, but a term of considerable mystification to the uninitiated."

And again:—

"Of the officers of the corps a description was given in Colonel Pearse's letter, above quoted. It was written in 1775, and refers to the period now described. An extract from one, written in 1772, contains a very graphic picture of a *fast* man of those days, specimens of whom long continued:—

'To be a gentleman you must learn to drink by all means; a man is honored in proportion to the number of bottles he can drink: keep a dozen dogs, but in particular if you have not the least use for them, and hate hunting and shooting. Four horses may barely suffice; but if you have eight, and seven of them are too vicious for the syce to feed, it will be much better.

'By no means let the horses be paid for; and have a palanquin covered with silver trappings: get 10,000 rupees in debt, but 20,000 would make you an honester man, especially if you are convinced that you will never have the power to pay. Endeavor to forget whatever you have learnt—ridicule learning of all sorts—despise all military knowledge—call duty a bore—encourage your men to laugh at orders—obey such as you like—make a joke of your commanding officer for giving those orders you do not like, and, if you obey them, let it be seen that it is merely to serve yourself.

'These few rules will make you an officer and a gentleman; and they are the first lessons which young men take when they arrive in this country.'

With officers of this stamp, and the class of men from whom the Company's European troops were then recruited, we cannot suppose that much discipline existed. Drunkenness—the bane of the European soldier in India—was rife, and its natural consequences, disease and death, followed. To this cause, too, must be added the want of good barracks and internal economy, which of late years have gone far to remove the idea of the climates of India being deadly to the European constitution."

The various improvements effected by Colonel Pearse are detailed in a very interesting manner by the author of this memoir. After describing the wretched state of the *materiel* of the corps, when that excellent officer first took the command, Captain Buckle says:—

"It was under such circumstances that Colonel Pearse took command, and set himself to work to improve the state of the regiment. To weed the inefficient from the officers; to teach the remainder and the new-comers their duty; to introduce an efficient internal economy and discipline into the ranks, and to obtain a proper controul over the *materiel* of the regiment, were his first duties. That his endeavours were in some degree successful may be gathered from his correspondence; for in 1772 he writes,—'Now I have got all the laboratory implements with me at practice, and am going to teach my officers what they never saw.' Steadily he pursued his object through difficulties and disappointments, and was rewarded, ere his death, by seeing the corps raised to a high state of discipline and efficiency. At a review of it by General Clavering in November, 1774, he expressed himself as delighted with the corps, and astonished at its performance, being superior to any thing he could have expected in India, and so much to his satisfaction, that Colonel Pearse, in a letter to an old friend, writes, 'the performances at the review would not have been a disgrace to dear old Woolwich.'"

In the following passage we have a picture of the artillery officer in regimentals, and a glimpse at certain social usages during the reign of Warren Hastings:—

"At this time the head-quarters of the regiment were quartered in Fort William, moving out during the cold months to a practice-ground at Sulkeah, nearly opposite the western mouth of the Circular canal: the powder-works were between the canal and Cossipore. The dress of the regiment consisted of a blue coat, faced with scarlet, and cut away in the fashion of the time; white cloth waistcoat and breeches, with buckles at the knees; and gaiters, or half-spatterdashes, as they were called; red leathern belt, with swivels; black silk stock; buff gloves, and regimental hat, supposed to be a plain cocked hat, in the fashion of George the Second's time. The hair was worn greased, powdered, and tied in a queue; false hair being substituted, when the natural was not long enough.

The hours for parades, and, in fact, for every thing, were early: parades were before gunfire in the cold season; dinners were in the middle of the day, not only in private houses, but on public occasions; and invitations were given on a scale of hospitality only practicable in a small society. The orderly book was the common channel of invitation used by the Governor-General and the officer commanding the garrison. Many such entries, as the following, will be found in it :—'The Honourable the Governor-General requests to be favoured with the company of officers and gentlemen, belonging to the army, now in the garrison of Fort William and the Chitpoor cantonment and the presidency, on Monday next to dinner, at the Court House, and in the evening to a ball and supper. The Governor-General requests that gentlemen will not bring any servants to dinner, nor their hookahs to the ball at night.'

Or, 'Lieutenant-Colonel Wilding presents his compliments to all the officers in Fort William, staff of the garrison, and surgeons, and requests their company to breakfast, and dinner at half-past two o'clock.'"

The great maidán at Dum-Dum was first used as a practice-ground in 1775. Captain Buckle gives us the following interesting details relative to the growth of that important station :—

"The artillery, in 1775, appear first to have used Dum-Dum as a practice-ground, and to have been encamped there, when, their tents being wanted for the use of a brigade marching to Patna, they were ordered into Fort William, and their practice cut short, with one fortnight instead of two months. In the following year, however, in December, they marched out with their tents and stores, and began the practice (as the orders record) by firing 'a royal salute, and after that one of 19 guns, for the Company.'

It is not easy to ascertain what Dum-Dum was previous to its occupation by the artillery. The first mention made of it is by Orme, in the account of the action, near Omichund's garden, in 1757. He speaks of Clive crossing 'the Dum-Dum road:' this road, however, was only a cutcha bund,* leading to Dum-Dum, the name of the place now occupied by Dum-Dum House, the origin of which building is enveloped in mystery. It is said to have been built by a Mr. (or Colonel) Home :† but who he was, or the date, cannot be

* The kacha road was formed of its present breadth in 1782 3.—Colonel Green's Letter, 21st October, 1801.

† Was there not a member of council of that name?

ascertained. Supernatural aid has been called into play; the mound, on which it stands, is reported to have been raised by some spirit of the ring, or lamp, in the course of a single night; and, to this day, visions of ghosts haunt the grounds.

At the practice season, the officers inhabited the house; the men's tents were pitched in the compound, and the natives' in the 'Montague lines,' the ground now occupied by the Nya Bazaar, called after Lieutenant Montague, the adjutant, who marked them out. The name is known to the present day.

It was not until 1783 that the cantonment was marked out by Colonel Duff, who is said to have made, or rather widened, the road from Sambazar to Baraset,* and to have planted the avenue of mulseery trees now running along the southern end of the small exercising-ground.

Many villages were scattered over the ground occupied by the cantonment; their sites were purchased up, from time to time, by Government; the last, that of Deiglah, in 1820."

The reduction of the Golundaz battalions in 1779, owing to an absurd apprehension of the danger of teaching natives of India the use of artillery, has been noticed by us in a former article at some length. Captain Buckle's remarks on the subject are worth quoting:—

"Those who feared the native powers training up good artillerymen by means of deserters from the British service, do not appear to have considered that, without the material, which is provided and kept up at a heavy expence, the best artillerymen would be useless; and that, although artillerymen are *taught* the preparation of stores, still very few have that intimate knowledge, which only results from constantly handling and making them up, and which is, in reality, found in a much greater degree in the magazine workmen—a class, who come and go at their pleasure, and appear to be little thought of, although the practical information, they could carry to an enemy, would be worth more than hundreds of mere well-drilled artillerymen.

The Court of Directors, however, must be excepted; for, in their warrant (17th June, 1748), they direct that 'no Indian, black, or person of a mixed breed, nor any Roman Catholic, of what nation soever, shall, on any pretence, be admitted to set foot in the laboratory, or any of the military magazines, either out of curiosity, or to be employed in them, or to come near them, so as to see what is doing, or contained, therein.' And to such an extent did this fear then carry them, that another paragraph runs: 'And if any person belonging to the company of artillery marry a Roman 'Catholic, or his wife become a Roman Catholic after marriage, such 'person shall immediately be dismissed from the company of artillery, and 'be obliged to serve the remainder of his time in one of the other 'companies, or be removed to another of the Company's settlements, 'to serve it out there, if the Council think fit.' And again, in their 'military letter to Bombay (6th April, 1770), they say: 'As it is very 'essential that the natives should be kept as ignorant as possible, both of 'the theory and practice of the artillery branch of the art of war, we esteem 'it a very pernicious practice to employ the people of the country in working the guns; and, if such practice is in use with you, we direct that in 'future you attach European artillerymen to the service of the guns, which

* In all probability this formed the regular road to Berhampore.

'may belong to sipahi corps, and that no native be trusted with any part 'of this important service, unless absolute necessity should require it.'

With these views, it is not to be wondered at that the Home Government should have directed the Golundaz to be reduced; but Indian experience might even then have taught, that no more dangerous ally can be found for a native army than a large and imperfectly-equipped artillery. A native power will hardly bear the heavy *continued* expence required to keep it efficient; or, if the state should supply the means, the want of integrity in its agents will divert them from their proper course; and consequently, in the hour of emergency, the army is forced to fight a pitched battle to protect the unwieldy train of cannon, which becomes an encumbrance, instead of a support; so it had been at Plassey and Buxar, and so it has been in every general action since. Assaye, Argaum, Laswari, Mahidpúr, would have been avoided, had there been no artillery in the native armies: unencumbered, they could have evaded the British; but the necessity of protecting their trains, and, perhaps, the confidence which their presence inspired, induced them to try the result of a battle.

Instead of discouraging native powers from organizing large parks of artillery, our policy should have been the reverse, resting confident that native parsimony and dishonesty would insure inefficiency in that branch."

Captain Buckle also attributes to a personal feeling against Colonel Pearse, inherited by Sir Eyre Coote from General Clavering, some share in the paternity of this obnoxious measure. Colonel Pearse was an intimate friend and partisan—for in those days of party-strife, there was little neutrality anywhere—of Warren Hastings. When the Governor General fought the celebrated duel with Mr. Francis, Colonel Pearse was Hastings' second; whilst Colonel Watson, a vehement partisan on the other side and a personal enemy of Pearse, officiated for Francis. As to the alleged reasons for the reduction of the Golundáz, it is impossible, in these days, not to recognise the absurdity of the plea. But we are not altogether satisfied with the reasoning of our author. The war in the Punjáb has taught us, that an extensive ordnance corps is not always an encumbrance and a disadvantage to a native army. But that, without the material of artillery, "the best artillerymen would be useless" is a truth beyond the reach of contradiction. Sound policy, it appears to us, dictated that we should keep the native powers of India, as much as possible, in ignorance of the means of manufacturing ordnance for themselves, and render such of them, as were our own allies, entirely dependant upon us for the material of their artillery. They were well content to purchase our old guns; and so convinced was Lord Cornwallis of the wisdom of supplying them from our own stores, that, after the siege of Seringapatam, he presented half-a-dozen pieces of ordnance both to the Nizam and the Peishwah. They were not the most serviceable guns in his park; but the gift was appreciated, and Lord Corn-

wallis judged rightly, that it would have the effect, for some time to come, of diverting them from the thought of making guns for themselves, or going to other European craftsmen to make them for their use.

The exertions of Colonel Pearse to improve both the intellectual and moral condition of the men under his charge are narrated and eulogised by Captain Buckle. The following admirable order, or rider to an order, issued by that excellent officer, would do honour to the most illustrious commander in the most civilized times:—

"As another instance of the interest which Colonel Pearse took in the welfare of his corps, may be quoted the following order; it shews, too, how just were his views on questions of duty and discipline: 'The rules of duty, as laid down, may seem extremely rigorous to those who do not properly consider the consequence; Colonel Pearse hopes that there are not any; but lest there should be, he desires that they will carefully remember that military discipline can only be really made easy, by being enforced with precision in every part, however minute it may appear; that strictness with mildness will make the soldiers love their officers as their parents, and create in their minds a desire to be highest in esteem, and an emulation to deserve the preference, and the fear of losing it; that it will habituate the officers to regard the soldiers as the object of their attention, and lead them to watch over their morals with that pleasing anxiety, which naturally arises from the desire to produce superior excellence in those who are immediately under them; and lastly, that, in the corps, in which these principles are most conspicuous, courts-martial and punishments are very rare; the lash is only heard, when it falls on the really worthless and abandoned, whom the rest shun and detest for having brought disgrace upon them, and who are, of course, discharged soon after.'"

The following summary of the character and conduct of Colonel Pearse is just and appropriate:—

"In Colonel Pearse the regiment lost a commandant devoted to its welfare; of a high order of talent; fitted, in no common degree, for command. Fond of his profession, and anxious for distinction in it, his whole energies were directed to the performance of his duties; his intercourse with his officers and men was marked by an earnest desire for their happiness and comfort, and endeavor to raise the tone of manners and habits to be found existing in both ranks. Although a personal friend of Warren Hastings, his influence never seems to have been used for any private end; the good of the service was emphatically his guide; from his duty he never swerved, and in it he was influenced always by high-souled and chivalrous feelings. That he would have won for himself high honours, had an opportunity been afforded, who can doubt who has carefully considered his conduct when in command of the detachment to the coast? and that he had not opportunity must be in part attributed to the prejudice or jealousy of Coote.

For twenty years he commanded the regiment, and under his eye it grew from infancy to maturity, and passed through many trials, yet always winning for itself thanks and praises; to his exertions, in instructing all parties in the details of their duties, it owed its excellence; and, long as the regiment may last, and high as its fame may rise, the name of Pearse ought always to be gratefully associated with it."

Colonel Deare succeeded Colonel Pearse in the command of the regiment; but was killed, not very long afterwards, by a cannon-shot at Sattimungalum. He was succeeded by his brother, Colonel George Deare, who was superseded by Major-General Duff. There is an anecdote of this man in Captain Buckle's Memoir, which will amuse our readers:—

"Major-General Duff was a man of powerful frame of body. Anecdotes of his strength are told to the present day; on one occasion, a leopard sprung suddenly upon him; but, seizing the animal by the throat, they rolled over and over, the general never relinquishing his grasp, until the animal was fairly powerless, when it was easily put an end to. On another occasion, finding a sentry asleep over the park, he took a 6-pounder* off its carriage, and carried it under his arm *durbin ka mafik*, (as an old native officer, at that time his orderly, described it) "like a telescope."

Taking a retrospective glance at the "old hands" of the regiment, Captain Buckle, before passing on to what may be called a cotemporary period, speaks of them with kindliness and with justice, judging them according to the times in which they lived:—

"But while we must consider many of the old hands deficient in some qualities requisite to the formation of good officers, let us not forget the habits of the times in which they lived, nor that these men proved themselves good and brave soldiers in the many hard services, in which they were employed. "Per mare, per terras" might have been their motto. In the wars of Bengal and the Carnatic they filled their part with credit; and many are the names from among them, which have been handed down to our respect and esteem, both as good soldiers, and men of high talent and conduct. Pearse, Montague, Hutchinson, Duff, of the old hands, and others, such as Horsford, Clement Brown, Pennington, who, living long into this century, may fairly claim no small share in giving a tone to the present corps, are all names, which we should not willingly allow to be forgotten; and, although we may laugh at the anecdotes of the Hindes, Paschauds, and Greenes, and be tempted to rate the moderns highly, when we look to the bright halo, with which the Mahratta, Nepál, Ava, and Afghanistan campaigns have encircled the heads of those whom we delight to honour, let us not forget those, who shared in the wars with Hyder and Tippoo, and in the earlier campaigns, in which the foundation of our Indian empire was laid. "Vixerunt fortes ante Agememnona multi."

In 1813, the head-quarters of the regiment were permanently removed to Dum-Dum. Captain Buckle notices the subject in a passage which is worth quoting:—

"An important change in the location of the regiment took place in 1813. The head-quarters had hitherto been in Fort William, and moved out to Dum-Dum during the cold months for practice and exercise; this year, barracks having been completed, Dum-Dum was permanently occupied as the head-quarters of the artillery,—a change, no doubt, adding much to the comfort of all ranks: for there can be no comparison, as to the comfort and health of men cooped up within the narrow limits of a fortress, and of those

* The 6-pounder of that day was probably four hundred weights and a half, or 504 lbs.

occupying an airy, roomy cantonment—even if a cantonment surrounded with swamps, as Dum-Dum is; and, in spite of which, it is now one of the most salubrious of stations for European troops. As it had been used as a practice-ground for upwards of thirty years, many bungalows of different degrees of stability had sprung up, chiefly, we believe, of mat and thatch; and, as the officers doubtless were not idle, while the barracks were building, we may believe that they found plenty of accommodation ready for them: and houses, of a more durable nature, soon began to spring up, some on new sites, others, replacing the temporary habitations. A mess-house, we believe, had been previously built by Government, occupying the site of the centre room of the present building, which, by gradual additions and alterations, has reached its present handsome proportions. These were chiefly made in 1824-5, in 1836, and in 1841-2, when the verandah was raised, and the portico added. The last improvement was made in 1845, when the roof, put on twenty years before, requiring to be renewed, the centre rooms were raised several feet. The other houses in the cantonment have hardly undergone less change: brick walls first replaced the mats, and then puckah roofs superseded the thatch; the usual additions of rooms and verandahs taking place. The very last of the old bungalows was recently transformed into a puckah house, and, save the old avenue, which all declare to have been exactly in its present state, when they landed half a century ago, there is little in the present cantonment which can be recognized by those who first occupied it permanently. The barracks had an upper story placed on them about 1830; the church was built in 1819; and, a year or two ago, a racket-court, for the men of the regiment, was built; the officers erected one for themselves in 1834.

For many years Dum-Dum was a very favourite station; its mess, its amateur theatre, its band, and, at one time, its pack of fox-hounds, rendered it a place of resort to many from Calcutta, and the neighbouring stations; but the gradual change in the location of the artillery has necessarily reduced the numbers there; and the heavy tax upon the means of living, caused by the station being placed on half-batta in 1829, causes all who can to avoid it; and, consequently, hardly any are to be found there, save the staff of the regiment of the station, and the battalions quartered there, with the young men just arrived from England, and awaiting their dispatch to the provinces."

A due proportion of the volume is devoted to the several changes in the material and organisation of the corps, which are traced with great minuteness, and illustrated with engravings and tabular statements. Accompanying these, are practical remarks often of much value. The professional reader will peruse with interest the following observations on the relative value of light and heavy, as also of long and short guns:—

"The relative merits of light and heavy guns has been a *vexata quæstio* from the earliest date, nor is it entirely set at rest up to the present day; though general opinion has decided in favour of a *via media*, rejecting both extremes. Still some members of the profession maintain that, by a judicious disposition of metal, a light gun may be made as effective as a heavy; while others, on the contrary, run into the other extreme, and would introduce guns heavier even than those at present in use. Late experiments at Woolwich on a 9-pounder of 10 cwt., nearly similar to the Bengal pattern, strengthen the opinion that the two extremes should be avoided.

A curious experiment was tried at Dum-Dum in 1787, with a view to deciding the point at issue; and it furnishes some data, which, combined

with practical experience, would tend to prove that a medium gun will give a range so slightly below that of a heavier one, that the increase would be dearly purchased by the increased difficulty of draught. A 6-pounder was cast, weighing 10 cwt. and 24 lbs., and fired a certain number of rounds; after which a portion, equal to a calibre in length, was cut off, and the firing continued; this process was carried on, diminishing the gun, calibre by calibre, until it weighed only 3 cwt. 3 qrs. and 2 lbs., the elevation and charge of powder being in all cases the same. The result was, that of the first sixteen lengths, the seventh carried the furthest,—2,305 yards, the gun weighing 8 cwt. 2 qrs. 20 lbs.; at the fourteenth length, the gun threw 2,098 yards, the gun weighing 6 cwt. 1 qr. 3 lbs.; and at the seventeenth length, 2,106 yards, the gun weighing 4 cwt. 3 qrs. 23 lbs.

It would have been more satisfactory had the first graze, as well as the extreme range, as has been the case, been given; however, it appears that 200 yards are gained by nearly doubling the weight of the gun; and the conclusion would be in favour of the very light gun, were it not that experience shews, that a light gun shakes its carriage very much, and therefore that, what is gained in metal, is lost in strengthening the carriage to bear the shock; it is also found, that a gun giving a long point-blank range does not give a proportional extreme range; and the result has been to make 6-pounders of the present day, 6 cwt. in weight. The best test perhaps is a range of 800 yards, with the least elevation for a field-gun."

In the following passage, a point of the highest importance is touched upon. The strictures it contains are, unhappily, as applicable to the present times, as to the military history of the early part of the present century:—

"The insufficient provision of ordnance and stores for siege purposes will henceforth often strike the reader; and the question why (possessed, as Bengal is, of an inland navigation from one extremity of the presidency to the other, offering every facility for a speedy and cheap conveyance of stores) ample materials had not been pushed forward to meet our wants, must continually recur. The suddenness of the campaign cannot be admitted as a valid reason; the war had been deliberately entered on eighteen months before, and it was known that the enemy possessed many strong-holds, which required battering trains for their reduction. The first campaign had given us Agra, a place admirably situated for a depôt, with reference to the scene of war, to which an adequate equipment should have been forwarded; but it was not done, and the want was severely felt in the course of this campaign. If ample supplies are not available against a fortified place, and it is absolutely necessary to reduce it, men's lives must be substituted for shot and shells; in some cases, no doubt, *time* is most precious; and it may be a matter of calculation whether time or men can best be spared; but when near our own frontier, there can be no excuse for the improvidence, which has failed to provide the requisite stores, and by that means to take from the commander the choice between expenditure of his troops, or of the munitions of war.

In most we must attribute the blame to the cumbrous and inefficient machinery of the Military Board, in whose province lies the supervision of the magazines; but the Board, composed of many members, becomes a screen for individual responsibility; and this must always be the case, until each member is vested with the sole controul of the details of his own department, subject only to a discussion in the Board of the general question, that each may have the benefit of his colleagues' opinions, and be made aware of what is going on in other departments, that all may work in concert.

The opinion above given of the inefficient state of our siege-trains is fully borne out by that recorded by the Marquis of Hastings, in his 'Summary.' When speaking of Hattrass, he says, 'One of my earliest military cares on arriving in India had been to satisfy myself, why we had made so comparatively unfavourable a display in sieges.' The details at once unfolded the cause: it is well known that nothing can be more insignificant than shells thrown with long intervals; and we never brought forward more than four or five mortars, where we undertook the capture of a fortified place. Hence the bombardment was futile; so that at last the issue was to be staked on mounting a breach, and fighting hand to hand with a soldiery skilful, as well as gallant, in defending the prepared intrenchments. This was not the oversight of the Bengal Artillery officers, for no men can be better instructed in the theory, or more careful in the practice of their profession than they are; it was imputable to a false economy on the part of government. The outlay for providing for the transport of mortars, shells, and platforms, in due quantity, would certainly have been considerable; and it was on that account forborne; the miserable carriages of the country, hired for the purpose, where a military exertion was contemplated, were utterly unequal to the service, and constantly failed under the unusual weight, in the deep roads through which they had to pass. Therefore we never sat down before a place of real strength, furnished with the means, which a proper calculation would have allotted for its reduction."

Captain Buckle has investigated the long rolls of the regiments, which, he says, are tolerably perfect, with a view to ascertain the mortality in the artillery, fifty or sixty years ago; and the result, as compared with the present times, is not so unfavourable to the earlier period as might be expected:—

"It will not be uninteresting at this period to examine the casualties of the regiment, with a view to ascertaining the relative health enjoyed in those days, and at present: fortunately, the long rolls of the regiment are tolerably perfect at this period, and the following is an abstract:—

	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795
Strength on 1st November.....	969	980	1176	1155	1162	1083	844	755
Died	51	80	133	146	102	83	65	65
Deserted.....	3	6	7	11	14	10	10	8
Discharged	25	30	9	7	10	11	5	7
Invalided	26	15	21	25	35	31	15	37
Total.....	105	131	170	189	161	135	95	117

This gives an average of 138 casualties per annum to a strength of 1,016, or about 13 per cent. per annum,—almost the same proportion of casualties, as has taken place from the same causes during the last three years: their amount is 368, and the strength of the regiment in Europeans may be taken as 3,000. The average, however, of a longer period will be more favourable to modern times, as the losses during the Afghanistan war, the destructions of the 1st troop, and mortality from disease at Sukkur, all tend to swell these years beyond their predecessors; but this subject will be adverted to hereafter, when abstracts of longer periods have been made."

The fluctuations in the above table are very great. It will be seen that in 1788, the mortality was not much above five

per cent., whilst in 1791 it was twelve per cent. This, we presume, is to be accounted for by a reference to the operations during the latter year, in the Mysore country. The average mortality in the regiment, we believe, exclusive of war casualties, is now about four per cent.

With an anecdote or two taken at random, and a passage descriptive of the extraordinary march to Bamian, we may conclude our notice of this interesting Memoir. From a narrative of the services of Lieut. Col. Montague, who was killed at the siege of Seringapatam in 1799, we take the following illustration of the opinion which was entertained of him by Lord Cornwallis:—

"The following conversation took place between the deputy adjutant-general and Major Montague, as the latter passed head quarters on his march; "Lord C. has it in contemplation to give Colonel Smith the command of the artillery to be employed against Severn-drúg, and he wishes to know if that circumstance will be any impediment to your exertions." The major replied, "that he did not expect to take the command; that his only wish was to be employed, and that his lordship might rely on his utmost exertions for the public service under Smith." The deputy adjutant-general did not think that answer sufficiently explicit; and said, "Lord C. wished to know whether Major M. could act with more effect, when independent of Colonel Smith, than when under his command?" The major answered, "that he could certainly carry a plan of his own into execution, in the same time that it would require to suggest and explain it to another." The deputy adjutant-general therefore concluded that Major M.'s real opinion was, that he should prefer to conduct the business by himself, and informed him that his Lordship was disposed to give Colonel Smith an opportunity of knocking down the walls of the place, where he had been so long confined in a former war; but, as it might be attended with some risk to the service, he was at length determined to appoint Major M. to command and conduct the artillery against that important place, as the capture of it was absolutely necessary to the further progress of the campaign."

There is an anecdote, most creditable to the character of Lieutenant Mathison, a very gallant officer, who distinguished himself greatly both in the Nepál and the Pindarrí campaigns. In the former, on one occasion, when all his men were killed or wounded, he did good service by working a gun with his own hands. The following relates to the affair of Jawud in January, 1818:—

"During the most severe part of this affair, a circumstance occurred truly creditable to the character of this officer, and fully substantiated by the testimony of an eye-witness. An European horse artilleryman fell deadly wounded, and, on his comrades attempting to carry him to the rear, he entreated them to desist, adding, "I know I must die, and I only wish to shake Lieutenant Mathison by the hand before I die." His wish was immediately gratified; and he expired uttering "God bless you."

Captain Buckle speaks of the march of the 4th troop, 3d Brigade, across the Hindu-kúsh as "the most extraordinary ever performed by horse artillery." He had left a blank space

in his manuscript for the insertion of the details of this interesting movement; and the narrative has been supplied very effectively by another writer:—

"We have now to notice perhaps the most extraordinary march ever performed by artillery,—that of a native troop of horse artillery across the Hindu Kúsh to Bamian; extraordinary both from the obstacles overcome, and the circumstance of the men of this troop being natives of Hindostan. The 4th troop, 3rd brigade, was ordered for this trip in September, 1839, and, Captain Timmings having just died, it was under the command of a subaltern, Lieutenant M. Mackenzie, with whom was Lieutenant E. Kaye.

The valley of Bamian lies about N. W. from Cabul, distant only 112 miles; but it is separated from the valley, in which the capital is situated by a broad belt of stupendous mountains, the highest range of which exceeds in altitude 12,000 feet. The troop entered upon its mountain road, near the village of Urghundi, and, while toiling up the first laborious ascent, (steep in itself, but rendered still more difficult by huge stones and fragments of rock), it was met by Major Thomson, of the engineers, and some other officers,* who were just returning from an excursion to Bamian. Major Thomson immediately declared the road to Bamian to be impracticable for guns, and that the passes in advance were still more difficult in their nature than that of Urghundi; and he said that he would, immediately on arrival at Cabul, report to the envoy that it would be useless to attempt to reach Bamian. The troop however continued its march, and, the passage of the Urghundi ghât accomplished, descended into the beautiful valley of the Cabul river, along the banks of which the route continued for three marches, passsing Julraiz and Sir-i-Chushmeh. The road was at times difficult, being frequently in the rocky bed of the stream, and always ascending, gradually becoming steeper and more toilsome.

The summit of the Unai pass is said to be 11,100 feet in elevation; at this great elevation, even in September, the cold was intense. The passage of the range was a work of great toil, as the ascents and descents were numerous. The summit of the range is in general a table land, gradually sloping towards the north-west; not one continuous table-land, but intersected by numerous deep glens, running parallel to each other, with steep precipitous sides, difficult to ascend or descend. On the 21st, a small mud fort, named Youatt, was reached; and, on the 23rd, the troop, after crossing several spurs from the range just surmounted, descended to the banks of the Helmund, beyond which towered the snow-capped peaks of Koh-i-Baba.

In consequence of the report, received from Major Thomson, of the impracticable nature of the road to Bamian, the envoy had sent instructions for three guns and all the ammunition waggons to return to Cabul—the other three guns to halt until elephants, sent from Cabul, should arrive; it was then intended that the three guns should be dismounted, and carried over the remaining passes on elephants. These instructions were received at Youatt; but, the neighbourhood being entirely destitute of forage, it was considered advisable to move the troop on to Gurden Dewál, on the river Helmund. Having arrived there, the troop halted, and Lieutenant Mackenzie went forward, and examined the pass over the Hindu Kúsh range. This officer, having considered the passage practicable, forwarded a report to that effect to head-quarters, and requested permission to proceed with the whole of the troop. Permission was at length received, and, on the 30th, the march was resumed. The foot of the Irak pass was attained in three difficult marches, the ascent being constant and fatiguing. The passage was commenced immediately, nearly all the guns and carriages be

* Major (now Lieutenant Colonel) Salter of the cavalry, and Lieutenant Sturt of the engineers (since killed in action).

ing pulled up by hand (the horses being taken out). At this work, the artillery and infantry soldiers, and some 200 Hazarehs, were employed during the whole day, and it was not until dark that the entire battery had reached the foot of the western face of the mountain, which was found to be considerably steeper than that up which the ascent led. On the following day, the march was resumed through a deep and dreary defile, abounding in rocks, and the precipices enclosing it so steep and lofty, that the sun's rays scarcely ever penetrated to its lowest depths. Through this tortuous glen the troop wound its way, until, after many an interruption from rocky ledges of dangerous descent, the small valley of Miani Irak was reached on the 4th of October, and vegetation and human habitations were once more seen.

The whole of the 5th was occupied in passing the Kuski ghât, over a range of no great elevation (a spur only of the Hindu Kúsh), but of great difficulty. The ascent was occasionally so steep (at an angle of 45°—) that the men working at the drag-ropes could not keep their footing: horses, of course, were out of the question. The ascent was, however, accomplished in the afternoon; and the descent, by the edge of a precipice, where a false step would have ensured instant destruction, commenced. This too was effected; but night found the troop in a defile so narrow, and enclosed by such steep walls, that it seemed to be but a fissure in the mountain, caused by some convulsion of nature. Nothing further could be done till daylight; early on the morning of the 6th of October, the troop crossed the last intervening ridge, and entered the valley of Bamian at Zohák. Next day the troop reached Bamian, and encamped close to some mud forts, which were destined now, for the first time, to become the dwelling-places of British officers and soldiers.

This march to Bamian has been dwelt upon somewhat longer than is altogether suitable to the pages of a work of this nature; but, within a smaller space, it would have been scarcely practicable to give an idea of the service performed. It was certainly one of the most arduous undertakings ever accomplished by horse artillery.*

With this passage, descriptive of a march, such as no troop of artillery had ever before accomplished, we bring our extracts to a close. They will suffice to show the interesting and instructive contents of the forth-coming artillery memoir. We must not omit to state that the work is illustrated with engravings on wood, of all the medals issued to the artillery, and with designs of gun-carriages, ammunition, wagons, &c. &c. Captain Buckle had, we know, taken great pains to obtain correct copies of all these medals from time of Warren Hastings up to 1846. The first is one of which the reverse is illegible, and which, he conjectures, was issued to Colonel Goddart's force. He had, besides, drawn up a detached paper on the subject of these medals (not improbably intended to be corrected and expanded into an article for this journal), the materials contained in which, we may perhaps make use of on a future occasion. The book is dedicated by the Editor to Sir George Pollock; and we are sure that there are few officers in the regiment, who will not approve of the choice.

* The highest point surmounted, the Irak pass, was 12,100 feet above the sea.

ART. III.—*Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India. By H. M. Elliot, Esq., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. In four volumes. Vol.* 1. *General Histories. Baptist Mission Press.* 1849.

THE 'Mines of the East,' though vanity may have formed a different conclusion, have had as yet, comparatively speaking, but few properly qualified hands to work them. The reason for this is sufficiently obvious: for, independent of the difficulties that beset the Orientalist, the attraction of physical science strongly draws away enquirers into tracts, where there are no philological obstacles in the way, where analysis is easier, and results more palpable. The investigation of the phenomena of physical science is the great hobby of the age. The demonstration of what is sensibly perceptible and tangible has a popularity, which the study of mental and social progress cannot command. Though the labourers in Oriental mines have been few, they form, nevertheless, a glorious band, who, in the face of many disadvantages, have resolutely devoted themselves to the cause of intellectual research. Who, while adding to his stores of knowledge, through their generous efforts, will not gratefully respond to the great benefits conferred on the world, by such men as Jones, Colebrooke, Heeren, Lassen, Wilson, Remusat, Prinsep, Von Hanmer and other distinguished Orientalists? Destined to be hailed as a worthy member of the illustrious band, is the writer, whose work, bearing a characteristically modest title, heads these remarks.

It may be as well to premise, that, by the term Orientalist, is not always understood a general scholar. Some are marshalled in the rank, who were mere linguists. Others have attained high proficiency in one or more Eastern tongues, who were deficient in powers of critical and philosophical generalization. Some might be named, who have made valuable additions to the stock of oriental lore, who were almost wholly ignorant of the languages of ancient Greece and Rome. The author of the work before us, on the contrary, is essentially a scholar. He is equally at home in the West, or in the East; and it is delightful to see how his right scholarly affluence is brought happily to bear on the subject in hand. One thus fortified by ancient learning, and enlightened by its facts and suggestions, is not likely to be carried away by that unreasoning passion for Orientalism, which some yield to. These are apt to be lured into tracks of paradox and hypothesis (unconscious of the power of prejudice) in favour of any thing falling under the head of their favourite pursuit. Accordingly, they

contract habits of partisanship, and cannot bear to have their pet theories questioned, even when their foundations, to cooler enquirers, appear to rest palpably on fancy or assumption.

The titles of books do not always convey an accurate notion of their contents. The work under review forms no exception to this remark. It requires to be handled, read, and turned over and over, before one can form an adequate idea of the immense labour of collating from such copious, various, and often difficult, sources of information, as those referred to, and illustrated. Here we have an abstract of much miscellaneous, yet valuable, knowledge, and can well conceive the amount of rubbish, from which it has been so skilfully sifted. The reader, even at starting, should not lose sight of the principle on which the work is founded, but bear the author's caveat in constant recollection. 'It must be understood that this Index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the Histories themselves. Indeed it is almost a misnomer to style them histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals.'*

Most Indian histories somewhat resemble, in plan and detail, that puerile exhibition called a Pútlí Nách. Certain so-called Rajahs, Nuwábs, soldiers, topee-wallahs, tigers, and so forth, are introduced with a flourish on the mimic stage. They take their places with wooden solemnity. After sitting in silent state for some time, the action of the drama commences. There is some dancing, and thieving, and beheading, and drinking, among the rather dissipated manikins; and, when the whole exhibition comes to a close, with the hissing and gambols of snakes, and the valedictory grin and wave of the ineffectual hand by the scaramouch figure nodding over the curtain, there is no distinct impression of *casus fœderis*, scope of result, or harmony of motive and incident. In a word, the whole exhibition lacks logic. These Indian histories indeed, like the ghostly eyes that made the Thane quail, have no speculation in them.

It is a notable effect of despotism upon a people long subject to it, that they become in a measure characterless. Society offers no picturesque diversity to the contemplative observer. All is a Bengal-plain-like level, above which excellence cannot raise head. Action itself becomes slowly monotonous, like the progress of a becalmed budgerow. Where energy makes a man marked, not as meritorious, but suspicious; and acquisition brands a man for the victim of eventual spoliation; mediocrity and puerility become the panoply of safety. Triviality is the

* Preface.

refuge of the many in such circumstances. No wonder then, that triviality and puerility should beset the genius of such a people's history. Even in the region of passion, there will be found a cloying sameness. Treachery so resembles treachery, outrage outrage, crimes of ambition look so like each other, and even virtue itself, it may be said, is so little variegated or relieved, that the faculties are liable to slumber over the retrospect. The moralist nods over his task, and the wearying uniformity of villany becomes as offensive to his eye, as the formality of a Dutch landscape did to the poet's.

> "Grove nods at grove; each alley has its brother;
> And half the platform just reflects the other."

Observes our author, 'if we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes, when we come to the accounts of the earlier Mogul Emperors, we have, what is little more inviting, in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonious observances of the court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants, and honours, bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire.'* In studying Indian history, and indeed all history, it is due to a just view of the subject, that we carry in our minds some tolerably authentic recollection of the civilization of each epoch. No one, studying the history of England, would look for the manners, learning, and science of the Elizabethan period in the troubled times of the Roses, no more than he would weigh the manners of the reign of Elizabeth by the standard of Queen Anne's. Neither ought we to look for Vedic ideas, or manners, in periods of Púránic influences; nor expect the generous sympathies and courtly polish of Akbar's day, in the rough time of Mahmud of Ghazni. This indeed has been placed in so just a light by a high authority, that we feel tempted to cite the passage: 'By the immutable principles of morality, and by them alone, must the historian try the conduct of all men, before he allows himself to consider all the circumstances of time, place, opinion, example, temptation, and obstacle, which, though they never authorise a removal of the everlasting landmarks of right and wrong, ought to be well weighed, in allotting a due degree of commendation or censure to human actions.'†

The significance of words becomes modified in the course of ages. The term barbarian‡ of old conveyed much the same

* Preface.

† History of the Revolution of 1688, by Sir Jas. Macintosh.

‡ When Cyrus the younger is said, by Xenophon, to have taken the field against Artaxerxes, with one hundred thousand 'barbarians,' we at once recognise his meaning as a designation for foreigners.

meaning that alien or foreigner does with us, or that gentile did to the Jews. Moderns use the term to express either deficient civilization, or a total absence of it. The word uncivilized is still current even in civilized countries, in the same sense as rustic (agrestis), clownish, or unpolished. Of late years, it has appeared a good deal in discussion, as bearing on the social and moral state of a portion of the British population. Accordingly the terms Celt and Saxon have been bandied in a less generous than emphatic fashion. The free use of such party epithets has been in a great measure defensive; since the great Irish agitator, and his pigmy imitators, used these class terms in an invidious sense. The stone of national reproach was cast with a malignant, if not strong, hand; and the reiteration of that Irish Shibboleth, has been used as a spell of malevolence for rousing to frenzy masses of an ill-educated, ill-fed, and ill-governed people. Need we be surprised, if, in the re-action of feeling, the blunt Saxon should have been provoked to retort? He has not always done so justly; but without doubt there have been times, when he has heartily wished that the connexion between the two races had never been formed. Nations are continually apt to forget, that national, like individual, injustice and oppression must sooner or later prove a ruinous policy. In the blindness of selfishness and passion, they lose sight of the awful truth, that the inexorable Nemesis keeps a strictly accurate account, and that a day will arrive when it must be settled. England has at length been summoned to reckon for the wrongs of Ireland; and let us aspirate a wish that she may not have to pay to the uttermost farthing. It required a long period of ill-considered sway, and harsh expedients, to bring the truth home to the ruling power. It is too often the province of contemporary history to cast dust into the eyes of mankind. Time, however, brings the euphrasy; and that, which once seemed dim and complicated, or cunningly hidden, becomes as palpable as household objects.

It is often felt to be a difficult task, to trace accurately historical parallels. The reason is obvious: the enquirer scarcely knows where to look for a beginning. History, like Astronomy, has scarcely any definite commencement.* It becomes therefore a relief to come back to the present. To us it furnishes a topic sufficiently momentous. The Alembic of events seems

* 'Probably because man is so deeply immersed in the stream of change, that the faculty would be practically useless. No power is given to him, by which he can cognise beginnings. Around him on every side, replete with germinating causes, lies the dark unfathomable.'

Professor Nichol of Glasgow.

full of lurid smoke. What the product may be, who shall say? The spirit of national retribution appears to have drawn the sword. Race looks menacingly at race. There is an array, as if for the hostile collision of the olden time. Tenacious is alike the vitality of races, and of their hoarded wrongs. Has a struggle indeed commenced again of race with race, or are we to consider it rather as the combat of principles, of order with disorder, of monarchy and democracy? Statesmen have foreseen some such result. Mr. Canning foretold it. Napoleon had prescience of it. A man of genius, though of less penetrating intellect than either, perceived the shadow of the coming event. There must come, as he deemed, a state of social decomposition. Many years ago he wrote, that society, as then constituted, could not continue to exist. 'As instruction descends to the lower classes, they will discover the secret cancer, which has been corroding social order ever since the beginning of the world, a complaint which is the cause of all the popular discontents and commotions. The too great inequality of conditions and fortunes has been able to uphold society itself, so long as it was tied down, on the one hand by ignorance, on the other, by the factitious organization of the city; but no sooner is the inequality generally perceived, than a mortal blow is given to it.'*

If we ask what the object of recent agitations and conflicts has been—we find it answered by a popular author, who, twenty years ago, wrote that—'the deep strong cry of all civilized men—a cry, which, every one now sees, must and will be answered, is, Give us a reform of government! A good structure of legislation, a proper check upon the executive, a wise arrangement of the judiciary, is all that is wanting for human happiness.'† Though there is a sting of application, in the remark of the writer bearing upon the *all*, as not comprehending spiritual requisitions, yet these are obvious and reasonable practicabilities, such as men will strive, and arm, in order to secure for themselves, when satisfied that they are sufficiently strong for the venture. Will the struggle be favourable to the interests of civilization? Eventually, it is to be hoped,—but it will scarcely prove so in our day. When men take to the sword, it shows that every other kind of argument has failed. An appeal to force must ever be considered as a sign of a halting civilization. Were civilization all that it ought to be, the sword would be the last and most reluctantly appealed to, of all arguments;

* Chateaubriand's Sketches of English Literature.

† Mr. Carlyle in the Edinburgh Review.

instead of being, as is too often the case, the first and the most wantonly used.

When we behold the rolled, round, and polished pebbles on the sea shore, we are apt to forget their original state, and the long continued process of attrition by the billows of the ocean, by which they have been so changed in form. We can scarcely realize to ourselves the fact, that these polished round stones were once rough, jagged, and angular, pieces of rock. In like manner, on viewing flowery meadows, and fields of corn, or tracts of country blooming with groves, gardens, and orchards, it requires some philosophical exertion of the faculties to trace the history of the landscape. Nevertheless, it is an instructive and pleasing task to do so, and, step by step, to revert to the time, when tradition testified to the meadow being a pestiferous marsh, the copse a barren hill, the gardens and orchards, dreary moors, or sterile wolds. A primeval forest, with its gigantic timber trees, screens of luxuriant creepers, and layers on layers of rotting foliage, the lair of reptiles, and the generator of malaria—and the same, cleared, and drained, and dressed, till it teems with village, vineyards, and all affluence of fruitful tillage—is an apt illustration of the progress from barbarism to civilization. It was the work of time to produce the results. Posterity are apt to lose sight of the hardships, and the turmoil, that beset the efforts of their ancestors. To fell the trees, to form the log hut, to dig up gnarled roots, to enclose the clearing, till it merges in a hamlet, and then to trace the populous village, till it assumes the condition of a prosperous town—form altogether an epitome of sturdy struggles and eventful changes, which few pause to consider.

What hopes and fears, what sufferings and honest joy, may the history of such a landscape comprehend! There we behold on a small scale, as it were, the history of civilization itself; for what is civilization but culture? Culture has its stages and degrees; so has civilization; which, conveniently as justly, may be classed under the heads of a simple or rude, a middle or competent, a high, and a corrupt or vicious civilization. The writers of all countries love to dwell on traditions representing a time, when young agriculture was flourishing, and all around was peace and plenty. It is usually represented also as an age of peace, and simplicity of wants and manners. In the national heroic poem of the Persians, it is said of a great Prince,

——— every art was known
To Jamshid, without equal in the world.

We are further told regarding him,

> —— Desert lands
> Were cultivated; and wherever stream
> Or rivulet wandered, and the soil was good,
> He fixed the habitation of his people,
> And there they ploughed and reaped; for in that age
> All laboured; none in sloth and idleness
> Were suffered to remain.*

All pictures, and descriptions of ancient civilization, suppose not merely sufficiency, but plenty of food. That surely can scarcely be deemed a complete state of civilization, where many mouths are without food, or any certain expectation of a subsistence. Neither can that be admitted to be a competent civilization, where masses are in a state of barbarous ignorance, and on the verge of starvation. In what respect then are classes so situated in Great Britain, a jot more advanced in civilization, than thousands of the poor natives of India?

Imperfect soever as civilization may be, it early becomes corrective of morals. When Cecrops led an Egyptian colony to Athens, he found that no restraint existed upon the intercourse of the sexes. Every man and woman did what was right or pleasing in his own, or her own mind. We have no reason to doubt the tradition, that he was the first to establish the law there, that each man should have his own wife. He also introduced the custom of burying the dead, which (had we no other source of information, than Grecian tradition) would be sufficient to indicate the usages of Egypt in regard to those points. But when are we destined to behold the harmony of civilization in all its completeness? When to have the privilege of witnessing that boasted perfectibility, of which some ardent minds deem our fallen race capable? When are we to realize the often foretold optimism in all its happy fruition? We apprehend the answer must be, not till Lapland shall bloom like Italy; not till Sumatra shall boast the genial clime of Madeira; not till the natives of Andaman shall prefer a kid curry and rice, to rations carved from some sacrificed human victim; not till the lion shall lie down with the lamb, or till reason and moral suasion shall rule action every where.

Where then are we to look for perfect civilization, or a beautiful approach to it? Might we look for it in a country, where the supply of the means of subsistence, and of the decencies of life, amply meets the demand? History informs us of no such condition in any country for permanence; for it not more surely shews humanity—'in perpetual alternations of des-

* Atkinson' Shahs Nameh.

potism and anarchy, repose and convulsion'*—than of seasons of plenty and scarcity, of prosperity and adversity. The first care of man everywhere, and at all times, is, to make sure of the means of subsistence, if he can. For a country under a despotism, this of itself affords sufficient occupation. It is only after a competent, or abundant provision, for the necessities of their position, that men begin to look about them, and to speculate. Supposing these conditions duly fulfilled, where, in this hard age, are we to look for perfect civilisation? Shall we turn to Paris, or Vienna, or Moscow, or Florence, or London, or Ispahan, or Pekin, or New York, or Nangasaki—or where? Every citizen of each capital will consider himself and his capital as representatives of true civilization. Are we to look to the ancients, or to the moderns, for a standard of civilization?

Learned Hindus claim for their country an extensive knowledge of arts and sciences, or, in short, a high civilization, anterior to every other country. In a periodical, ably conducted here, years ago, under native agency and dictation,† occurred the following passage :—"There is more of humiliation than pride in the reflection, that, when the whole of Europe was semi-barbarous, where the most wealthy and powerful could neither read nor write, India, at a period so remote, that it is beyond the range of credible history, was the seat of knowledge, literature, and the cradle of the arts. It is from India that the knowledge of several manufactures was first attained. Indeed it is generally supposed to have been first peopled and civilized; and that from India first came the rays of that knowledge, which has since shed its lustre through the Western world.‡ We cannot

* History of Ten Years,—by Louis Blanc.

† 'The Reformer.'

‡ With reference to this assertion, let us consider, that the Jews have a history, which furnishes valuable landmarks for universal history. The Hindus have no history. At the time of the Exodus, the Jews had a knowledge of reading, writing, and of arts. In the Book of Numbers mention is made of gold, silver, brass (copper), tin, and lead. This of itself carries back the knowledge of sundry branches of art and handicraft three thousand years. The construction of the Tabernacle and its furniture, under circumstances of difficulty, sufficiently indicates the mastery of various crafts. On their entrance into Canaan, the Israelites found a people, whom no one will pretend to have had an Indian origin, a people in a state of advanced, but vicious, civilisation, with towns and cities 'walled up to heaven.' To come further down, we find that, about a thousand years before our era, Solomon erected a temple, that may be called a Polytechnicon of arts, and the glory of Phenician artistical skill. The Phenicians were a very energetic and adventurous maritime nation—which the Hindus never were; and knowledge will always spring up in the track of commerce. We have seen how old an article of trade tin must have been. The ancient Tarshish, it is supposed, comprehended all the countries beyond the pillars of Hercules—the British Isles included—between which and the Phenicians a commercial link existed, in regard to this very article of tin. It was through this connection that the metals of Great Britain were first distributed to more civilized parts of the world. Pliny and Arrian have recorded their export to India, where they were exchanged for precious stones and pearls.

but feel some degree of pride and gratification, when we reflect on this; but how humiliating is the thought, that, while our pupils have attained the strength of lions, we alas! have become feeble and impotent as children; and are now glad to receive instruction from them, who were formerly taught by our fathers; and, in order to attain that knowledge, are obliged to study a language enriched, and probably derived, from our own noble, though now almost obsolete, language." National vanity is a very excusable foible; perhaps sometimes it may be a respectable quality. To constitute it so, however, it must rest on broad and strong grounds. The Native writer, in the passage cited, has assumed that when the whole of Europe (not even excepting Greece) was semi-barbarous, India, at a period so remote, that it is beyond the range of credible history, was the seat of knowledge, literature, and the arts. This may be true—we do not stop to question it: but, since the writer has admitted the proof of his assertion to be beyond the range of credible history, he might perhaps have spared himself his feelings of humiliation. There are certainly to be found in India traces of very old art and civilization; but it remains to be yet demonstrated, that they are older than those of Phenician, Chaldean, and Egyptian remains. Of India, indeed, such partial writers, as the one quoted, are apt to speak, as if it were all Asia. In regard to the Sanscrit again, it was always to the people an obsolete, or rather an unattainable, language. Since Europeans have been stated to derive their learning, science, and knowledge, from a language always sealed from the people, the only mode, in which the paradox can be explained, is a supposition that a colony of Brahmins travelled westward.* As yet,

* The ancient Britons were Gauls, of whom a portion were known as κελτοι, or Celts. The name, by which the Romans distinguished the inhabitants of Gaul, was applied to a very wide extent of country, even as far as Macedonis and the Danube. The Galli were a people of Illyria, known in the time of Alexander the Great. They sent him an Embassy, from an apprehension that he would invade their country.—*Strabo, Lib. VIII.*

With reference to the civilization of the κελτοι and all their off-sets, their descent has been supposed to be derived from the Pelasgi, a people of Phenician extraction. The Gauls thus trace their descent to a root different from the Hindu. The term *braca* was applied to a portion of their clothing; so that those beyond the Alps were named from it, Bracati, to distinguish them from the cisalpine Gauls, who, conforming to to Roman fashion, were known as occupying Gallia Togata. The word braca is significant of any tesselated or variegated plaid-like apparel. The description of Diodorus indicates a costume very different from that of the Hindu.

χιτωσι μεν βαπτοις, χρωμασι παντοδαποις διηνθισμενοις, και αναξυρισιν, ας εκεινοι βρακας προσαγορευουσιν.

This description is more applicable to a Nepálese or Burmese costume, than to a Hindu. In regard to the Druids, who were the high priests of the Gallic religion, let us not forget, that their office and dignity were elective, while, with the Brahmins, these were and are hereditary. The Brahmins too were not priests, but theologians.

the Sanscrit has rather disappointed expectation, since it has not unlocked to the world those literary treasures, that enthusiasts had looked for. The arts that were known of old to the Hindus, seem rather to have been mechanical, than liberal. In architecture they were inferior to the Egyptians and the Phenicians. Of painting they had but a very rude conception. Their sculpture was much better. Of the early history of India so little is known, that it is almost a blank. Of the Egyptians we know much more. At a period of most remote antiquity, they had magnificent cities and temples. The Hindus have nothing similar, with the exception of cave temples, which, there is good reason to infer, are posterior in date to the Christian era. There are several points of resemblance between the Egyptians and the Hindus: but their polity widely differed in many respects—and in nothing more remarkably than in the disposal of the dead, whom the Egyptians, at great cost and trouble, scrupulously preserved, but whom the Hindus, in a very unscrupulous manner, destroy. Finally, if the Europeans were the pupils of the Hindus, is it not remarkable that we should not find stronger traces of Hindu belief, morality, law, and custom, in Europe?

The more modern ancients, as distinguished from the Phenicians, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians, acknowledged the Greeks to be the most civilized people in the world. This claim has been generally allowed, as well grounded on their love of liberty, and their advancement in literature, science, and the arts. As regards the last, indeed, they attained such a degree of excellence, as has never been equalled. So far then Grecian civilization merits to be classed high. It was however, if viewed according to modern impressions, very far from being a complete civilization; since no amount of civilization can be admitted as having reached that point, that includes not the true claims of woman. Ancient civilization, at the best, was contracted and exclusive, as respected either the extent of its sphere of action, or the classes to benefit by it. It bore very inconsequentially on political administration in every department, and was productive of no just, enlightened, and merciful scheme of rule and regulation. The Government, springing from ancient civilization, was either the harsh tyranny of

They had no more to do with ritual, than a modern Bishop has with the office of Curate. Then let us again look to ethnological differences. Who ever sees a blue-eyed, flaxen haired Hindu? With our Pelasgic leaning, we look rather to a Phenician, than to a Hindu, teaching in Europe; for the Pelasgi were no mean people even in the time of Homer, and he alludes to them among the other inhabitants of Crete.

Ἐν δ' Ἐτεοκρητες μεγαλητορες, ἐν δε Κυδωνες,
Δωριεες τε τριχαικες, διοι τε Πελασγοι.
ΟΔ. τ. 176.

one, or of the capricious many-headed sway of a democracy. Perfect civilization, indeed, must be founded upon a principle not recognised by the ancients—the sublime one of doing to others, as one would be done by. A competent civilization would comprise a due regard for the value of human life and freedom, and a proper appreciation of woman's mission and office; as well as a due respect for property in all its integrity. Civilization then naturally embraces the perfect harmony of principle and manners. In regard to the second of these, the Greeks undoubtedly bore the palm. That of principle, again, can scarcely be conceded to a people, with whom slavery was an institution; for slaves, of every age and nation, constituted a considerable object of traffic throughout all Greece.

The general subject is a vast one, and fraught in its historical connections with profound interest. Here we can afford merely a slight glance at it. There is comparatively but little to stimulate the mind in the scanty records of the earliest civilization. From the simple reason, that letters were not, such possess little interest. Had it been otherwise, it would surely be very curious to follow the track, step by step. Were they more copious than they are, they would, in all probability, be *caviare* to the multitude. The Annals, elaborated with such wonderful patience, and philosophical insight, in Niebuhr's pages, regarding the earlier Romans, call for an exertion of the reflective faculty, not demanded for the more advanced epochs, illustrated by Sallust, Tacitus, and Suetonius. The reader of English history in general skips all that relates to Caractacus, the Scots and Picts, or even the Saxons and the Heptarchy. A preference therefore is naturally given to times that are nearest our own, or times at least, that seem nearer, because more cognate to our associations and prejudices. In these, the motives and results come more graphically home to our thoughts and experience. It is for the same reason, that the history of the Greeks (to say nothing of their splendid literature) has a more life-like interest, than the annals of the Phenicians and Egyptians, or even of the Chinese.

Civilization being a slow process, the extreme points of which are barbarism and refinement, we shall not be surprised to find, that with some, it halts; while with others, it has made considerable progress, both intellectually and morally. Barbarism is ever apt to give or take offence, and to strike. Civilization is slow to take offence—bears and forbears, and would repel violence, rather by suasion than force. Civilization contemplates the interests and welfare of the many; its opposite limits regard to the few. The savage, we may suppose,

has advanced several steps, and has at length become a cultivator. The practice of husbandry, and the use of the diet thus raised, have at length harnessed him for civilization. With him, as with the most civilized, the object is much the same—to work as little as he can possibly help, consistently with providing the means of passing enjoyment. The more advanced he is in civilization, the more will he be solicitous to provide for the future. There are those, however, who never settle down to agricultural pursuits, who nevertheless cannot justly be deemed savages. It is not merely agreeable, but necessary, to nomadic races, to wander from place to place. Military encampments in our own day, soon exhaust forage, and become offensive, from the aggregation of multitudes of human beings, and animals, in one place. These two causes of themselves, combined with the peculiar idiosyncracy, arising from the long continued influence of both, sufficiently account for the love of roving, which distinguishes the Arabs and the Tartars, above all other races. Nevertheless the former are not barbarous in the just sense of the term, but, as an able moral statist* has remarked,—'They have an uncivilized civilization of their own, unlike that of civic or settled life, yet as much removed from that of a mere rude and ignorant barbarism." The wants, even, of a crude or partial civilization, by stimulating to reflection and exertion, and thus rearing habits of forecast, become incentives to virtue, and so carry a blessing with them. Providers and consumers thus become benefactors to each other; neither must we forget, that a life of objectless idleness may become the vice of a high, as well as of a low, civilization, and, in either case, becomes a plague spot of real suffering to the individual.

It is not until associated numbers begin to form townships, that their annals can be instructive. The hunter and pastoral measure of civilization gradually merges in the agricultural; and, according to facilities of transit, that passes into the commercial, political, and artistic. As the circle of civilization extends, refinement begins to assume form and perfection at the centre. In the ratio that the interests of the few, or of the many, are the chief objects of consideration in the polity, will the civilization be low or high. While a just civilization contemplates the interests of the many, it also watches jealously over individual rights. One of the most obvious marks of a just civilization, is the accurate recognition as, a rule of practice, of the injunction—'let every thing be done in order.' Never-

* Sharon Turner.

theless, in no case, can civilization be deemed stereotyped, in regard to social bearings. An obstinate adherence to inexpedient conventionality, is a sign of halting, or retrograde, civilization. The civilization of Spain was probably of a higher order in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, than in those of Ferdinand VII. or his daughter. The Hindus are celebrated for their unreasoning adherence to *dustúr*, or custom, which is only another name, for what is recognised in England, as 'the wisdom of our ancestors.' A slowness to innovate, without cogent and conclusive reason, is undoubtedly a sign of true wisdom. This has proved, constitutionally and morally, conservative of English institutions. Occasionally, however, dustúr, as an obstacle to improvement, is found as rampantly obstructive in England, as in Bengal; of which the opposition, shown to the cleansing, draining, and ventilating provisions of the health-of-towns bill, by the city of London, may be referred to as an instance.

Up to our own times, the process of civilization, or culture of the heart's best dispositions, in unison with advancement in intellectual knowledge, has gone on, as it were (using the term with all reverence), as one of experiment. The end was, has been, and is, to try the nations, as to their civilizing and educating qualifications. An opportunity has been given to each and all to be weighed in that balance. Many have been found wanting; or, contributing all they were capable of bestowing, have been wiped away, like a sum worked out on a slate, which is sponged out to prepare for another. Each nation has directed its energies towards some particular work, for which its capacity sufficed: but, heart-faith being deficient, it has faded away. The capabilities of such nations, as true and progressive civilizers, having failed in the day of trial—they were cast aside for ever. This, in little, is the terrible epitome of history; but it is not more terrible, than true—as witness the Chaldeans, the Phenicians, the Egyptians, and the ancient Syrians. The remark applies equally to the Jews, as a nation, though, as a race, they still survive. In the reign of Solomon, their civilization and prosperity alike culminated.

As far as reading and writing go, it may admit of doubt, whether the mass of the British people now are superior to the Grecians, or to the natives of India. The custom of Ostracism alone, required that a man should know how to write, unless indeed, we suppose, what is not at all improbable, that some who knew not themselves how to scratch the obnoxious name, on the shell or potsherd, got some qualified person to do the needful for himself, and a round dozen besides, it may be, for a

present of onions, leeks, salt, a jar of Hybla honey, some salt-fish, or, better still, the Copaic eel.* A time at length came, (which comes to all nations) when the heart religion of the Greeks became corrupted or effete. Considering bigotry, at any rate, to be an evidence of sincerity, neither in Greece, nor any other country, can general dereliction take place without a struggle with principle, or with that, which too often assumes its authority—bigotry. Of all those who sat in judgment on Socrates, it may well be doubted, whether any had such a deep and well-grounded heart faith, on the very points of the inculpation, as the accused. In the Roman Empire, the national religion and morality began to decay at the metropolis, or heart. It was in consequence of this rapidly growing free-thinking, that the office of Augur came to be looked upon as a perfect farce. The incumbents consequently must have had a struggle to maintain their gravity during the performance of what they deemed a ludicrous mummery; though considered so awful an affair by their ancestors. What has been, may be again; for we learn from an old and sacred authority, that there is nothing new under the sun—not even Atheism.

If civilization, leaving the firm ground of religious prescription and moral sentiment, degenerate into a system based upon a false philosophy and mere external refinement, no nation so affected can be otherwise than tossed. There will be wanting the strong anchor of principle to hold by. This is a state of things that has roused the indignant comments of some of our most gifted minds. Burke, Robert Hall, and Carlyle have assailed it, each in turn. The 'Mechanic Philosophy,' according to the first, has a direct tendency to tear away rudely—'all the decent drapery of life,—all the superadded ideas furnished from the wardrobe of a moral imagination.'† The reason, to which this philosophy leads, is that which banishes the affections. It is the fashion of it to 'reduce every question to a calculation of expedience.'‡ A callous indifference to all moral distinctions is an almost inseparable effect of the familiar application of this theory.§ 'Virtue is no longer contemplated as the object of any particular sentiment

* See 'The Acharnians' of Aristophanes.

† Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution.

‡ Works of the Revd. Robert Hall.

§ Even in the place where we dwell, have we not had impressive exhibitions of the embarrassment, distress and ruin, brought on hundreds, by the memorable laxity of principle, and shocking dishonesty, of parties to whom immense public property was trusted? Many are still suffering, and will, for years to come, smart from consequences that have made Calcutta a bye-word and a reproach all over the world.

or feeling, but solely with regard to its effects on society; it is what it produces, not what it is, that is alone considered. This desecration of virtue, this incessant domination of physical over moral ideas, of ideas of expedience over those of right, having already dethroned religion, and displaced virtue from her ancient basis, will, if it is suffered to proceed, ere long shake the foundation of states, and endanger the existence of the civilized world.'* As this forcible writer anticipated, this domination of ideas, has become popular, and has in a measure descended from speculation into common life, where it ever and anon startles us, as chartism, socialism, or communism. 'It is no longer the moral, religious, spiritual condition of the people that is our concern, but their physical, practical, economical condition. Men are to be guided only by their self-interests.'† The same writer shows how, even religion itself, works as a mere machine. A still more recent writer observes—'The characteristics of the age which bear most immediately on the condition and prospects of Christianity, may be conveniently classed, as including scepticism, materialism, and contempt of the past, together with strong reactions, which those tendencies have severally called forth.'‡ Nor is this state of things new. The same oscillation between authority and innovation, prescription and neology, scepticism and religion, distinguished the latter days of ancient states. Is the civilization of our own days so strongly based, as to run no risk of further deterioration? Does it not fade in some places like a Daguerreotype picture? As in a great city, and especially the city in which we dwell, we behold desolate spots, and putrifying ponds, a deserted tenement in ruins, the claims of which are in Chancery, and, here and there, pet conservancy nurseries of miasma; so, in the midst of general civilization, may be observable that tendency to barbarism, which besets it as surely, as the law of rapid corruption treads on the heels of all life. The steel mirror will rust, if not watchfully kept clean.

Though there will be great difference of opinion regarding the national standards of civilization, we suppose it will scarcely be denied, that the presence of a court, and the influence of an aristocracy, and a substantial and enlightened middle class, tend greatly to form such a standard. In such a frame of society, the female influence will have the most genial field to work in, as a most powerful element, in producing and ensuring that constant self-controul and unaffected urbanity, which

* Revd. Robert Hall.
† Mr. Carlyle in the "Edinburgh Review."
‡ 'The Age and Christianity,' by Dr. Vaughan.

are such charming features of good civilization. An extract from the work of a recent traveller is suggestive on this head. It alludes to Washington, the capital of the United States, and the seat of government. It appears to be a mere fourth rate town of little commercial importance, which, during the recess, is abandoned to the boarding-house keepers, and a few dull officials. The contrast, afforded by this state of things and the bustle attendant on the return of the legislature, is marked. The senators, for the most part, however, leave their families at home, and live bachelor-fashion, while at Washington. The listless streets and boarding-houses now assume their wonted liveliness, and it becomes obvious that the absence of the ladies operates prejudicially on manners, for the majority give themselves up to jollity and gambling, and the delights of sherry-cobblers and mint juleps. 'On most persons who come in contact with this state of things, its effect is speedily discernible. In some it tarnishes the lustre of precontracted refinements; in others it aggravates the rougher and more repulsive features of their character. Many sink to the condition of moral bears, demeaning themselves, as if they had never known a social restraint, and as if the more graceful conventionalities of civilization were especially alien to their nature. In their mutual intercourse, but little courtesy of manner, or suavity of disposition, is displayed. They are manly, without being gentlemanly.'* Is not this description applicable to some scenes of Mofussil and cantonment life in India? Extreme selfishness is very current with high civilization, or rather that phase of mere external refinement, which passes for such with many. This becomes sufficiently perceptible in the course of travel, or at any place of public entertainment. Another traveller has a remark on those who consider themselves the most civilized of all people; suggested by the company in a French steam boat. 'I cannot like the middle classes of the French nation, particularly in travelling, and in rough weather; they have little idea of cleanliness, never shaving and dressing, and often exhibit all that is disgusting in the epicure, added to the German unmannerly mode of eating.'†

A certain amount of knowledge, and of intimacy with the living representatives and expositors of knowledge and science, may be consistent with imperfect civilization. We learn from a very able historical work of our own times, in regard to the

* 'The Western World,' by Alexander Mackay, Esq., &c.

† Sir Chas. Fellowes' Travels in Asia Minor.

Grand Duke Constantine, who stepped aside, or was forced aside, to make way for the present Emperor of Russia, as follows ;—

'The Grand Duke was one of those inexplicable beings, who, baffling observation, disappoint alike their friends and their foes. His figure was athletic, and admirably symmetrical; his face hideous; and yet gleams of good nature shot from his eyes, deep set beneath their bushy and sandy brows, and tempered the savage expression of his countenance. Fierce by caprice, sensitive by fits, he had astonished men by renouncing the throne of the Czars to wed a young Pole, whom he loved, and to whose influence he assiduously submitted with the docility of a child, and the respectfulness of a knight. Versed in science and literature, he had nothing but contempt to bestow on their professors; he availed himself of his own acquirements to deride them; and he spoke of the genius of the west, the treasures of which he seemed to possess, sometimes with the flippancy of a grandee, sometimes with the brutal disdain of a barbarian. He delighted in military exercises, in the manœuvres of camps, and in *corps de garde* scenes; and, though he sometimes gave way to passion, so far as to strike officers, and even to spit in their faces, he loved the Polish army, and was proud of it, having himself drilled and disciplined it.'*

This portrait, from the hand of a man of undoubted genius, and (notwithstanding some startling circumstances, we believe,) of a man of sincere convictions and honest intentions—has *vraisemblance*, and, now that the subject of it is no longer sensible to praise or censure, strikes us as a faithful one, not merely individually, but nationally, considered. Even as respects all Russia, this portrait will suit classes. At any rate, it is of the East;—Eastern; and reminds us strongly of many, who have figured in Indian history from Muhammed of Ghuzni downwards.

Time was, when institutions moved harmoniously round a principle of some kind, strong as adamant; of moral power, or spiritual responsibility. We have succinctly shewn what the conclusions of some original minds are, in regard to the selfishness of the age. They deem it a religion! Such it would seem to be, by the apparent profound belief in the power of its energies, not merely to get over all difficulties without scruple, but to varnish over beautifully all flaws, that may become apparent in justifying the means by the end. Whatever relates to self, is, as it were, of sacred consequence: what to the general, of none at all. A regard to our own general happiness, as the author of 'The Analogy' has demonstrated, is not a vice in itself, but the contrary. 'The weakness of the social affections, and the strength of the private desires, properly constitute selfishness.' This feeling certainly loses nothing of its intensity by travelling eastward; but, be that as it may, an over confiding

* 'The History of Ten Years,' by Louis Blanc.

spirit, or a readiness to believe the sentiment expressed, is not the foible of our age. Men now-a-days, in general intercourse, do not err by overflowing trustfulness—save in Union Bank and other bubbles! This should not astonish us in India, where the government, by multiplying checks on checks, sufficiently shows that it trusts its servants no farther than they are watched. High and low are in the position of being suspected of a continued desire to avail themselves of clipping opportunities—and no wonder! Let us not be surprised then, at a general doubt of every man's honesty—if we find the mistrust running like a black thread, through sundry regulations of the state, till it becomes obstructive of real business. The Hermit of Rydal Mount sayeth most truly that 'the world is too much with us.' Late and early it is the same, ever getting and expending; we lay waste our powers, till in his yearning for simplicity and heart faith, we echo the Poet's invocation—

> ———————— Great God! I'd rather be
> A Pagan suckled in a creed out worn,
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that might make me less forlorn,
> Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.*

To mollify human feelings and tendencies, which are so apt to harden with a high civilization, an appeal to reason alone will not be sufficient. It is not a new system the world requires, but a simple and honest practical recognition of one long known, and spoken of; and more spoken of and written about, than acted upon. What is needed, is an earnest and comprehensive co-operation of motives and professions, promises and performances, sentiments and deeds—in short, the fulfilment of that Christianity 'which under any theory of it, in the believing or unbelieving mind, must ever be regarded as the crowning glory, or rather the life and soul of our whole modern culture.'†

The character of a people, be it great or petty, beautiful or repulsive, is the growth of ages of varying duration. The distinguishing qualities will have grown in accordance with the gratification, or contended for gratification, of the parties concerned. The character, or, in other words, the civilization of India, has strong claims upon our consideration—especially in reference to the views of those who deem that it has undergone deterioration from a high and palmy state. As in individual, so in national genius, the powers must have an internal source. Much originality is recognisable in the

* Wordsworth † Carlyle.

history of the Hindu mind, although the directors of its movements have not always shown themselves averse, from urging originality beyond its indigenous legitimate consequences. They have rather shown themselves to be very ready to claim foreign ideas as their own, in directions where their pretensions have proved more specious than solid. Brahman flexibility has thus exhibited a promptness, on occasion, to appropriate, or to reject, as might under peculiar circumstances seem most expedient. The forms, in which the Hindu mind has manifested its powers, nevertheless, appear to be for the most part derived from its own resources. They are like nothing else, unless indeed we admit a resemblance to Egyptian types. The Hindu mind, therefore, has that character of genius, which we acknowledge in self-derived resources. Whatever has been felt by the individual in sympathy with others, will, by a natural process, at length become interwoven with the national mind. In this way, the most extraordinary, and even monstrous, conceptions of the preternatural, or supernatural, may become intimately associated with the national ideas. We find in some countries the love of nature, and the associations of place become a portion of the national sentiment. Do we recognise this as a characteristic of the national mind in India? Do we find it, irrespective of mere animal habitude? A cat likes a particular house. A Bengalí, or Irish Cottier, loves his squalid holding, on which he has been used to squat. Do we find the sentiment of patriotism existing in either case? Are the Hindus and the Mahommedans sentient of, and warmly alive to, the beauties of general nature, and the surpassing loveliness of form and colour, investing the various departments of nature's empire? If the mind has lived in the full and proper freedom of its own powers, and has innate intelligence, feeling, and vigour, for guidance, it will manifest its strength in forms of loveliness and majesty. In a system like the Brahminical, are we justified in looking for a field favourable to such high development?

The latest Historian of India was struck with the contrast, in regard to the nature of the gods, between those of India and Greece. 'The Hindu gods, though imbued with human passions, have always something monstrous in their appearance, and wild and capricious as their conduct.'* The Greek gods, on the other hand, were formed like men, with greatly increased powers and faculties—'and acted as men would do, if so circumstanced, but with the dignity and energy suited to their

* History of India, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Vol. i.

near approach to perfection.'* We have it, on the authority and experience of the same fine historian—that the indirect influence, on its votaries, of the Hindu religion, is—' to debase and debilitate the mind.'

What then are the Indian standards of the great, the good, and the beautiful? In the religion of the Greeks there was nurtured the beau-ideal of the beautiful and the great, but, in a more stinted measure, that of the good. The Hindus, in several respects, remind one of the Greeks, but it is much after the fashion, that the wrong side of the tapestry resembles the right. The Greek priests never formed one organized body, nor were incorporated into any kind of hierarchy. This was the case also with the Hindus. The Brahmins are to be considered as an aristocracy—not as a priesthood. They were the custodiers of all learning, but not ritual officials. The Hindus had no colleges of priests, no cardinals, no popes. Considered therefore as a body—the officiating priests had no power. They were maintained by voluntaryism. They were, and are, indeed, considered rather as a degraded body.

As in the Homeric poems no mention is made of hero-worship, neither do we find a trace of it in the Vedantic writings. Since their age, we have the Púránic legends, fraught with hero-worship. Every where, the tomb has been shown to have a tendency to become an altar. This is sufficiently observable in India—and is not confined to the Hindus. It was, if any thing, still more prominent in Greece. In the mythology of the Hindus, the beau-ideal of the great is always extravagant or absurd; that of the good very doubtful, and hinging too much on ritual austerity, or senseless abstraction from the world; while of the beautiful there are but few traces. Their conceptions of the great and the beautiful being thus defective, their works of art have never come up to a standard, that could be acknowledged as universal. As any power overthrown, not by accident, but by time, by a change gradually effected in ideas, can never be re-established, we need look no more for the revival of Indian art, than of Egyptian or Assyrian art. Art in India has only the life in death, of rapid decline verging on extinction. The Hindu imagination is not creative in our day. Whether it possess any regenerative vitality, remains to be seen.

Schlegel has observed of modern literature, that it has yielded

* It is told of Mrs. Siddons, that, when standing before the Apollo Belvedere, while in the gallery of Louvre, she exclaimed, "How great must be the Being, who created the genius, which produced such a form as this!" Such an exclamation is not likely to be exacted by the view of a Hindu statue.

to the feminine influence, or prejudice. That of antiquity was open to an entirely different reproach. It is scarcely to be doubted that women were spectators of the Grecian acted drama. If so, they must have often heard allusions, which, to modern ideas, would be distressing and startling. Circumstanced as they were, in all probability their feelings of delicacy were not very sensitive. Even in their religious festivals, the eyes of the women must have been exposed to many sights of great indecency.* The Dyonisiac festivals, borrowed originally from the East, were no more favourable to national morality, than the Holí saturnalia of the Hindus. Even tragedy itself, at first, was only a chorus in honour of Bacchus. Persons dressed as Satyrs were the performers. Can this have any connection with the Ram-líla of India, and Hunnúmán's army of monkeys, which, at the annual festival, form such a prominent part of the dramatic pageant? As with the Egyptians and Greeks, there are also invocations and púja of the Hindus, which indicate either the simplicity, or the depravity, of the votaries. Much of this may be owing to a desire to realize the symbolical, or what was deemed sacred, as much as possible; no less than to their being like the Greeks, a seeing, rather than a reading, people. Let philosophical writers, however, speculate as they may, the phallic worship must have a direct, and a continual, tendency to corrupt the imagination and the heart. It is impossible to look at the sculptures on some temples, and pictures in distemper on walls, in India; and to hear and see, what may be heard and seen, at Indian festivals, bearing in mind also what has been recorded of Sakti; and not to feel, that the phallic element in the Hindu system has been productive of much moral deterioration.† Where there is grossness of taste, it will necessarily affect the social leaven in a variety of ways. Let this continue from generation to generation for ages, and where is there room for surprise, at the great falling away, which the natives themselves acknowledge as the characteristic of the Kali Yug? This will in a great measure account for the absence of that innate delicacy among the natives of India, that is recognisable in a variety of ways among the people of the European nations, especially the English. There are a thousand little traits of modesty in bearing

* A. W. Schlegel's 6th Lect.

† The great feature of the religion, taught by the Tantras, is the worship of Sakti—Divine power personified as a female, and individualised not only in the goddesses of mythology, but in every woman; to whom, therefore, in her own person, religious worship may be, and is occasionally, addressed. The chief objects of adoration, however, are the manifold forms of the bride of Siva; Parvati, Umá, Durga, Kali, &c. &c.—*Two Lectures, by H. H. Wilson, M. A.*

and allusion, the want of which is such an obvious defect of Indian civilization. The Zenana, or the Harem, is one of the causes of this absence of rare delicacy. In countries, where women are not shut up, there is a general standard of what is considered propriety in the presence of the sex. In the East, there can scarcely be a general standard. Every Zenana, or Harem, is its own standard. The existence of the Harem guard shows how low is the estimate of female honour. The necessity for such an animal, as an eunuch, is of itself the emphatic mark of immense social corruption. Nor is the indelicacy, springing out of such a system, confined to the intercourse of the sexes; it affects the whole mass. It is accordingly no uncommon thing to hear natives of India, with the most unblushing effrontery, ask favours of people, upon whom they have little or no claim, with the most unwearied tenacity. The Harem system, too, habitually fosters a turn for concealment and evasion. It comprises a moiety of man's life and economy, to which no allusion even must be made in conversation. This naturally begets disingenuousness and reserve, that extend to other things, tinging the national mind. Wherever woman is shut up, manly feeling will be in abeyance, and civilization very incomplete.

In every country, where it has taken root, the institution of slavery also has tended to give a coarseness to the feelings and manners. Independent of other influences, the very fact of a man being entitled to consider human beings, as mere goods and chattels, to be used as he may please, infers a mental and social position, altogether at variance with just notions of civilization. The united influence of the phallic and servile element, in national polity, has proved alike prejudicial to the holiness of truth, and of modesty. Among the natives of antiquity, slavery had a domestic and a municipal phase. The lat-

The same high authority states of *left hand* Sakti faith,—'It is to this that the bloody sacrifices offered to Kali must be imputed; and all the barbarities and indecencies, perpetrated at the Dúrga púja, the annual worship of Durga and the Churruck púja, (the swinging festival,) are to be ascribed. There are other atrocities which do not meet the public eye. This is not an unfounded accusation, not a controversial calumny. We have the books, &c. Of course no respectable Hindu will admit that he is a Vamachari, a follower of the left hand ritual, or that he is a member of a society, in which meat is eaten, and wine is drunk, and abominations not to be named practised.' In regard to the Hindu religion in general—the same distinguished writer states of faith, that it is all sufficient, wholly independent of conduct, to ensure salvation. 'Entire dependence upon Krishna, or any other favourite deity, not only obviates the necessity of virtue, but it sanctifies vice. Conduct is wholly immaterial. It matters not how atrocious a sinner a man may be, if he paints his face, his breast, his arms, with certain sectarial marks; or which is better, if he brand his skin permanently with them with a hot iron stamp; if he is constantly chaunting hymns in honor of Vishnú, or, what is eqully efficacious, if he spend hours in the simple reiteration of his name or names; if he die with the word Kali or Rama, or Krishna, on his lips, and the thought of him in his mind;—he may have lived a monster of iniquity—he is certain of heaven.'

ter enabled corporations, to turn the captives, taken in battle, to public account. The natives of India, like the Greeks, also distinguished between indigenous slaves, and those brought from other countries. It is evident, that many of the disadvantages, under which native society labours, arise from the nullity of female influence for good. It is only in a country where the female influence is weak, and civilization incomplete, that polygamy would be tolerated.

All nations are under the domination, more or less, of what may be called the life idea, and the death idea. The first of these embraces all that regards life and its enjoyments; the last look to the close of all earthly enjoyment, and the commencement of a new existence, hinging on the responsibilities of the former. In some countries, the restraining power of the one is more constant and effective than in others. The proper balancing of both embraces a large amount of civilization, or has a most important bearing on all civilization. Where the bulk of the people is Hindu, we find religion manifesting itself chiefly by rites and forms, in unison with a competent civilization. This indeed, there can be little doubt, they had some ages before its benign influences extended to parts of Europe. The absorption dogma of Hinduism appears to have had a manifestly injurious effect, in regard to the hopes and fears, and, as reflected from them, on the civilization of the people. 'It is needless to add,' observes a writer, whose authority is entitled to the highest respect—'that the opinion concerning the nature of the soul, as making a part of a celestial substance, to which after the dissolution of the body it was to be restored, is entirely destructive of a belief of future rewards and punishments, because it removes all idea of individuality.'* This belief, entering as an element into the national mind for ages, has obviously been influential in lessening the stimulation to life energies, and producing an indifference, bordering on apathy, as to the issues of death. The Brahmin doctrine of contemplation is either its source, or its fruit. This contemplation, as a regenerative principle (the very essence of all the intellectual dreams of Plotinus), or speculative separation from all material interests, was an impossible process—a mere will of the wisp. According to this transcendental doctrine, man is capable, by meditation, of altogether separating his material from the immaterial part—a process that in this life would be useless, even if it were possible. The inculcation of it, as a duty, or a merit, is, however, worse than useless, tending as it directly does,

* "Records of the Creation," by the R. R. John Bird Sumner, D. D.

to draw away active and capable men, into a state of drowsy idleness. How different from the contemplation referred to by Plutarch,* as that which should not only merely be passive, but that which had a tendency to nourish the soul, and lead to action!

Nations, like individuals, inherit a debt, that derivatively, or personally, has been contracted. The whole scheme of the Metempsychosis rests on the belief of an entail of offence, that man is bound, or embarrassed by, as surely, though not as patently to all comprehension, as by process of human legislation. Hard to understand as may seem the doctrine of original, or entailed, transgression, yet do we find it shadowed out even in various forms of factitious religion—so to distinguish all belief, that is at variance with revealed truth. Do we not daily perceive, how the infant, in the womb even, is, as it were, bound by obligations of man's law, ready to limit his movements, and hamper his free will, on his entrance into our world? To foreclose the divine mortgage may, after all, be an easier process than to get absolved from the bonds of human law. We know from history, that nations even, to say nothing of individuals, may become the retributive victims of crimes, or follies, in which they had no direct, or personal, participation.

Among all nations, the commencement of literature is mostly a series of myths, arising out of the religious idea, which is natural to all men. It is always connected with a very crude civilization. Homer, on the whole, describes a rude age. The manners of it strike us as eminently selfish and coarse. Above all other qualifications, personal strength and ferocious courage were deemed virtue. The quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles could only have occurred in a half barbarous age.† The same may be said of the whole 'causa teterrima' of the Trojan war. The fair Helen would have been neither fought for, nor received back, by her husband, in a civilized age. In this respect he is more complaisant, or (shall we say in other words?) less civilized than the Hero of the Ramayana—of which Ravana is the Paris, but not so fortunate with the lady, as the Trojan.

* Life of Pericles.

† The clumsy attempt at reconciliation is of a piece. Both naturally grew out of a state of things, in which woman might be disposed of, like a horse, or a bale of goods. 'The king of men' not only engages to return Briseis insured from all taint, as far as his royal oath could demonstrate; but offers him the choice of his three daughters, Chrysothemis, Laodice, or Iphianassa; and—by way of anticipating every objection—without dowry.

Τρεις δε μοι εἰσι θυγατρες ἐνι μεγαρω εὐπηκτω.
Hom: Iliad: ix.

Upon the fall of Ravana, Sita was recovered—'but before being re-admitted to her husband's embraces, she was compelled to vindicate her purity, by undergoing the ordeal of fire. Having passed unhurt through the blazing pile, and been further justified by the oral testimony of Brahma and other gods, as well as the spirit of Dasaratha, her father-in-law, she was once more united to Rama.'* To counterbalance this, however, it must not be forgotten, that Rama, most ungallantly, had previously requited the tender sentiments with which he had inspired her, by cutting off the nose and ears of Surparakha, the sister of Ravana.

Myths by degrees deepen their channels, and merge into annals, forming the germ of speculation and philosophy. The first poems among the Greeks were long supposed to be the Orphic hymns, or similar compositions. It has, however, been shewn, on cogent grounds, that these emanated, for the most part, from the poets of the Alexandrian age, and subsequently to the Christian era.† It would be interesting to trace the scanty sources, in myth and fable, of that stream, which ere long became a majestic river, that at length bears the voyager into the majestic sea of Greek literature, with its wonderful and soul-agitating Drama. The Romans again—for ages—were unacquainted with dramatic representation, and their earliest attempts at poetry were in honour of the gods, to which succeeded the rude Saturnine verses. It was not till after the destruction of Carthage, that we have the real commencement of their literature, and the approach to refinement, which follows the tracks even of rude poetry, as the birds, the furrow of the plough. The language, until then, was unfixed, and rude. Poetry everywhere precedes history. It was not till about three centuries before the Christian era, that we have any thing we can admit to be Roman history. As previous to Hesiod and Homer, we have little authentic Grecian literature; so in India, previous to the Vedas and the Code of Menu, we have nothing. In process of time, however, the Hindu mind produced a noble body of poetry, and dramatic excellence, as the Mahabharat and 'The Theatre of the Hindus,' sufficiently testify.

True civilization has three departments, 'what was, what is, and what ought to be.'‡ Barbarism concerns itself very little with history, or 'what has been.' We are, according to the authority quoted, to look to the physical sciences, for answer

* Wilson's Hindu Theatre.—Preface to Uttara Rama Cherita.

† Grote's History of Greece, vol. 1.

‡ Sir James Macintosh, in the Edinburgh Review.

to the question, What is? The moral senses teach us, What ought to be, aiming at ascertaining the rules, which ought to govern voluntary actions, and habitual dispositions of mind. Though true civilization claims to be that, in which religion affects not form only, but principle, and is conservative, no less of man's, than of woman's, civil rights; yet are there several observances which indicate its degree, as the custom of marriage, of meals, the nature and measure of punishment, and the disposal of the dead. Early civilization will of course be imperfect, according to the notions of posterity, in conventional refinement.

In regard to marriage, that feature of the social compact, which perhaps points to a lower civilization, than the Hindus are willing to admit, and which at any rate is a theme of reproach, is their joining mere children in an indissoluble covenant. The Vedas did not sanction this.

'In fact, it was impossible for a man to marry before maturity, as nine years are specified as the shortest term of studentship, until the expiration of which he was not allowed to marry. He did not enter his studentship till he was seven or eight, and therefore, at the earliest, he could not have been married before he was seventeen; an early age enough, in our estimation, but absolute manhood, as compared with the age of nine, or ten, at which Hindu boys are, according to the present practice, husbands. There is no doubt that many other innovations for the worse have been made in the marriage ritual and usages of the Hindus;—and the whole system, the premature age at which the parties are married, the practice of polygamy, and the circumstances, under which the alliance is commonly contracted, involving the utter degradation of the female sex, is equally fatal to the development of the moral virtues, and intellectual energies of the man, and is utterly destructive both of public advancement and domestic felicity.'*

To say that this custom has proved unfavourable, alike to morality and civilization, is only to reiterate a truism. It is, nevertheless, but just to admit for the civilization of the code of Menu, that it views marriage as a stringent and indissoluble compact; and has made conjugal fidelity equally obligatory on the husband, as the wife. What has been called 'the spirit of family,' exists in greater strength, we have every reason to believe, among the Hindus, than the Muhammedans. It will ever be strongest, where monogamy is the rule,—and has been appropriately called, by a man of genius and celebrity, 'the second soul of humanity.'†

The economy of the table, as far as concerns the natives of India, constitutes mere eating, seeing that a table, with all its genial social reunion, is not. Nothing need be said in regard to heroic meals in any country; for, pleasant as it may be to

* Two Lectures, &c. &c., by H. H. Wilson, M. A.

† A. De Lamartine—'Pilgrimage,' &c.

read of heroes, yet would nothing be so startling to our degenerate ideas, as the realization of a hero, either preparing (they were generally their own cooks), or discussing, his provant. It could scarcely have been pleasant to a Greek—say one of the ten thousand even—to be invited to a Persian feast of a roasted horse, ass, or camel, served up whole, as, we have it from Herodotus, was their fashion on birth-days, and such like grand occasions. Even a Grecian bill of fare, in the days of Aristophanes, does not seem to have been very inviting. When the little Bœotian informs his master Dikaiopolis that he brings ducks, geese, and hares, foxes, moles, weasels, hedge-hogs, and other things,* it is to be hoped, that some of the articles were intended for some other purpose than table consumption. There is, in fact, no accounting for tastes.† In the earlier ages, the Romans fed on fruits, and such like simple fare, and their drink was water. In this they resembled the Greeks, who, so far, were oriental in their tastes, but were more sociably inclined than the Hindus. At least the family ate together, and their meals were served in dishes laid on tables. This, however, was a strictly domestic arrangement, as when there was, what in modern vulgar phraseology we term (and we know not a more pithy term), a regular 'blow out,' the ladies did not appear.‡ With the table economy of the Greeks was fostered a branch of art—all the plates and vessels being models of elegance, as well as of utility. The more barren, or morose, feeling of the Hindu has produced nothing better than the common earthen pot, and the brass lota, and towa, or salver. Eating with the hand of itself, laying aside its being done unsociably, is not consistent with any elevated notions of refinement. Indeed it may be considered a sure sign of the reverse. The European nations, and their descendants elsewhere, have

* ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ. *καὶ μαν φερω χανας, λαγως, ἀλωπεκας,*
σκαλοπας, εχινως, αἰελουρως, πυκτιδας,
ἰκτιδας ἐνυδρως, εγχελεις Κωπαικας.
Αχαρνεις.

† In Scotland, sheep's head is a highly relished dish. In Belgium, it is never used but as a medicine for dogs. The Englishman does not fancy a frog. The Frenchman relishes it. The Chinese are unique in their culinary use of puppy dogs.

‡ Even as late as the time of Cornelius Nepos, a passage bearing on the subject suggests more than it expresses. It refers to Greek manners, as compared to Roman. 'Contra ea, pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quae apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cujus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate versatur? quod multo tit aliter in Græcia; nam neque in convivium adhibetur, nisi propinquorum; neque sedet, nisi in interiore parte ædium, quae gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.' The Roman mode infers European heartiness, and confidence in woman; the Grecian smacks strongly of Oriental jealousy. The Romans were thus more civilized in that matter.

dropped this very uncouth mode of feeding, for ages; but the Natives of India still adhere to it with Oriental tenacity!* Hospitality was one of the five sacraments of old Hinduism, and its rules contain precepts of politeness and self denial, 'which would be very pleasing if they were not so much restricted to Brahmins entertaining men of their own class.'†

The Hindus have for ages had the reputation of being a merciful people. In this respect they contrast favourably even with European nations, at least as respects times past. Their punishments accordingly were not of the relentless and cruel nature, of countries deeming themselves perhaps more advanced in civilization—and such as, till a very recent period, disgraced the British Code. Their mode of disposing of the dead, on the other hand, is wholly at variance with occidental ideas of the natural and the seemly. Perhaps there can be nowhere a more sad exhibition than a Hindu funeral, especially if the parties concerned be poor. It is not an uncommon thing in Bengal, to see a dead body, slung like a bundle to a bamboo, borne on the shoulders of two of the relations, who thus trot with it perhaps for miles, in a hot day towards the river side, or any nullah, that for the nonce represents the Ganges. The whole thing looks very irreverent, and humiliating to human nature: but the poor fellows cannot help it. They have a painful duty to perform, and they get through it as well as they can, at the cost of a great deal of personal dis-

* Even this fact, however, requires qualifying. It is necessary continually, in considering Eastern civilization, to revert to our own. The difference between Europeans and Asiatics is, that the former, getting a hint even how to advance, go on ahead—while those, who are considered by their own sages to have been our teachers, take ages to improve a hint. England, under the Plantagenets, was, politically and socially considered, worse off than India in general. While the state of villenage continued, the progress of civilization in the West was almost stationary. We need not trace the blows, by which Villenage was knocked on the head by Wat Tyler, and Jack Cade. Worthless as might be the demagogues who led the movement, yet had their outbursts most important results. Villenage ceased to be a direct engine of force—and workmen became invested with a degree of self respect, and social importance previously unknown. Under the Plantagenets, the rooms, in which even Baronial company were entertained, were daily covered during winter, with straw and hay, and in summer with rushes and boughs, on which the gentry sat, and ate of the dishes with their hands as they best might. At this time too, when knives and forks, and even spoons, were not, the houses were abundantly furnished with gold and silver vessels, and costly meats and wines. Indeed, it may be said, that much of Orientalism clung to Western manners, far down into our times. In the middle of the fifteenth century, women were under more restriction than afterwards, and generally went veiled. There was even a sumptuary law, that 'no veil of silk, but only of yarn made within the realm, is to be worn by their wives and daughters.'—(Act 37, Ed. III.) Carters, ploughmen cowherds, (the English Sudras in short,) were restricted to blanket cloth, and with their grisly bearded faces, must altogether have borne a strong resemblance to the Ghilsies of Kabul, or the Belooches of Scinde. In regard to eating with the hand, it is but just to remark that the traveller in Central America, to this hour, will often have to join in a meal where there is neither knife, fork, or spoon—and this among the descendants of the Spanish conquerors!—(*See Stephen's Travels in Central America*, 1840.)

† Elphinstone's History, Vol. I.

comfort and laborious trouble. We leave it to the reader's judgment to determine, which is the most expedient way of disposing of the remains of human beings,—leaving them to be devoured by vultures, dogs, and jackalls, or to be tossed (as in Naples) stark-naked, heels over head, into a pit of horror, an earthly malebolgia, where hundreds and thousands, treated in the same way, are sweltering. Compared with either, there is real decency in the Parsee 'tower of silence'—and the vultures wheeling over it. The custom of burning the dead, unless the means be complete, is not without offence.* It is the inadequacy from poverty, that has led to debasing exhibitions, with which all on the banks of the Hoogly are too familiar. It were almost a work of supererogation to shew the deteriorating effects on the living, of carelessness to the sacred claims of death. To say the least, reverence in this matter reflects a mournful grace on mortality, and tends to hallow the sweet memories of the heart. The Hindu mode of burial, as generally practised, is unfavourable to morality. It weakens a great safeguard of the current value of life. This familiarity with revolting abasements of death hardens the heart. Need we be surprised then at the general indifference to life in India? Need we be surprised, that, though good swimmers, no native will help a drowning fellow creature a few yards distant from him? This mode of dealing with the dead, too, there is reason to apprehend, offers great facility to the murderer. In every way it is unfavourable to advancement in civilization.

'Noscitur a sociis' is an old rule, but it would scarcely form an index in India. 'Noscitur a domo' would give a better idea of station. In regard to the habitations of the natives of India, if improvement be slow, let us not forget that in England, late in the sixteenth century, the ordinary dwellings of the people were so imperfect, that Erasmus, a citizen of a country more scrupulous in regard to domestic neatness

* It is difficult to say how cremation (which is as old as the Iliad at least) came first to be adopted as a mode of burial. It probably owes its origin to an idea of destroying contagion in persons dying of pestilence. It was resorted to also, sometimes, to protect the remains of the dead from insult (as in I Samuel, xxxi. 12). The custom fell into disuse in Europe in the fourth century—for two reasons; perhaps from its being repugnant to feeling, and from its not existing in partriarchal times—at least none of the bodies of the patriarchs, according to scripture, were thus disposed of. The dying Cyrus furnishes an example, which we heartily wish were followed by other Orientals. He directs his body not to be enshrined in gold or silver, but to be committed to mother-earth.

Το δ' ἐμον σωμα, ὦ παιδες, ὁταν τελευτησω, μητε εν χρυσω θητε, μητε ἐν αργύρω, μηδε ἐν αλλω μηδενι, ἀλλα τη γη ως ταχισα αποδοτε. Τί γαρ τουτου μακαριωτερον, του γη μιχθηναι, ἥ παντα μεν τα καλα, παντα δε τ'αγαθα φυει τε και τρεφει;

Κυρου παιδεια.

than the English of his day, attributed much of the prevalent sickness (and there was more sickness in London in those days than may be generally imagined) to defective ventilation. The windows were so fixed, as to render them, in most houses, incapable of being opened. It was only about the same time that chimneys were first introduced, which to some extent alleviated the evil, by forming the vent of a current of air. The absence of a middle class in Scotland kept the people still more barbarous than in England. At a divertisement got up by Sir David Lindsey of the Mount, 'Lord-lion,-king-at-arms,'* a part of the counsel administered to the fair foreigner, the Queen, by the heraldic poet, was, 'to obey her husband, and keep her body clean.' That the latter part of the advice should be addressed to one of her rank is sufficiently significant. It was in sooth, as in India, before and after the same date, an age of coarseness and untidiness, as well as of distrust and danger. In the seventeenth century even, Scotland was still a country of huts and hovels, as is the case in several of the Hebrides, and parts of Ireland still. Superstition was also rife in stories of ghosts and fiends, while alchemy and the philosopher's stone were believed in like gospel truths. In justice to India, it is necessary to bear in mind the halting or rude civilization of Europe, in contemporary times. We may be permitted therefore to refer to a preceding page, where it was observed that the Arabians had an uncivilized civilization of their own. In like manner it may be said, that the natives of India have an unclean cleanliness of their own. The Hindu, who would throw away his food, if a European happened accidentally to touch his cooking pot, will scour his brass vessels with the mud and súrkí of the road, or street, contaminated by all sorts of obvious taints. The nations of antiquity had public baths, that were unknown in the earlier stages of their history. In Imperial Rome they formed the chief luxury of the people. It is rather curious, that with a people to whom daily bathing is a sort of sacrament, and to whom accidental contact with females, exterior to their own household and class, is a kind of discourtesy (not to say outrage)† no effort has ever been made, to render that ritual more seemly and commodious for the aged and the weakly, or to separate the sexes. It may be said that the bathing must be in a running stream; but what has that objection do with a

* Marmion.

† 'To have touched the wife of another with the hem of the garment was a violation of her person.'—*Note to Mrichchakati.* This is the very climax of indelicate delicacy!

separate roofed ghát? The ghâts, the natives now have, are, we presume, of the same kind as they had in Bengal, in the days of Bullal Sen. In Greece and Rome, as every Hindu College lad knows, there were separate bathing places for the sexes. Surely 'Young Bengal' at least, must be aware that the promiscuous bathing (and other et ceteras) at the river side, or the nullah, or tank side, as it may be, can be regarded in no other light than as a sign of low civilization. Has 'Young Bengal' yet endeavoured to give a jog to national delicacy in this matter? It may be considered perhaps as shewing the anxiety of people of caste to crowd together; or are all men equal in the water? Be this as it may, the lustration leaves them after all but dirtily clean, at least in the opinion of Mlechas, who have a saying that, next to godliness is cleanliness. The slowness of the natives of India to improve may be daily noticed in a variety of ways. At the commencement of British connection with India, every native who could afford it, built his house as much as possible on the principle of a fortress. We find that in Calcutta this is yet pretty much the fashion; so inveterate is custom. Narrow staircases, abrupt dark terminations at an angle, or a meaningless landing place, passages that lead 'to nothing,' ups and downs over dwarf terraces, small low rooms, admitting little light through dirty windows—diversify, or constitute, the interior. In the jealous necessities of a system that closely secludes women, ventilation and architectural beauty and consistency are alike set at defiance. Then the exterior approaches are in keeping with the Bridewell-like character of the whole edifice; while some covert sally-port in the side, or rear, leads to a tank, or a ditch, or a field, fringed with a luxuriant crop of weeds. From the seen, we may partly infer the unseen, portions of the mansion, and form our conclusion as to the amount of elegance, tidiness, and comfort they may boast. During the hundred years that the English have been in Calcutta, no native has attempted to improve upon the country conveyances, if we except the kranchí. In a word, the natives now are, we suppose, in regard to the estimate of household and equipage commodiousness, much in the position that the English were three or four hundred years ago. The slovenliness of the houses of people of condition, then, rendered frequent removals necessary, even in the Elizabethan epoch. We may guess therefore, what the state of things was, in the mud and clay (rush covered) floors of the Plantagenets. Even during the residence of families, fire-pans, in which coarse perfumes were burnt, were utensils always in sight. In a month or so—the house, (brave days of conservancy!) to use the phrase of the times, became unsavoury

in the summer season: and, if the owner was wealthy, he removed. If otherwise, he remained where he was, daily adding to the magazine of malaria, and predisposing himself and household to the invasion of some deadly malady. It were surely high time that such of the leading natives of Bengal, as have received the advantage of an English education, should endeavour to rouse the minds of their fellow-citizens to the expediency of making such minor reforms, as are in their power, and interfere not with conscientious scruples. They may surely be instrumental in improving their own quarters of the town, and discontinuing sundry things, that are in exceedingly questionable taste.* It may be said of the natives of India in general, but especially of the Bengalis, that their besetting failing is one common to all Asiatics—inertness. Dr. Robinson takes notice of it,† as affecting the Arabs and Egyptians, whose indolence and procrastinating habits almost every traveller takes note of. "They 'seem, indeed, to have a different version of the good Old Eng-'lish maxim, and act as if it were to be rendered exactly the 'reverse, *viz.* never to do to-day what can be put off till to-'morrow." This is consonant to the character given of the Egyptians of old, that 'their strength is to sit still.'‡ For this foible, however, there is much of extenuation to be allowed in the nature of the climate; which affects even the European constitution, and is likely, in its aggravation by descent, to offer a most serious, if not insuperable, bar to English colonization in India. This of itself, however, would not account for the deficiency of manliness, and military virtue, in the Bengali. What manifestation have the people of Bengal ever evinced, of the genuine spirit of freedom and patriotism? A stupid unmeaning attachment to locality is not patriotism. What appreciation have they ever exhibited of the civilization, that is based on boldly as-

* Nothing strikes the eye more offensively in a civilization of any pretension, than want of congruity and keeping. This in former times was sufficiently noticeable in England, but much more so in Scotland. In Calcutta it is no uncommon thing of an evening to see on the Strand, or the Course, fat Baboos sitting almost in a state of nudity in English carriages, drawn by spanking horses. This unquestionably is not decent. Coleridge and Southey, in their racy verses, have told us, that the devil's darling vice, is 'pride that apes humility.' And there is ground to suppose, that, with these frowsy go-naked fellows, their darling vice is dirt that apes gentility. If they will go in this fashion, they should confine themselves to their own quarter of the town. There is a matter too that one would prefer passing over in silence—but that it is a growing evil. In one respect, the lower classes of natives in Calcutta evince the most wanton disregard to common decency. Washing in the aqueducts was bad enough; but the nuisance, we allude to, is of hourly and daily occurrence in the public streets, and even in sight of our wives and daughters, as they pass by in their carriages. In England, it is an affair of police; it ought to be so here; and the sooner some check is put to it, the better.

† Biblical Researches, &c., Vol. I.

‡ Isaiah, XXX.

serted rights—tenacious as they are of extending an inch of concession or grace into an ell of privilege, and adroit as they are in constituting sufferance into precedent? From the invasion of Muhammed of Ghizní, and the commencement of true Muhammedan sway in the person of Kuttub-ud-Dín, and the capture of Bengal by his General Buktiyar, to the battle of Plassey, the Hindus of Bengal continued to bear patiently the Muhammedan yoke, and did not make a single effort to be free.* We do not say this in the way of reproach—far from it. We mention these things for the benefit of our fellow subjects in the latitude we are placed in, in the hope that a word, said in season, may prove useful to those who are capable of being leaders, at least in the department of mental reflection. The finest people may deteriorate: and the inhabitants of Bengal, we believe, claim (some time or other) to have been a people of high and manly civilization. The causes that have depressed them for a time, have depressed a more warlike people. When the Romans became corrupted, they lost their military virtue, and the haughty Goths of the south country gave the nick-name of Greeks to men who had ceased to deserve being called Romans: just as the descendants of the Portuguese in India are so terribly unlike their ancestors, for the very reason assigned by the Historian—'the climate of Asia has indeed been found less congenial, than that of Europe, to military spirit: these populous nations were enervated by luxury, despotism, and superstition.'†

There is an absence of poetry in the Bengali mind. The sordid love of gain appears to have neutralised the nobler mental powers. The Bengali wants imagination. He is too literal and puerile, but lacks childlike simplicity. Every thing he takes in a literal, and not in the fine, sense, in which fancy gilds objects to the mens divinior. He has no notion of the higher poetry, in which the enlightened critic looks for a reflection of 'the wisdom of the heart, and the grandeur of the imagination.'‡ Wherever these exist, simplicity accompanies them. In the native of Bengal, generally speaking, we recognise only the simplicity of external appliances; and not that whose handmaid is candour. While on the subject of the Bengali character, we are involuntarily reminded of what was said of the Athenians, by one who understood them well—that they were

Contentionis avidiores quam veritatis. §

The Bengali is generally admitted to be given to litigation—

* See Marshman's History of Bengal. † Gibbon's Decline and Fall. Ch. XLII.

‡ Wordsworth. § Cicero de Oratore.

and, in exacting payment, he is terribly punctual to the uttermost farthing, and minute, of credit; but in paying, he resembles the Roman General—

Qui cunctando restituit rem.

A word or two here, in passing, to 'Young Bengal.' Young Bengal is apt to fancy himself in capacity a Pericles—a Cephalogeretes, or head compeller. Accordingly he is a great politician and philosopher and, if his endeavours and performances were in consonance with his words, would really be, what he aspires to be considered. Conjoined with this is a proneness to take offence, where there is no legitimate cause for it, and to lose sight of things of grave importance, while energy is wreaked on something trivial or inconsequential.* Yet with all his political and speculative aspirations, he is reproached with having no known or conclusive opinions upon subjects that others hold most sacred. He empties himself of his own religion, and substitutes nothing for it, but his own will and pleasure; reminding us thus of a sect we read of many years ago.† In an account of a colony of priests at Mount Athos, one class was described, who were called Ιδιορυθμοι, seeing that they acknowledged no religion, save what suited their own rhyme and reason. Though 'Young Bengal' is exceedingly slow, in conforming to the metaphysical and spiritual ideas of his Western teachers, he evinces no slowness, but the very contrary, in *imbibing* lessons of chemistry (shall we call it), over which that mystic being Archeus presides.‡

* How much excitability, for instance, has been shewn in respect to what has been called 'the shoe question.' Taking off the shoe, or slipper, was no custom introduced by the English. It was, and has been, the established custom of India for ages. If the natives of India claim a conformity to our customs, let them have it by all means on equal terms. Let them leave their pugrís or turbans in the ante-chamber. A native of whatever degree is perfectly well aware, that he cannot call upon a native of high rank, without submitting to his country's etiquette; and he will conform to it without a demur, though he grudges to do so to an European of equal rank. The Bengalis are the only natives, (and only a small section of them) who object to it. *Why* they do so object, we never could comprehend. The Greeks, a far more independent, polished, and intellectual people, always left their slippers in the lobby.

† 'Christian Researches in the Mediterranean,' by the Rev. W. Jowett, M. A.

‡ Young Bengal might once claim (but can no longer we fear) to be classed as 'Hydroparastatæ'– even though no Christians. The class of Christians alluded to were followers of Tatian, who denied the reality of the body of Christ, and, among other Orientalisms (in which he has been imitated in our own day, in a way sufficiently fantastic, all things considered) strictly prohibited wine in the Eucharist. The same watery species of heresy has recently become somewhat rampant We have heard something of the sort held up in Bombay; where it was the fashion with the leaders to shew, that the wine of the scripture was no wine at all.

The prejudices of the Brahmins, like those of the Clergy in Europe during the dark ages, or rather during their dawn into a brighter day, were an obstacle to the dissemination of learning, of no little obstructive power. They were, nevertheless, conservative of such learning as existed, or had been placed on record. In both countries, sacerdotal prejudices proved inimical to the progress of physical science, when supposed in any way to clash with received dogmas of Theology. The same prejudices, that had nearly proved fatal to Aristarchus and Galileo, were also obstructive in India to the advancement of truth. 'The same system of priestcraft, which has exercised so pernicious an influence on the Hindus in other respects, has cast a veil over their science. Astronomy having been made subservient to the extravagant chronology of the religionists, all the epochs, which it ought to determine, have been thrown into confusion, and uncertainty.'* It behoves all, who believe in the truth of the Bible, to beware of falling into a similar mistake, and not to attempt blinking physical or chronological discoveries, because, in their short-sightedness, they may deem them to be inconsistent, or at variance, with the sacred records. Truth of every kind, is such a vast polygon, that it takes ages to view its different sides, and to accurately compare the phenomena of reflection and refraction.

Mr. Colebrooke is of opinion, that it is not impossible that the Hindus took their solar Zodiac from the Greeks,† and that they were aware of the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, which was discussed by the Brahmins in the fifth century. Mr. Elphinstone, like almost every one else, who has carefully examined the subject, has been struck by the identity of the topics discussed by the Hindu philosophers, with those which engaged the attention of the same class in ancient Greece. On the whole, he inclines to think, that, in astronomy, the Hindus have derived their knowledge from a foreign source.‡ Then again he balances the argument, and contends for Hindu originality, on the ground, that all other nations were in still greater ignorance than they were. This is the very point to be proved—for (and we say it with the greatest deference) the Historian has not proved it.

* Elphinstone's History, Vol. I.

† Or the Egyptians? 'Que la Grece ait ete peuplée par des nations de l'Orient et de l' Egypte, ce n'est aujour d'hui d'une verité contestée.'

Memoires de l' Acad. des Inscript. Vol. I.

‡ Elphinstone's History, Vol. I.

Mr. Colebrooke palpably leans to the idea that the Hindus did borrow: 'There *does* appear ground for more than a conjecture, that the Hindus had obtained a knowledge of Grecian Astronomy, before the Arabs began to cultivate the science.*

Opinions may differ in regard to which system has been most conducive to promote the civilization of India—the Brahminical, or the Buddhist. Partly by the light of the past, and of still existing (though corrupted) Buddhism elsewhere, we should be inclined to declare for the latter. The struggle between the two systems threw back civilization. Buddhism in its veneration for the human intellect, as a wonderful manifestation of supernal power, had a natural tendency to tolerate whatever tended to intellectual advancement; while the other system was altogether adverse to the educational enfranchisement of the people at large. The perturbation, consequent on the collision of the two systems, proved fatal to the preponderance of the one in India, and led to the greater corruption of the other. Vedantism at length became almost lost in Puranism. If Sankhya Acharya be consid-

* As. Researches, Vol. IX.

There are men who by induction arrive at a conclusion; others do so by some mental process, like inspiration. The discovery of the planet Neptune illustrates this. The discovery of the diurnal revolution of the earth round its axis had been suggested by Heraclitus; but was laid aside by the Greeks. The Brahmins, it appears, took it up many years after; but made no demonstration. They appear therefore to have followed in the wake of Heraclitus. There is however a still greater discovery, of which, it would seem, the older ancients had a more accurate notion, than we, in our pride of place, have admitted. In a very curious and learned paper by the late Granville Penn, Esq., F. S. A. on the Egyptian original of the word ΠΥR, he shews that *pyr* did in fact signify the sun, at a very early period. The first evidence he adduces is that of Diodorus. Πυρ and ἡλιος (pyr and helios) are ancient Greek denominations of the sun—the second succeeding the other in general use. Some vestige of this is to be found in the opening of the Orphic hymn to Pan. The invocation is to the universe (the aggregate of the world, the heaven, and the sea,), the ruling earth, and ΠΥR *αθανατον*. We are indebted to Aristotle, proceeds Mr. Penn, for our knowledge of a most important and interesting fact—though he was himself quite unaware of the value or nature of the communication. In his second book *de cælo*, concerning the place of the earth, and whether it be moveable, or fixed, he says, that all do not hold the same opinion; for most persons—that is to say, all who maintain that the heavens move round—are of the belief that it is placed in the centre. He then proceeds to shew that the Italians, or Pythagoreans, on the contrary, affirm that πυρ is the centre, and that the earth, being itself one of the stars, and revolving round that centre, produces night and day—*εναντιως οι περι την Ιταλιαν, καλουμενοι δε Πυθαγορειοι, λεγουσιν. επι μεν γαρ του μεσου ΠΥR ειναι φασι, την δε γην, εν των ασρων ουσαν, κυκλω φερομενον περι το μεσον, νυκτα τε και ἡμεραν ποιειν*'

This ancient doctrine of the Italian school—the most distinct summary of the system long afterwards illustrated by Copernicus and Newton—the learned commentator shews, was thus unmechanically transmitted by a philosopher, who understood nothing of its meaning. It is also mentioned by Plutarch, who comprehended it better than Aristotle, and explained that by πυρ was meant the sun. The concurrent judgment of the learned, in ancient and modern times, agrees in opinion, that the doctrine was brought by Pythagoras into Italy from Egypt. Surely all this sufficiently testifies, that this great truth existed, as an object of partial human knowledge, from time immemorial, and may be traced for nearly two thousand five hundred years.

ered a Reformer, he was certainly none of Vedantism; but, on the contrary, the patron of superstition and idolatry foreign to its genuine spirit, albeit that he be Pantheistic. We need feel no surprise however; for, observes an acute and accomplished writer, 'there is, and always has been, in the human mind, or at all events in a certain class of human minds, a principle of idolatry, which has given form to the faith of millions of millions, through thousands of years, and which requires that, for the calling forth or exercise of faith, some tangible object should be presented to their corporeal senses,—whether in the form of a relic, of a holy spot with which an act may be associated, or a graven image, which will represent what the mind is too lazy to conceive: and it matters little whether it be true or not: it answers the purpose.'* The cause of this is referred by Robert Hall to the descent of the human mind from the spirit to the letter, from what is vital and intellectual to what is ritual and external in religion. This has caused idolatry in all its multifarious forms, and has not only corrupted natural religion, or the religion of nature, but dimmed the lustre of Christianity itself.

The discussions of the Vedantic school had, at any rate, an elevating capability, which cannot be claimed for Puranic Brahminism. They had reference to highly abstract questions, well calculated to call into subtle exercise all the powers of the intellect. They turned on free will, divine grace, the efficacy of works, and even of faith without works. Under the old system too, though women were more retired than with Europeans, the complete seclusion of them was an entirely foreign idea, that came in with the Muhammedans.

The Buddhist sentiment of itself could scarcely have failed to be productive of palpable social modifications, one of the most obvious of which would be a great admixture of classes. The Puranic and Muhammedan influences, without any alteration in the letter of the written law, silently have produced great changes, not merely of popular movement, but probably of unexpressed opinion. No change produced by time is more palpable, than that of the deism of the Vedas, passing into gross Puranic polytheism and idolatry. The Vedantists now are reduced to a mere insignificant sect, as compared with the vast body of the people, with whom great is the Diana of their Ephesus—their Durgah, or Kali, or Bhawaní. In considering the ancient civilization, as well as the Asiatic, we in vain look for

* Ancient Topography of Jerusalem, by Jas. Fergusson, Esq., F. R. A. S., &c.

a civilization of progress, especially as respects the first; for, after all, the civilization, that exists in Asia, has arisen out of the old; though so many older political and religious fabrics are utterly scattered before the four winds of heaven. Perhaps we may not be in a position to pronounce decisively on a point, much of the history of which is so obscure. There can be no civilization of progress, unless it spring out of, and be in constant sympathy and action with, a religion of progress. Ancient religion, whether in its pre-existent or present derivative form, was mostly a matter of ritual observance. The grand intention of the Christian system, is to throw the government of every man on himself, whether he is within priestly influence or not. It is thus, it may be truly said, the cheapest, since the suspected in all others are delivered over to watchers. Christianity too, has its watchers, since every man, by a powerful check on conscience, is constituted his own watcher. As far as the historical torch serves, it has been sufficiently shewn, that neither the religion, nor the civilization of Egypt, was that of progress. It fared little better with the imitators of the Egyptians, the Greeks, and with the imitators of the imitators —the Romans. Disallow, as we may, the claim of Hindu civilization to be that of progress, yet cannot we deny that it is one of venerable claims. On the threshold of the subject, however, comes a question, how is it that, for eight hundred years, both the religion, and the civilization, have halted or retrograded? In respect to the Vedantic element, the religion *has* halted. The civilization of a people also halts or retrogrades, when their arts, and their assertion of liberty, have fallen into a state of decay. The state of Muhammedanism has been less pretending, and gives a consistent answer to the question, as respects that religion and polity. Muhammedanism never pretended to love art; it therefore can scarcely be a reproach to Muhammedanism, that it was not conservative of art, which it despised, though literature owes it something: and yet—what havoc has it not done to literature!

All drawbacks nevertheless, and notwithstanding, there is much in Hinduism, deteriorated soever as the system may be, to furnish ground for profound reflection in enquiries after truth, as it is to be fairly and impartially sifted and garnered from the the traditions of the past. Amidst all its divisions, corruptions, and idolatrous forms, there is perceptible a primary idea, which has survived as an article of popular faith; that of an absolute unseen being, 'whom it is the highest glory and reward of the holiest man to behold, and in whom he is to be lost.' Alas for the last dogma, which so dims the splendour of the rest, and which yet appears to have sprung from the very humility

and docility of the oriental mind. We have a most earnest desire to treat the subject of the natives and their religion with the gravity which the nature of the subject requires. There is much in the system to be regretted; but in what human polity is not that the case? We are bound to state, plainly, and honestly, our own impression, that unless there had been a root of truth and good feeling in the original Hinduism, it could not have lasted to our day as a living system. The Great Ruler has seen it proper that these millions should not be left wholly without light. If in certain points they had, in the estimation of Christians, no law, who shall dare to say, that they were not a law to themselves? Whence is it that contemporary empires are gone, and the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Assyrians are no more—while the Hindus remain as a great and civilized people? If there were not something in the system, that was in harmony with that civilization, which is based in conscience, no matter how weak its hold comparatively, would it exist so long? History has shewn that all idolatry is, more or less, stained with the suspicion of, or the demonstration of, dire cruelty. Nationally considered, there is reason to believe, that Hinduism has been more exempt from this stain, than other religious systems, that have ceased from off the face of the earth. Anciently, they were clear from the abomination of human sacrifices; though it may be justly charged against Hinduism, as a modern and sectarian offence.*

It is impossible not to be struck with the different fate, if we may so phrase it, of the Hindus as a nation—and of the nations of South and Central America. The former remain; the latter no longer exist as a nation, and have dwindled down to a wretched remnant, professing Christianity—but adding no credit, by their life-tenor, to their profession. Not only did the old central American nations publicly sacrifice human victims to idols, but they feasted on them afterwards. Murder and cannibalism were consequently *national* institutions. These are facts, proved alike by historical records, and monuments that still exist. We subjoin an extract, having reference to the subject, from a work already quoted.† Notwithstanding many grave deductions, with reference to preceding remarks, yet, as far

* The farther back we can look into the history of all idolatrous systems, the more clear traces we find of one pure primeval religion; but perhaps no mechanism, devised by man, has done so much social mischief, or so thoroughly degraded and debased the masses, as modern Puránic Hinduism.—Ed.

† "The most important remaining of these ruins (at Quiché) is that which appears in the engraving, and which is called El Sacrificatorio, or the place of sacrifice. It is a quadrangular stone structure, sixty-six feet on each side at the base, and rising in a pyramidal form to the height, in its present condition, of thirty-three feet. On three places there is a range of steps in the middle, each step seventeen inches high, and

as impartial testimony may by depended upon, the Hindus, generally speaking, in regard to moral conduct—apart from doctrinal considerations altogether—have shewn themselves a highly estimable people. As fathers, husbands, masters, and even as neighbours, we may indeed challenge comparison between them, and the mass of those, who have had the advantage of European civilization. We find, in short, in the Hindus, that harmonious coherence of domestic relationship, which we usually connect with religious obligation. There is that which demonstrates a root of good, amidst much that is faulty and false; and convictions of singular potency, binding in a complete yet harmoniously working polity, millions of people for thousands of years. The Hindus always appear to have had a theoretical respect for humanity and justice, unequally consistent with their practice, which is not recognizable in the history of the Muhammedans, and which might read a lesson of rebuke even to existing European nations, and their descendants.* At the time of the Muhammedan invasion of Ghuzni, the Hindus were capable of carrying on war on a systematic and organized plan; while their opponents trusted rather to indomitable force, than to a scientific system of tactics. Civil justice too was well

but eight inches on the upper surface, which makes the range so steep, that in descending some caution is necessary.

The top of the Sacrificatorio is broken and ruined; but there is no doubt that it once supported an altar for those sacrifices of human victims, which struck even the Spaniards with horror. It was barely large enough for the altar and officiating priests, and the idol to whom the sacrifice was offered. The whole was in full view of the people at the foot.

The barbarous ministers carried up the victim entirely naked, pointed out the idol, to which the sacrifice was made, that the people might pay their adoration, and then extended him on the altar. This had a carved surface, and the body of the victim lay arched, with the trunk elevated, and the head and feet depressed. Four priests held the legs and arms, and another kept his head firm, with a wooden instrument, made in the form of a coiled serpent, so that he was prevented from making the least movement. The head priest then approached, and, with a knife made of flint, cut an aperture in the breast, and tore out the heart, which, yet palpitating, he offered to the idol. If the idol was gigantic and hollow, it was usual to introduce the heart of the victim into its mouth with a golden spoon. If the victim was a prisoner of war, as soon as he was sacrificed, they cut off the head to preserve the scull, and threw the body down the steps, when it was taken up by the officer, or soldier, to whom the prisoner had belonged, and carried to his house, to be dressed up as an entertainment for his friends. If he was not a prisoner of war, but a slave purchased for the sacrifice, the proprietor carried off the body for the same purpose. In recurring to the barbarous scenes, of which the spot had been the theatre, it seemed a righteous award, that the bloody altar was hurled down, and the race of its ministers destroyed."—*'Incidents of Travel, in Central America, Chiapos, and Yucatan,' by John L. Stephens, &c.*

* This is a historical fact, amply illustrated in the history of Spain and Ireland. Even to this day, civil war is carried on in Spain, with a degree of murderous bloodthirstiness, that is horrible to think of. It is the same with the wars of the South American descendants of the Spaniards. Mr. Stephens bears witness (Incidents of Travel), that, in the intestine wars of Central America, quarter was neither given nor taken. If it be objected that we refer to civil war, let it be remembered that most Indian wars have been of the same character.

understood in Hindu States, and much better administered in olden time than now.

When the prophet of old beheld various beasts arising out of the sea, one, which was terrible and strong exceedingly, was diverse from them all.* So it may be said of Muhammedanism, that it was different from all other schemes of religion that have sprung up out of the general apostacy from revealed religion, in having a basis of truth. It was also terrible from the use it made of its indomitable strength. It differed from other forms of belief, in having a centre point of dread power, which was a witness for God; and in that consisted the might and elasticity of the bow, that the astute Arabian drew at a great venture, and with such marvellous success. In that character of a witness, the followers of Muhammed revered him. He proclaimed anew an eternal truth, at a time when it appeared almost forgotten—even by effete Judaism, or corrupt Christianity. This had a favourable effect upon practical morality for a time: and in his conquests, cemented with blood as they were, there was observable a power working for good, during a cycle of gross and enormous idolatry and corruption.† This doctrine too was addressed to all, and not to a class. The truth was not measured out differently, by the gauge of caste and race. What was sin to one, was sin to all, without exception. There was no differing degree of iniquity for the Moulví, and another for the Hamul, or the Fellah. The Muhammedan, in short, believed in an unseen God, as seen, and in a hearing God, as if heard, with a living and energetic faith; and so became irresistible, trampling on all superstitions, and smashing all manufactured gods, wherever found. To flourish, Muhammedanism must not rest, or slumber, else it withers. It can only thrive, while aiming at conquest; and, that mission fulfilled, it falls into a state of torpor, and all branches of its polity stagnate. There is no revivifying power in it, to declare not merely that God is, but what he is; or to raise his creatures to the proper dignity of their position, and redeem man from the degradation of grossly sensual influences. The strong belief of the Muhammedan has undergone great modification: it is scarcely longer that of an acting will, but rather that of a sheer necessity, to which he bows, with the sullen resignation of the curbed horse.

In examining the two systems of Hinduism and Muhammedanism, we shall find a deeper and wider gulf between the Brahmin, and the proletary class of the population, than between the Mussulman cooli, and the Moulví. The high and the low

* Daniel, ch. vii.

† See Maurice's Boyle Lectures.

Mussulman have an entire concurrence of belief. It is not so in Hinduism. The Chevalier Bunsen has said of the Romans :* 'They understood the character of no people, but in its defects ; they loved no other people, and were loved by none, because they neither approached them in a humane spirit, nor expected to be received in the same ; and did good to others, merely because they found it to their own advantage. From a well digested principle of self-interest, they were capable of rendering even essential services to whole nations, but from no benevolent motive.' Is it judging too harshly of Muhammedanism to say, Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur ? As respects civilization, it appears to us, that the palm must be given to the Hindu; though to the Muhammedan may justly be awarded graces of external manners, in which the Hindus are deficient, and which, with many, pass for civilization, but cannot be permitted to pass for such unquestioned, when associated with rapacity, intolerance, and cruelty. To trace up the different cycles of Muhammedan connection with India, would extend our remarks to a length that at once precludes our entering on so extensive a field. Suffice it, that from the invasion of Timour to the accession of Baber, we have, in its various phases, the rough working of the Muhammedan element, imposed by a half barbarous people upon a people much more civilized than themselves. As in England, synchronously, there was an agitated sense of conscious insecurity, and the obstruction caused by a government at once unsettled and oppressive; so there was in India the perturbation of the social body, caused by the continual dread of change, in tracts, which were often the theatre of war, predatory or dynastic, and where a series of tyrants rose to power, by a succession of military revolutions, recurring at short intervals. On the theory of a writer of the last century, the Mogul government ought to be considered a good one. 'It is a most excellent circumstance in a government, when the most powerful man in the State has something to fear from the most feeble.'† This may be granted with allowance, that is to say, provided the most powerful unlawfully assails the feeble—otherwise, such a scheme of government would be one of terrorism. This the Mogul government, for the most part, was. It is true that the privilege of direct application to the throne, *viva voce*, or by petition, handed to the sovereign, as he passed, gave the appearance of a check on oppressors in high places ; but, for the most part, it was a mere shadow of privilege, that could be successfully evad-

* 'Egypt's Place in Universal History.' † Dr. Moore's Continental Travels.

ed, and was successfully evaded, in the majority of instances. Between the early Muhammedans and the Normans, who wrenched England from the Saxons, we see little difference, in regard to civilization. These times were full of struggle and violence. They were also marked by a quaint bluntness of sincerity in bigotry, that we find numerous traits of in the work under review. There was a Homeric sternness, not unfamiliar to Western ideas. It is in the spirit of this heartiness of inexorableness, that the crook-backed Gloster is described by our great national dramatist, as sending the weakest and most unfortunate of kings to his doom.

> See how my sword weeps for the poor king's death!
> O may such purple tears be always shed
> From those who wish the downfall of our house.
> If any spark of life be yet remaining,
> Down, down to hell; and say, I sent thee thither,
> I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear.

It was the characteristic of those awful times to have neither pity, love, nor fear. When Timour took the city of Mirat by storm, he had no mercy for his brave enemy Safi Gabr (or Guebre); but, in the words of the historian, 'dispatched him to hell, and ordered his son to be burned in the fire, which he worshipped.'*

From Baber's reign, we find a more genial state of the historic atmosphere; though the political elements were in a state of perturbation, reminding one of our own period of the wars of the Roses. To compare Akbar's long and prosperous reign, with that of the best of the Tudors, will be doing it bare justice. What a contrast between his house, and the cold avaricious Henry VII., or his violent, unscrupulous, cruel successor. No—to institute a comparison between them, and the noble, gracious, unselfish, and most clement Akbar, would be a kind of libel. Notwithstanding cruel wars that intervened (and ever will intervene, as a consequence of disputed succession springing from polygamy)—from the commencement of Akbar's reign, to the dethronement of Shah Jehan, may be termed the golden age of Mogul Rule. Feared at home (generally speaking), and respected on the frontiers, the situation of the empire under his sceptre, save in its vast extent, and its begetting weakness, resembled the prosperous state of England under Elizabeth. Civilization then had made its greatest advancement, but began to decline from the accession of Aurungzebe. The troubles of a disputed succession, that followed his death, left the empire open to ruthless invaders—paving the way at length for the

* H. M. Elliot,—Habru. S. Siyaru.

rise of a new power, and the commencement of the European cycle.

In comparing the civilization of India with that of our own country, we shall have no very great reason to exult at the contrast, considering the advantage of our insular position, our more bracing climate, and other circumstances. But, two or three hundred years ago, we had neither the polish nor the elegance of the Orientals; but we had great leaders in the ranks of knowledge; and our growing freedom, so sturdily asserted, and sometimes so dearly purchased (if true liberty be dear at any price), extended the boundaries of all knowledge and science, with an effect, that has nothing corresponding to it in the East. Even to this hour however, so difficult is it to illume with the rays of education all the dark places of a nation, that there is a startling amount of deplorable ignorance to be found in parts of Great Britain.* What then must be the case in India? It may be said indeed of all Europe, that the irregularity of education, and intelligence, among the masses is undoubtedly the great obstacle to complete civilization in our time. This, combined with pressure on the means of subsistence, excites ideas dangerous to the well being of society; competition, on every hand, is necessarily so unrelaxing, as to leave not a pause for repose. Its incessant energy agitates every man, and, to a certain extent, hardens his feelings. There is a yearning for an equality, that is utterly unattainable on earth; while the evils of society are invidiously pointed to, as furnishing just grounds for demolishing established institutions; it being forgotten, that these evils—'are to be referred to the nature of man, and not to the civilization of society. The same course of argument might object to agriculture, because weeds thrive quickest in the richest soil.'† A man destined, himself, to become a tribune of the people, though admitting it to be the master, wrote some fifteen years ago, what now looks like a prophecy. 'The people is the master power,

* By a Parliamentary return (called for on the motion of Sir R. H. Inglis, in the House of Commons, and ordered in May 1843) of the number of marriages celebrated yearly in England, from the 1st July 1838, to 30th June 1842; it appears that in England, in three years, 367,894 marriages took place; consequently no fewer than 735,788 individuals entered into wedlock, and of these 364,836 could not sign their names. By a Parliamentary paper recently issued, on the statistics of crime in England and Wales, for 1848, it would appear, that there has been a great increase of crime for the three years ending with 1848, and of the very worst offences against person and property. Of these, there were unable to read or write, 7,530 males, and 2,161 females; able to read and write imperfectly, 3,950 males, 2,161 females; able to read and write well, 2,634 males, 350 females. Of the whole, 76 males and 5 females are set down, as having received superior instruction.

† 'Records of the Creation,' by the Bishop of Chester.

but incapable of being so, because it is expert in destroying, but erects nothing in its stead, either lofty, durable, or majestic.'*

Throughout the world there is a discord between nations and classes, of which it is difficult to foresee the end. Much of old was accorded to the mystic power of numbers. It may be said, without any mystery at all, that civilization itself must depend upon moral harmony, grounded upon the accordance of numbers. How remarkable, in the field of physical science, has been the discovery of the atomic theory, and its accurate bearing on combinations. The rule of the proportion of parts, and the absolute necessity of these proportions to expected results, is one of the glories of modern science. May there not be similar proportions of coherence, disintegration, and assimilation, in the moral and social world? The Greeks attributed much to the knowledge and love of the arts. How great was the attention that they gave to music, and of how much importance was its study considered, by some of their foremost men, and master minds! A very interesting recent discovery is an application of Æsthetics, which explains—what hitherto has been an enigma—the perfection of Greek art, and how it is to be accounted for. An accomplished writer asserts, that it was attained simply by adherence to Geometric rule, and that these effects were produced, because the proportions of the Grecian master-pieces were those recognized as the standard of perfection in Geometry, and were those, which invariably have a pleasing response in the mind. 'The laws of proportion, in relation to the arts of design, constitute the harmony of Geometry, as definitely as those, that are applicable to poetry and music, produce the harmony of acoustics; consequently the former ought to hold the same relative position in those arts, which are addressed to the eye, that is accorded to the latter, in those that are addressed to the ear.'† There is an inherent sense of beauty, independent of association; and the writer quoted illustrates it by reference to Greek art, the origin of which he conceives to have been based on the angles of Plato.

In poetry, the Hindus of old have in the Mahabharat proved, that they were capable of great things. In general acquirements, however, they were as inferior to the Muhammedans, as the Mussulman of the present day is to the chivalric Saracen or Moor of old. Their literary works, on the other hand, have a

* Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, by Alphonse De Lamartine.

† Hay, 'On the science of those proportions, by which the Human Head and Countenance is represented in Greek Art.'

certain stiffness or quaintness. The absence of good models may well account for this. Their style of eloquence, therefore, continued inflated and redundant. There is one branch of literature, of which we meet with a sad want, or almost a blank, among both Hindus and Muhammedans—the epistolary. Even in Europe, the progress of this accomplishment was slow until the Elizabethan age, when its style was neither natural nor graceful. Mr. Hallam, referring to one of the earliest specimens of female penmanship in England, from the lady of Sir John Pelham, concludes it to be genuine from the badness of the grammar! Of correspondence, beyond the most meagre outline, the natives of India appear to have had scarcely a notion. The state of civilization in general sufficiently accounts for this. Writing, among the Orientals, appears to have been considered as intended to serve the same purpose, that Talleyrand has had the credit of attributing to speech—to veil thought. The deficiency of epistolary literature, may partly be accounted for, by want of confidence in the means of transmission. Letters were usually sent by special messengers, an expensive, but tolerably sure mode. Now-a-days the transmission continues expensive without being sure. Correspondence too chiefly regarded business—a hearty interchange of sentiments being alien to the feelings and habits of the people. The Muhammedans had one advantage in their rule of faith, wanting to the Hindus. In the Koran, they have some sprinklings of the grand, the ideal, and the true, derived from the Hebrew fountains, which the Hindu is forbidden even to look into. In Muhammedan works of imagination, there is a manly greatness, and a catholic loveliness of fancy, as well as a general glow of natural feeling, which we miss in Hindu literature, with the exception of some touches in their drama. Now, however, among the natives poetry is not; we never hear of the native mind invoking in poetry,

> ——The wisdom and spirit of the universe,
> The soul that is the eternity of thought,
> And gives to forms and images a birth
> And everlasting motion.

Whatever the cause may be, the Hindus (especially in Bengal) appear to consider Muhammedanism with less repugnace, than they do Christianity. Perhaps their greater familiarity with the former system may have something to do with the feeling. They do not appear to hold the Koran in the same dread as the Bible. This is significant enough. Has it ever struck them, that a more intimate acquaintance with that book might improve their literary powers? Its pages might tend to draw the passions that

build up the human soul, into paths of sublime contemplation, and engage the thoughts and spirit with—

> High objects, with enduring things,
> With life and nature, purifying thus
> The elements of feeling and of thought,
> And sanctifying with such discipline
> Both pain and fear—until we recognise
> A grandeur in the breathings of the heart.

Mr. Elliot's work fulfils a great desideratum, so that, as respects a clear view of the Historians of India from first to last, it may be pronounced unique. The occasion that called it forth, as he explains in the preface, turned upon the subject of a proposed lithographic uniform edition, of the Native Historians of India. The outlay for carrying out such an undertaking, as is found to be too often the case in this country, in questions of improvement, proved a stumbling block. At the same time, it was intimated from the Governor of the N. W. Provinces, that as few people were acquainted with the particular works, which should be selected for such a series, it was desirable that an Index of them should be drawn up, in order that the Manuscripts might be sought for, and deposited in one of our college libraries, to be printed or lithographed hereafter, should circumstances render it expedient. Happily for the interests of literature, our author willingly undertook a task that might have staggered a man of less nerve and intellectual affluence. The volume before us is the first of a series, of which four more are to follow. Though we have no right to expect it, yet are we not without strong hope, which is begotten of a wish to that end, that the author may in some measure (the longer the better) be able to fulfil an idea he appears to have entertained, of adding to the Index an account of the independent Muhammedan monarchies, such as of Gujrat, Bengal, Cashmere, and so forth; as well as an intended notice of the various collections of private letters, relating to the history of India, and the matters, which chiefly interested the generation of the writers. These, we presume, would give us a considerable insight into the private life and genuine motives of those they may concern. There is a great charm for instance, in the Seir Mutakerín, in respect to the glimpses it gives us, as it were beyond the purdah, touching on circumstances and persons, that more stately or stilted history might be inclined to pass by, with an affectation of dignity. In regard to our author's plan:—

> "The historians of the Delhi Emperors have been noticed down to the reign of Shâh Alam, when new actors appear upon the stage; when a more

stirring and eventful period of India's History commences; and when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the obscurity of the past, and to relieve us from the necessity of appealing to the Native Chroniclers of the time, who are, for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant, and superficial."

Besides the want of standard books of reference in India, for such a task as he was called to, our author alludes to great difficulties that beset the literary enquirer, arising chiefly from the vanity of native litterateurs, which induces them to quote works they have never seen, of which he furnishes one or two amusing illustrations. In regard to the sad indifference of the public taste, respecting a greater degree of familiarity with the true sources of the Muhammedan history of India—does not the want of standard works of reference sufficiently account, at least to a great extent, for an amount of indifference much to be regretted? Pursuits of this kind require stimulation. This is known to every school-boy, and all who have considered school-boy life. It should also be borne in mind that not youth alone, but young manhood too, requires to be encouraged to generous intellectual exertion. There was a day in India, not yet forgotten by some old men, when young aspirants, military as well as civil, took a pride in distinguishing themselves in the arena of oriental studies. Prizes were then available for excellence in that field of competition worth contending for, and which realized gold Mohurs as well as fame. What is the so called college of Fort William now but the shadow of a shade? Now, the pinched student, under the goad of mere regulation, looks to a speedy escape from such studies as his best reward. What is the college of Haileybury but a huge and expensive mistake? It ought to be abolished, or transferred at once to the banks of the Hoogly. Let our young judges, political and revenue administrators, be educated wholly at the great national schools, and not come to India till their twenty-second or twenty-fourth year, instead of being confined as it were to an Institution, where they form mere caste opinions, and never come into collision with the large class ones, that can only be acquired by mixing with the people. The author of the work before us is an illustrious reason in himself, for the change in the course of civilian education, we contend for—since we believe, that we are correct in saying, that he never studied at the Haileybury college; yet in solid learning, and all the qualifications that give value to the accomplishments and labours of a public servant, where is the Haileybury man that has ever excelled him? Then again, as respects the military student, we hear a

good deal, now and then, in the speeches of 'the Chairs' at Addiscombe gatherings, of the brilliant rewards for merit lying in store for the industrious student in oriental lore. The study of the vernaculars, the gaping youths are then informed, will gild their crowns with untold advantages. Compare the word of promise held to the ear of the Cadet, with its breach to the hope of the disappointed Lieutenant or Captain. In how many cases, may we ask, does the knowledge of the languages get on an unfriended Subaltern? For years, the exceedingly convenient official reply to his applications for some humble good thing (such as a Subaltern may venture to aspire to, without committing high treason against red tape majesty) is, 'glad to have served him, had he passed in the languages—but,—' &c. The poor Sub on this, getting deeper and deeper still into the books of some provincial bank, exerts himself in the hope of getting out of the slough of despond, and does pass. A vacancy that would suit, occurs; but the official patron's reply is again expressive of sorrow; "So many candidates with prior claims, &c;" and finally some distant relation of Sir Somebody or other is put in, who has not even perhaps studied the languages, much less even dreamed of the bore of trying to pass. It is just as absurd to make students, destined to pass their lives in India, learn its languages in a corner of Hertfordshire, as it would be to send a youth to Palermo, to acquire the correct idiom and accent of German. If there must be a college *per se* for the purpose, let it be in this country; as the world is now pretty well satisfied, that the sooner the Haileybury absurdity is abolished altogether, the better.

But it is not the want of standard works, and 'the intense desire for parade and ostentation' of the Natives, in quoting works they knew nothing of, or works even that do not exist at all, that we have to contend with solely. We besides 'have to lament the entire absence of literary history and biography, which in India is directed only to saints and poets. Where fairy tales and fictions are included under the general name of History, we cannot expect to learn much respecting the character, pursuits, motives and actions of historians, unless they are pleased to reveal them to us themselves, and to entrust us with their familiar correspondence.'* The same absence of literary history, and fondness for fictions and legends, with an absorbing love for theological subtleties, prevailed even long after what are called the dark ages of Europe, when the songs of Troubadours, monstrous stories or tales, and 'mystery' dramas

* Preface, xii.

formed the chief staple of literature. The following are the names of the works noticed in the Volume before us :—

I.—Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh Rashídi.
II.—Táríkh-i-Binákití.
III.—Táríkh-i-Guzída
IV.—Táríkh-í-Háfiz Abrú.
V.—Zainu-l-Akhbár.
VI.—Táríkh-i-Hind.
VII.—Rauzatu-s-Safá.
VIII.—Khulásatu-l-Akhbar.
IX.—Dastúru-l-Vuzrá.
X.—Habíbu-s-Siyar.
XI.—Tarkh-i-Ibráhímí.
XII.—Lubbu-t Tawáríkh.
XIII.—Táríkh i-Pádsháhán-i-Hind.
XIV.—Táríkh-i-Pádsháhán-i-Humaiyún.
XV.—Nusakh-i-Jehán-Arú.
XVI.—Tárikh-al-Jannábí.
XVII.—Akhbáru-d-Dawal.
XVIII.—Táríkh-i-Hájí Muhammed Candahárí.
XIX.—Táríkh-i-Alfí.
XX.—Futúhu-s-Salátín.
XXI.—Khazáinu-l Futúh.
XXII.—Tabakát-i-Akberi.
XXIII.—Táríkh-i-Badáúní.
XXIV.—Táríkh-i-Hakkí.
XXV.—Zubdatu-t-Tawáríkh.
XXVI.—Rauzatu-t-Táhirín.
XXVII.—Muntakhabu-t-Tawáríkh.
XXVIII.—Táríkh-i-Ferishta.
XXIX.—Táríkh-i-Hákimán-i-Hind.
XXX.—Másir-i-Rahímí.
XXXI.—Anfau-l-Akhbár.
XXXII.—Táríkh-i-Haider Rází.
XXXIII.—Subh-i-Sádik.
XXXIV.—Mjumal Mufassal.
XXXV.—Lubbu-t-Tawáríkhi-hind.
XXXVI.—Tarikh-i-Mufazzilí.
XXXVII.—Mirát-i-Alam.
XXXVIII.—Mirát-i-Jehán-numá.
XXXIX.—Haft Gulshan.
XL.—Khulásatu-t-Tawáríkh.
XLI.—Miftáhu-t-Tawáríkh.
XLII.—Shahnáma.
XLIII.—Táríkh-i-Kipchákkhání
XLIV.—Táríkh-i-Nádiru-z-Zamání.
XLV.—Táríkh-i-Munawwar Khán.
XLVI.—Hadíkatu-s-Safá.
XLVII.—Sa'dat-i Jáved.
XLVIII.—Táríkh-i-Rustam Alí.
XLIX.—Táríkh i-Hindí.
L.—Chahar Gulshan.
LI.—Majma'u-l-Mulúk.
LII.—Siyaru-l-Mutákharín, 1st Vol.
LIII.—Majmúau-l-Akhbár.
LIV.—Chahar Gulzár Shuja'í.
LV.—Lubbu-s-Siyar.
LVI.—Sahíhu-l-Akhbar.
LVII.—Táríkh i-Muzaffarí.
LVIII.—Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh, by Sadásuk.
LIX.—Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh.
LX.—Bostán-i-Khaiál.
LXI.—Mukhtasiru-t-Tawárikh.
LXII.—Zubdatu-l-Akhbár.
LXIII.—Jinánu-l-Firdús.
LXIV.—Zubdatu-l-Gharáib.
LXV.—Ashrafu-t-Tawáríkh.
LXVI.—Tárikh-i-Henry.
LXVII.—Jám-i-Jam.

The second volume will introduce us to particular histories, comprehending the conquest of Scind by the Arabs—the Ghaznevide dynasty—the Ghorian and Slave dynasties—the Khilji and Tughlak dynasties—the irruption of Timur—the Sayid, or Khizr Khani dynasty—and the Afghan dynasty. Volume third will give general histories of the house of Timur from Baber to Shah Alum ; and the fourth volume will be devoted to Original Extracts.

We now proceed to give such minute notices of a few of the authors referred to in the Index, and their works, as our limited space can admit of. The *Jamiu-i-Tawarikh Rashidi*,

was completed A. D. 1310. The author *Fazlullah Rashid* was born A. D. 1247, in the city of Hamadán. His practice of the medical art brought him into notice, at the court of the Mongol Sultáns of Persia. In 1297, he was appointed to the post of Vizírs. A deadly blow at length was aimed at him. 'It was charged against him that he had recommended a purgative medicine to be administered to the deceased chief (*Oljaitú Khán*, father of the reigning sovereign *Abú Saíd*), in opposition to the advice of another physician, and that under its effects the king had expired. Rashidu-d-Dín was condemned to death, and his family were, after the usual Asiatic fashion, involved in his destruction. His son Ibrahim, the chief butler, who was only sixteen years old, and by whose hands the potion was said to have been given to the chief, was put to death before the eyes of his parent, who was immediately afterwards cloven in twain by the executioner.' He was 73 years old, when put to death. He was a man of very superior attainments, and a fine linguist; and had a talent for writing with extreme facility. 'In enquiries after this work *(Jamiu-t-Tawarikh Rashidi)* care must be taken not to confouned it with the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, which is common in Hindustán, and derives its name of Rashid, chiefly (though other reasons are assigned) from being dedicated to the reigning Khan of Moguls, Abdu-r-Rashid Khan, by its author. There is an interesting account given by Mr. Elliot of the discovery, within the last ten years, under very peculiar circumstances, of the largest portion of the Jamiu-t-Tawarikh, which was supposed to have been lost, and for which we must refer to the "Index" itself. The table of contents is very extensive, and the work evidently is one of great value. The seventh part of the work, which is contained in the volume in the Asiatic Society's Library, treats of—'Hind and Sind and Shakmuni,' and is divided as follows:—

"Chapter 1st. On eras and revolutions.—The measurement of the earth.—On the four júgas.—The hills and waters of Hind.—On its countries, cities, and towns.—On the islands.—The Sultáns of Delhi.—The birth of Básdeo, and the kings of India proceedings Mahmúd.—On Cashmír, its hills, waters, and cities.—An account of the kings of the Trítá júg. The kings of the Dwápar júg.—The kings of the Kali júg."

"Chapter 2nd. An account of the prophets of the Hindús, of whom there are six of the highest class, Shákmúní being the sixth.—On the birth of Shákmúní.—On the properties and signs of a perfect man.—On the character, conduct, and sayings of Shákmúní.—On the austerities of Shákmúní, and his incorporation with the divine essence.—Further proceedings of Shákmúní.—On his appearance in various forms.—On the knowledge of certain prayers addressed to God.—On the different degrees of metempsychosis, and the number of hells.—How a man can become a god.—How a man can escape from the form of a beast.—How a man can escape from the form of another man.—On the difference between men and

angels.—On the questions put to Shákmúní by the angels.—On the information given by Shákmúní respecting another prophet.—On the rewards of paradise, and the punishments of hell, and the injunctions and prohibitions of Shákmúní.—On the establishment of his religion in Hind and Cashmir.—On the death of Shákmúní, and the events which followed. From pp. 524 to 572.

The following description of the Sultán Jalalu-d-Din's swimming across the Jhelum (a feat which Runjít Singh afterwards achieved) is highly interesting—especially as we may now consider it a British stream. The brave Sultán was obliged to retire before the victorious Changez Khan (the Zingis of Dow), partly in consequence of the desertion of one of his Sirdars, with his corps d'armee, to the enemy—towards Lahore, where the Emperor Altumsh held sway: so that the brave Sultán was literally placed between two fires:—

"The alienation of Saifu-d-Dín Ighrák materially affected the power of the Sultán, and diminished his chance of success. He immediately made towards Ghazní, with the object of crossing the Indus, and for that purpose ordered boats to be kept in readiness. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Changez Khán, the latter hastened in pursuit of the Sultán, and surrounded him. At daybreak, the Sultán, finding himself placed in a position between water and fire, with the Indus on the one side, and the fiery enemy on the other, was prepared to give battle. Changez Khán fell upon the right wing, commanded by Amín Malik, like a fierce lion upon a lame leopard, and drove it back with great slaughter. Amín Malik, being thus defeated, fled towards Pesháwar; but, as the Moghul army was in possession of the road, he was slain, in the endeavour to effect his escape. Changez Khán compelled the left wing also to give way, but the Sultán firmly maintained his ground in the centre with seven hundred men, and opposed the enemy from the morning to mid-day, moving now to right now to left, sustaining every attack, and on each occasion slaying a number of the enemy. Meantime, the army of Changez Khán came, pressing forward, and surrounding the position occupied by the Sultán. At last Ajásh Malik, son of the king's maternal uncle, seeing the dangerous position of his Majesty, seized the bridle of his charger, and persuaded him to leave the field. The Sultán bade adieu to his sons and female relatives, with a heavy heart and burning tears, and, ordering his favourite horse to be prepared, he sprung on it, and rushed again into the torrent of conflict, like a crocodile into a river, and charged the enemy with irresistible force. Having succeeded in driving them back, he turned his horse's head, threw off on the way his coat of mail and shield, and, urging his horse, plunged into the river, though the bank was upwards of thirty feet above the stream. He then swam* across like a noble lion, and reached

* The original distinctly says "swam across the Jihún"—whether intentionally, or by error of the copyist, is doubtful. Eastern authors for a long time considered, either that the source of the Mehrán (Indus) was the river Jihún (Oxus), or that the sources of the two rivers were in the same mountain. (Uylenbroek, *Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio*, p. 54; Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 179, 205; Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 155; Masaúdí, *Meadows of Gold*, p. 38). A similar perverse use of the Sihún (Jaxartes) also occurs in the Tárikhi Yemíní, where it is used to signify the Indus, and can be applicable to no other river; and again in Abu-l-fedá (*Annal: Muslem:* Vol. III. p. 113) where Reiske observes, "In Arabico legitur *Sihunum*, quod aperte mendosum est."

the opposite bank in safety. Changez Khán witnessed the gallant exploit, and, hastening to the bank, prohibited the Moguls from attempting to follow. The very heavens exclaimed in surprise "They never saw in the world any man equal to him, nor did they ever hear of one like him, among the celebrated heroes of antiquity!"* Changez Khán and all the Mogul nobles were astonished to find that the Sultán crossed the river in safety, and sat watching him, as he wiped the water off his scabbard.† Changez Khán, turning round to the Sultán's sons, ‡ addressed them in words expressive of his admiration."

The Geographical account of Hind and Sind is valuable and interesting, and evinces a great turn for enquiry and observation. It is taken, almost entirely, from the work of Abu Rihan-al-Biruni, composed in the early part of the eleventh century, and therefore represents the knowledge of India, attained by the Muhammedan invaders, three hundred years before the author wrote. Among other curious particulars, we learn from the Muhammedan author, that the people of Zardadan (of which Marco Polo speaks under the wrong name of Cardanden) are so called, because they have gold in their teeth. (What does this mean? Was the Dentist's art known to them?) 'They puncture their hands, and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a single sign of hair on their faces. Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat, and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives.' (They went unveiled, we suppose, and met their male friends without *purdah nushin* restraint). 'The air is so impure, that, if they ate their dinner after noon, they would all die. They boil tea, and eat winnowed barley.'

We can only glance at our author's quotations from the famous Masudi who visited India, Ceylon, and the Coast of China, and who died A. D. 956. His travels extended over nearly all the countries subject to Muhammedan sway; but we can only afford the following extract:

"India is a vast country, having many seas and mountains, and borders on the empire of ez-Zánij, which is the kingdom of the Maharáj, the King of the islands, whose dominions form the frontier between India and China, and are considered as part of India.

* Four years, before, Shamsu-d-Din, the king of Delhi, had done the same thing, when in pursuit of Nasiru-d-Din Kabacha; and, though he succeeded in reaching the opposite bank with a few followers, many were drowned in the attempt. Maharaja Ranjit Singh has gained fame by his accomplishment of the same feat.

† The Rauzatu-s-Safá and Ferishta represent Jalálu-d-Dín as having carried his canopy with him, and seating himself under it, when he had attained the opposite bank. The former also mentions that Changez Khán killed all the males in the Sultán's camp, and ordered his servants to search for the jewels, which the Sultán had thrown into the Indus before his escape.

‡ The Habibu-s-Siyar differs from other authorities in saying, he turned round, and addressed his own sons.

The Hindu nation extends from the mountains of Khorasán and of es-Sind, as far as et-Tubbet. But there prevails a great difference of feelings, language, and religion, in these empires; and they are frequently at war with each other. The most of them believe on the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindus are distinct from other black nations, as the Zanj-ed-Demádem and others, in point of intellect, government, philosophy, colour, appearance, good constitution, talent, and intelligence.

* * * *

No king can succeed to the throne, according to Hindu laws, before he is forty years of age; nor appears their sovereign ever before the public, except at certain times, which are fixed at long intervals, and then it is only for the inspection of state affairs; for, in their opinion, the kings lose their respect, and give away their privileges, if the public gazes at them. The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India, and by degradation from a higher rank.

* * * * *

The royalty is limited upon the descendants of one family, and never goes to another. The same is the case with the families of the Vizir, Kadhí, and other high officers. They are all (hereditary, and) never changed, nor altered.

The Hindús abstain from (spirituous) liquors, not in obedience to some religious precept, but because they do not choose to take a thing which overwhelms their reason, and makes cease the dominion, which this faculty is to exercise over men. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire), if he is given to such habits.

* * * * *

El-Jáhit supposes that the river Mihrán, in es-Sind, is the Nile, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. I cannot understand how this proof can be conclusive. This he states in his book "On the leading cities and the wonders of the countries." It is an excellent work; but, as he has never made a voyage, and few journies and travels through kingdoms and cities, he did not know that the Mihrán of es-Sind comes from the well known sources of the highland of es-Sind, from the country belonging to Kinnanj, in the kingdom of Búdah, and of Káshmír, el-Kandahár, and et-Takín; the tributaries, which rise in these countries run to el-Múltán, and from thence the united river receives the name Mihrán. El-Múltán means meadows of gold. The king of el-Multán is a Koraíshite, and of the children of Osámah Ben Lawí Ben Ghalib. His dominion extends as far as the frontier of Khorasán.

Some of our military readers will not be sorry to peruse an extract relative to a place, that they may not have imagined to have been of any importance, upwards of eight centuries ago. It is taken from the Ashkalu-l-Bilad:

"Multan is about half the size of Mansúra, and is called "the boundary* of the house of gold." There is an idol in the place, held in great veneration by the Hindus; and people from distant parts undertake a yearly

* The Ashkálu-l Bilád says "burj," or bastion, which at first would seem a more probable reading; but the reasons assigned for reading the word "farj" are so strong, as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Iracæ Persicae* (p. 67), that we are not entitled to consider "burj" as the correct reading.

pilgrimage to its temple, and there expend vast sums of money. Many take up their residence at the shrine to lead there a life of devotion.

Múltán derives its name from this idol. The temple is situated on an elevation in a populous part of the city, in the midst of a bazar, near which mechanics and the dealers in ivory pursue their trade. The idol is placed immediately in the centre of the temple, around which the priests and the pilgrims take up their residence; and no other man in Múltán, either of Hind or Sind, is allowed to remain in the temple, except the ministrants above mentioned.

The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture, on a pedestal made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin, like Morocco leather, but its eyes are open. Some say that the body of the idol is made of wood; some deny this; but it is not possible to ascertain this point with certainty, by reason of the skin, which covers the body. The hands rest upon the knees, with the fingers closed,* so that only four can be counted. The eyes of the idol are of some precious gem, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. The sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine are taken by the Amír of Múltán, and distributed amongst the servants of the temple. As often as the Indians make war upon them, and endeavour to seize the idol, they bring it out, pretending that they will break it, and burn it. Upon which the assailants return, otherwise they would destroy Múltán.

There is a strong fort in Múltán. Prices are low, but Mansúra is more fertile and populous. The reason why Múltán is designated "the house of gold" is, that the Muhammedans, though poor at the time they conquered the place, enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it."

From the Tarikh-i-Guzida, we take a short anecdote relative to Mahmúd of Ghuzni. To those, who speculate upon the supposed influence of physical defects on character, as in the instances of Pope and Byron, it will have a moral interest:

"He was a friend to learned men and poets, on whom he bestowed munificent presents, insomuch that every year he expended upon them more than 400,000 Dinars. His features were very ugly. One day regarding his own face in a mirror, he became thoughtful and depressed. His Wazír inquired as to the cause of his sorrow; to which he replied, "It is generally understood that the sight of kings adds vigour to the eye; but the form, with which I am endowed, is calculated to strike the beholder blind." The Wazír replied, "Scarcely one man in a million looks on your face; but the qualities of your mind shed their influence on every one. Study, therefore, to maintain an unimpeachable character, that you may be loved by all your subjects." Yemínu-d-daulah Mahmúd was pleased with this admonition: and since, that period, he paid so much attention to the cultivation of his mental endowments, that he surpassed all other kings in that respect."†

* Ibn Haukal says, "with expanded fingers:" Zakaríyá Cazwíní, following Istakhrí, says "closed hands." The Ashkalu-l-Bilád concurs with Istakhrí, as quoted by M. Kosegarten, *De Mohammede Ibn Batuta*, p. 27. Edrísí speaks of four hands, instead of four fingers, and a very slight change in the original would authorize that reading. (*Geographie*, par *M. Jaubert*. Tom. I, p. 167.)

† This anecdote is given in the *Gemäldesaal d. Lebensb:* but Ferishta merely says, Mahmúd was marked with the small pox.

In the reign of Mas'úd, that Historian ascribes a statement to the Guzída, which is at variance with the MSS. I have consulted. He says that, according to the Guzída, Masúd reigned nine years and nine months, whereas the Guzída distinctly says that

Regarding Abú Ríhan-al-Bírúni, we learn, that he was born A.D. 970-1, and died A.D. 1038-9. He seems to have been an indefatigable student, which is borne out by his efforts, as an Astronomer, Geometrician, Historian, and Scholar. He travelled into different countries, at a time when Englishmen never quitted their own—and, in the course of his peregrinations, visited Ghuzni and Lahore. He wrote many works, and is said to have executed several translations from the Greek. His works are said to have exceeded a camel-load. For his famous Cánún-i-Mas'údí, a Geographical work, frequently cited by Abu-l-feda, he received from the emperor Mas'úd an elephant-load of silver, which, however, he returned to the Royal Treasury—'a proceeding contrary to human nature,'—according to the naive testimony of Shahrazuri. To the cultivator of Indian History his most valuable work is the 'Tarikhu-l-Hind,' an Arabic manuscript in the Royal Library, Paris. It treats of the literature and science of the Indians, at the commencement of the eleventh century. It informs us that he accompanied Mahmúd of Ghuzni; that he resided many years in India, in all probability chiefly in the Punjab; that he studied the Sanscrit language; translated into it some works from the Arabic, and translated from it two treatises into Arabic. The two chapters of his work, edited by M. Reinaud (in his Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits, relatifs a l' Inde, &c.) relate to the eras and geography of India. Like the Chinese travels of Fa-hian, they establish another fixed epoch, to which we can refer, for the determination of several points relating to the chronology of this country. We learn from them that the Harivansa Purána, which the most distinguished orientalists have hitherto ascribed to a period not anterior to the eleventh century, was already quoted in Biruni's time as a standard authority, and that the epoch of the composition of the five Siddhantas no longer admits of question; and thus the theories of Anquetil du Perron and Bentley are abolished for ever.*

Mr. Elliot gives an extract from the Tarikhu-l-Hind of great historical importance, from which it would appear that we are able to trace Brahman kings of Cabul to the beginning of the tenth century, about A. D. 920, and thus clear up the mist which enveloped a whole century of the Indian annals, previous to Mahmúd's invasion.

monarch reigned thirteen years. It may be as well to mention here, that Briggs, in his translation of Ferishta, has, by some oversight, entered the History of Hamdulla Mustauff, and the Tárfkh-i-Guzída, as two different works.

* Elliot, note B. This decision of a grave and interesting scientific question is fully more summary, than convincing.—Ed.

We find an irresistible attraction towards those portions of Mr. Elliot's work, that bear upon Akbar's splendid reign, as recorded in the Tarikh-i-Alfi, the Tarikh-i-Badauni, and the Tarikh-i-Ferishta. There is a raciness about the writings of Abdu-l-kadir Badauni, which we regret our inability to illustrate by extracts of sufficient length. The notice of him is very valuable, not merely as giving insight into the life and sentiments of a distinguished Muhammedan scholar and gentleman of that age, but as giving us a glimpse at the character of a class. From his abilities and acquirements, he was deemed worthy by the sovereign, to be employed on the Tarikh-i-Alfi, a historic compilation, drawn up by various learned men under Court patronage. Our Encyclopedist appears to have been a man of shrewd intellect, and, for his age, of large acquirements, but an exceedingly strict Mussulman of the Sunni persuasion. He held in abhorrence all who came between the wind and his own orthodoxy. One of his chief collaborateurs on the Tarikh-i-Alfi, and holding, from circumstances no less than ability, a higher place *then*, in public estimation than Abdu-l Kadir himself, was a learned Persian, called Mullána Ahmed—the author of Khulasatu-l-Haiat, 'the essence of life.' Of this man he speaks contemptuously, as, "a bigot, who had the impertinence to call himself a physician." His being a bigot would not have mattered much, had he been one on the right side; but Mullána Ahmed was a Shía, which, in our orthodox Encyclopedist's opinion, was much the same as if he had declared himself a visible agent of Eblis. Whatever Mullána Ahmed might be, his literary fellow labourer was a Sunni to the back bone, and, as we are apt to say now-a-days—'something more.' This Muhammedan Puritan could not abide the latitudinarianism on one part, and the heterodoxy or infidelity on the other, which he deemed the crying sin of the court. He always refers to it sarcastically, or bitterly; and, whether in his answer to those damnable new-fangled notions, as he honestly considered them, or whether as respected Akbar himself, Abu-l-Fazl, his brother Faizi, Múllah Ahmed, or whomsoever, or whatever bore hard on the Sunni side of the question, Abdu-l-Kadir shews himself as good a hater, as Dr. Johnson could desire to meet in a summer's day, or on any other day, equinoctial or antaretic. So much being premised, the following retort of our sturdy Sunni, upon the coaxing Shia, at the time assuredly his superior in position and general opinion, will be readily comprehended.

"He had as yet had no interview with Shaikh Faizí, and had not yet assumed that air of confidence, with which his intimacy with that minister inspired him, when I saw him one day in the Bázar, where some Irákís

took the opportunity of mentioning my name to him in terms of praise. Upon this, he addressed me, and said, "I see the mark of a Shía stamped on your forehead." "Just as much," I replied, "as I see Sunní stamped upon your's." The bystanders laughed, and were much gratified at the retort. I shall, please God! notice the close of his life in the proper place."

There is a smack of anticipating relish in the closing sentence, having reference to Ahmed's tragical fate; and Abdu-l-Kadir, as the editor justly observes—'fulfils that promise in the following passage, which affords as an amusing instance of *odium theologicum*, as is to be met with in any country.'

"During this month (Safar, 996 A. H.), Mírzá Faulád Birlas persuaded the heretic Múllá Ahmed, who was always openly reviling the first Khalifs, to leave his own house at midnight under some pretence, and then assassinated him. The chronograms of which event are, "Bravo! Faulad's stiletto!" and "Hellish hog!" and indeed, when I saw that dog in the agonies of death, I observed his countenance to be exactly like that of a hog: others also observed the same. May God protect me from such a dreadful fate!*

Mirza Faulád was bound alive to the leg of an elephant in the city of Lahore, and thus attained martyrdom.

When Hakím Abú-l-Fateh sent some one to enquire of him, whether sectarian prejudices had induced him to kill Múllá Ahmed, he replied that had that been the reason, he would have selected a more noble victim than the Múllá. The Hakím reported this speech to the king, who remarked that Mírzá Faulád was an implacable villain, and ought to suffer death. He therefore ordered him to be drawn, while yet living, by an elephant, although he was very nearly obtaining a pardon through the intercession of the ladies† of the royal household. The Múllá expired three or four days after the Mírzá."

A similar spirit breathes through his account of Sheik Faizí; for he not only describes him as dying the death of a reprobate, but kills even his poetry with a withering criticism, not unworthy of the trenchant style of the 19th century.

"He is commonly called the "chief of Poets," but he was in fact a mere Poetaster. He excelled in the minor arts of versification, enigmatic lines, and rhyming. In history, in philology, in medicine, in letter-writing, and in composition, he was without a rival. His earlier compositions in verse bear his titular name of Fáizí, which he subsequently dignified into Faiází, in order that it might correspond with the grammatical amplication of Allámí, by which his younger brother, Abú-l-fazl, was known; but the change was ill-omened, for he survived to enjoy his last title only one or two months, and then met his death with great alarm and inquietude.

* A Shía, who marked the rubrics on the margin of the copy I have used, takes a most summary revenge, by heading this passage thus, "The assassination of blessed Mulla Ahmed by the ruthless dagger of an accursed son of a pig."

† The Masiru-l-Umra says "by the nobles of the state." The determination to carry the sentence into effect shows the stern justice of the Emperor. The Birlás family had served his for eight generations, and Mirza Faulád had himself been selected by Akbar, to accompany an embassy to Abdulla Khan Uzbek, in the 42nd year of his reign.

He was an idle and vain talker, a hypocrite, and a haughty, malicious, dishonest, envious, perfidious, and ambitious man. He reviled the three first Khalífas and their disciples, the ancestors and descendants of the Prophet, the wise and the excellent, the pious and the saintly, and, in short, all Musulmáns in general, and ridiculed the principles of their faith, privately and publicly, by night and by day His conduct was so abominable, that even Jews, Christians, Hindús, Sabians and Guebres are considered a thousand times less odious. He acted entirely against the tenets of the Muhammedan religion. What was forbidden in that, was lawful to him, and vice versâ.

He composed a Commentary upon the Korán, consisting entirely of letters without diacritical points, in order to obliterate the spots of his infamy; but the waters of a hundred oceans will never cleanse the stain he has contracted, until the day of judgement. He composed it in the very height of his perfidy and drunkenness, and dogs were allowed to tread on every letter of it. In the same spirit of pride, stubbornness, and infidelity, he met his final doom, and in a manner, which I trust, no one may again see, or hear of; for when the king paid him a visit on his death-bed, he barked at his face like a dog, as the king himself acknowledged in public; his whole face was swollen, and his lips appeared black, as if soiled with dentifrice; insomuch that the king observed to Abú-l-fazl, "surely the Sheikh has been rubbing dentifrice on his teeth, according to the Indian fashion." "No," replied Abú-l-fazl, "it is the stain of the clotted blood, which he has been spitting."* In truth, even this scene was but a small retribution for the blasphemies, of which he had been guilty, and for the contumelies, which he had uttered against the Prophet, the last of the apostles (the peace of God be upon him, and all his family!). Several abusive chronograms were written on the occasion, of which the following are only a few. * * *

He had composed poetry for forty years, correct enough in point of versification and language, but utterly destitute of beauty, either in sentiment or religion.† He has joined the dry bones together pretty well, but the skeleton has no brains. The condiments of verse are sufficiently abundant, but quite tasteless, * * * as is proved by no one remembering his lines, although the very vilest poets meet with some quoters and admirers. Nevertheless, he wrote, what with Díwáns and Masnavís, more than twenty thousand lines; and, notwithstanding that he expended the rich revenues of his Jághír upon their transcription, and in sending copies to his friends, far and near, not one of them ever read his poems twice. The following verses of his own selection were given by him to Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed as a memento. * * * * * * * * Pray, tell me what beauty is there in them!"

The Tarikh-i-Badauni of this author is a general history of India, from the time of the Ghaznavides to the fortieth year of Akbar; and, as respects the reign of the latter, Mr. Elliot considers it very useful, as correcting, by its prevalent tone of censure and disparagement, the fulsome eulogium of the Akbar-nama.

* At the close of the historical narrative, the author tells us, that Faizí had been spitting blood for six months before his death, and that his barking like a dog was the consequence of his making those animals his constant companions, night and day, to insult the Musulmáns, to whom they are an abomination.

† This is by no means the general estimate of his poetry, which is greatly admired in India, even to this day.

Despite this tone, it had already been observed by Mr. Elphinstone in his history, that it conveys a more favourable impression of Akbar than the rhetorical flourishes of the Court Journalist (Abú-l-fazl). This is one of the few works, which, the Editor of the Index deems, would well repay the labour of translation. Of Sheikh Abú-l-fazl, Abdu-l-kadir observes in his caustic way, that—'he ingratiated himself with His Majesty by his unremitting devotion to the king's service, by his temporising disposition, which could reconcile him even to the commission of falsehood to serve his own interests, by the study of the king's temper and sentiments, and by his boundless flattery.'

Mr. Elliot's judgment on the Tarikh-i-Ferishta, is that—'it is by common consent, and not undeservedly, considered superior to all the other general histories of India.' The author of it was born at Astrabad, on the borders of the Caspian, about A. D. 1570. The date of his death is conjectured to have been about 1612. The value of the work, Mr. Elliot is of opinion, commences from the Muhammedan period, the history of which he has compiled from the best sources available. The introduction gives but a very imperfect view of Indian history, previous to the invasion of Islám, and is of about equal authority and value with the first ten books of Livy. In regard to Colonel Dow's translation of the first and second books, giving an account of the Mogul Emperors down to Akbar, Mr. Elliot truly observes 'that Dow has so interwoven his own remarks with that of the author, that it is sometimes difficult to separate them, and in such a manner too, as sometimes to convey an entirely different meaning, from that which Ferishta intended.' Mr. Elliot considers, that the translation of the entire work by General Briggs (in 4 vols. 8vo., 1829) has thrown others into the shade, and is by far the most valuable storehouse of facts connected with the Muhammedan Dynasties of India, which is accessible to the English reader. The Editor notices the somewhat uncandid review of the work by J. Von Hammer, who takes little notice of its merits, and confines himself principally to hypercritical censures on its orthography; 'Such petty cavillings are unworthy of one of the most distinguished Orientalists of the continent: but they are not confined to the translator of Ferishta; the profoundest scholars of the world have not escaped his critical reprehensions, which he sometimes lavishes with a most unsparing hand, and very often on the most trifling lapses of spelling, version, or punctuation.'

Mr. Elliot has a very interesting note on fire-worship in India. It refers to the march of the Sultan Ibrahim to Dera, which he inclines to suppose may indicate the Dehra of the Dhún.

"All the authors, however, who mention the circumstance, whether they give the name or not, notice that the inhabitants were banished by Afrásiáb; and this concurrent tradition respecting their expulsion from Khorásán seems to indicate the existence of a colony of Fire-worshippers in these hills, who preserved their peculiar rites and customs, notwithstanding the time which had elapsed since their departure from their native country.

Putting aside the probability, which has frequently been speculated upon, of an original connection between the Hindú religion and the worship of fire, and the derivation of the name of Magadha from the Magi, there is much in the practical worship of the Hindús, such as the *hom*, the *gaiatrí*, the address to the sun* at the time of ablution, the prohibition against insulting that luminary by indecent gestures,†—all which would lead an inattentive observer to conclude the two religions to bear a very close resemblance to one another. It is this consideration, which should make us very careful in receiving the statements of the early Muhammedan writers on this subject; and the use of the word *Gabr*, to signify not only, especially, a Fire-worshipper, but, generally, an Infidel of any denomination, adds to the probability of confusion and inaccuracy.

European scholars have not been sufficiently attentive to this double use of the word; and all those, who have relied upon M. Petit de la Croix's translation of Sherífu-d-dín, have considered that, at the period of Timúr's invasion, fire-worship prevailed most extensively in Upper India, because *Gabr* is used throughout by the historians of that invasion, to represent the holders of a creed opposed to his own, and against which his rancour and cruelty were unsparingly directed.

But though the word is used indiscriminately, there are certain passages in which it is impossible to consider that any other class but Fire-worshippers is meant. Thus, it is distinctly said that the people of Tughlakpúr‡ believed *in the two principles of good and evil in the universe, and acknowledged Ahrimán and Yezdan (Ormuzd)*. The captives, massacred at Loní§, are said to have been *Magians, as well as Hindús*: and, in the passage quoted in the article HABIBU-S-SIYAR, it is stated that the son of Safi Gabr threw himself into the fire, *which he worshipped*.

We cannot refuse our assent to this distinct evidence of the existence of Fire-worshippers in Upper India, as late as the invasion of Timúr, A. D. 1398-9. There is, therefore, no improbability that the independent tribe, which had been expelled by Afrásiáb, and practised their own peculiar rites, and whom Ibráhim, the Ghaznevide, attacked in A. D. 1079, were a colony of Fire-worshippers from Irán, who, if the date assigned be true, must have left their native country, before the reforms effected in the national creed by Zoroaster.

Indeed, when we consider the constant intercourse which had prevailed from oldest time between Persia and India,‖ it is surprising that we do not

* See Lucian's description of the circular dance peculiar to Indian priests, in which they worship the sun, standing with their faces towards the east.—*De Saltatione*. See also Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. pp. 137, 146. Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*. Art. *Indien*, pp. 166, 172.

† Hesiod enables us to disguise it in a learned language.

Μηδ' ἀντ' ηελιοιο τετραμμένος ὀρθὸς ὀμιχειν.

Op et Di. v. 672

See also *Menu*, iv, 52. *Ramayana* II. 59. Bohlen. *d. alt Ind.* Vol. I. p. 139.

‡ Cherifeddin, *Hist. de Timur*, Tom. III. p. 81.

§ Price's *Chronological Retrosp. of Mah. Hist.* Vol. III. p. 254.

‖ Troyer, *Raja Tarangini*, Vol. II. p. 141.

find more unquestionable instances of the persecuted Fire-worshippers seeking an asylum in Northern India, as well as Guzerát.

The instances, in which they are alluded to before this invasion of Timúr, are very rare, and almost always so obscurely mentioned, as to leave some doubt in the mind, whether foreign ignorance of native customs and religious rites may not have given a colour to the narrative.

The evidence of the Chinese traveller, Hwen thsang, to the existence of sun-worship at Multán in 640 A. D. is very decisive. He found there a "temple of the sun, and an idol erected to represent that grand luminary," with dwellings for the priests, and reservoirs for ablution ;* yet, he says, the city was inhabited chiefly by men of the Brahminical religion.

A few centuries before, if Philostratus is to be believed, Apollonius, after crossing the Indus, visited the temple of the sun at Taxila; and Phraotes, the chief of the country, describes the Indians, as, in a moment of joy, "snatching torches from the altar of the sun," and mentions that he himself never drank wine, except "when sacrificing to the sun." After crossing the Hyphasis, Apollonius goes to a place, which would seem to represent Jwála Mukhí, where they "worship fire," and "sing hymns in honour of the sun.†"

When the Arabs arrived in the valley of the Indus, they found the same temple, the same idol, the same dwellings, the same reservoirs, as had struck the Chinese: but their description of the idol would lead us to suppose that it was a representation of Budh. Bírúní, however, whose testimony is more valuable than that of all other Muhammedans, as he was fully acquainted with the religious system of the Hindús, plainly tells us,‡ that the idol of Múltán was called *Aditya*,§ because it was consecrated to the *sun*, and that Muhammed bin Kassam, the first invader, suspended a piece of cow's flesh from its neck, in order to show his contempt of the superstition of the Indians, and to disgust them with this double insult to the dearest objects of their veneration.‖

Shortly before Bírúní wrote, we have another instance of this tendency to combine the two worships. In the message which Jaipál sent to Násiru-d-dín, in order to dissuade him from driving the Indians to desperation, he is represented to say,• (according to the Táríkh-i-Alfí), "The Indians are accustomed to pile their property, wealth, and precious jewels in one heap, and to kindle it with the fire, *which they worship*. They then kill their women and children, and, with nothing left in the world, they rush to their last on-slaught, and die in the field of battle; so that for their victorious enemies the only spoil is dust and ashes. The declaration is a curious one in the mouth of a Hindú, but may perhaps be considered to indicate the existence of a modified form of pyrolatry in the beginning of the eleventh century.

* *Journal Asiatique*. Tom. VIII. p. 298. and *Foe Koue Ki*. p. 393.

† Philostrati *Vita Apollonii*. Lib. II. Cap. 24, 32. Lib. III. Cap. 14.

‡ M. Reinaud. *Fragmens Arabes et Persans*. p. 141.

§ See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 761. *Anthologia Sanscritica*. p. 172. *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 263. Vans Kennedy, *Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, p. 349.

‖ There is nothing in the various origins ascribed to the name of Múltán, which gives any colour to the supposition, that the city was devoted to the worship of the sun. See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*. Vol. I. p. 99. *Zeitschrift f. d. k. d. Morg.* Vol. III. p. 196.

The practice alluded to is nothing more than the *Johar*, which is so frequently practised by Hindús in despair."

We regret to be compelled by want of space to omit the remainder of this learned and valuable note. For the same reason we must forego any notice of one, not less valuable, learned, and interesting '*on the early use of gun-powder in India*,' and must content ourselves with our final one, which, though severe, is fraught with much truth. Young Bengal should con it well. Referring to the imperfections of the authors whom he had to consult, the Editor of this admirable work observes:

"From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depth of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have—even among the short extracts in this single volume—of Hindús slain for disputing with Muhammedans,* of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures ;† of idols mutilated,‡ of temples razed,§ of forcible conversions and marriages,‖ of proscriptions and confiscations,¶ of murders and massacres,** and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants, who enjoined them—†† show us, that this picture is not overcharged; and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers, who seem to sympathize with no virtues, and to abhor no vices. Whenever, therefore, in the course of this Index a work is characterized as excellent, admirable, or valuable, it must be remembered, that these terms are used relatively to the narrative only; and it is but reasonable to expect, that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on.

These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindú is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears, and yearnings of his subject race; but unfortunately he rarely writes, unless according to order or dictation; and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except perhaps a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which shows how ill the foreign garb befits him.

With him, a Hindú is "an infidel," and a Muhammedan "one of the true faith;" and of the holy Saints of the Calendar he writes with all

* See pp. 254, 291, 336.

† See pp. 197, 235, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 257, 292.

‡ See pp. 236, 286, 333, 344.

§ See pp. 228, 229, 292.

‖ See pp. 196, 287, 335.

¶ See pp. 289, 330, 332, 333.

** See pp. 127, 158, 160, 286, 289, 333, 334, 335.

†† See pp. 112, 284, 285, 288, 290, 381, 390.

the fervour of a bigot. With him, when Hindús are killed, "their souls are despatched to hell;" and when a Muhammedan suffers the same fate, "he drinks the cup of martyrdom." He is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks "of the light of Islám shedding its refulgence on the world," "of the blessed Muharram," and "of the illustrious Book." He usually opens with a "Bismillah," and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of the Godhead, followed by laudations of the holy prophet, his disciples, and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammedans. One of the Hindú authors, here noticed, speaks of standing in his old age "at the head of his bier, on the brink of his grave;" though he must have been fully aware that, before long, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges. Even at a later period, when no longer "Tiberii ac Neronis res ob *metum* falsæ,"* there is not one of this slavish crew, who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions, and raptures, which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint, and without adulation.

But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one, who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance, by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and to show that the history of the Muhammedan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from *them*, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammedan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters, now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery, and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Babús, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein, it would take these young Brutuses and Phocions a very short time to learn, that, in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement. From *them* too these idle vapourers would learn, that the sacred spark of patriotism is exotic here, and can never fall on a mine that will explode; for history will show them, that certain peculiarities of physical, as well as moral organization, neither to be strengthened by diet, nor improved by education, have hitherto prevented their even attempting a national independence,—which will continue to exist to them but as a name, and as an offscouring of college declamations.† We should be compelled to listen

* Tacitus. *Annal* I. 1.

† Mr. Elliot is over severe in this remark. A nation, bowed down for ages under the degrading yoke of Hinduism, does not start up into strength, and maturity at once. In mental organization, the Bengali is second to none; and, if we are to judge from recent events, the capacity for self government, and even the morality, of more highly favoured nations do not rise much above those of Young Bengal. True science and true religion may yet show what is in them.—Ed.

no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures, when almost every page will show, that there was no tenure, whatever its designation, which was not open to resumption in the theory of the law, and which was not repeatedly resumed in practice. Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the "exceeding magnifical" structures of his Mogul predecessors,* it will check his aspirations to learn, that, beyond palaces and porticos, temples and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, if we omit only three names in the long line of Delhi Emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them; and, with the exception of a few seraís† and bridges—and these only on roads traversed by the imperial camps,—he will see nothing, in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail.‡ The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not attempted to deny; but personal vanity was the main cause of their erection; and, with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility."

* This was the grandiloquent declaration of a late Governor General, at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors. But when his head became turned by the laurels, which the victories of others placed upon his brow, these professions were forgotten; and the only monument remaining of his peaceful aspirations is a tank under the palace walls of Delhi, which, as it remains empty one part of the year, and exhales noxious vapours during the other, has been voted a nuisance by the inhabitants of the imperial city, who have actually petitioned that it may be filled up again.

† The present dilapidation of these buildings is sometimes adduced as a proof of our indifference to the comforts of the people. It is not considered, that where they do exist in good repair, they are but little used, and that the present system of Government no longer renders it necessary that travellers should seek protection within fortified enclosures. If they are to be considered proofs of the solicitude of former monarchs for their subject's welfare, they are also standing memorials of the weakness and inefficiency of their administration. Add to which, that many of the extant seráís were the offspring, not of imperial, but of private, liberality.

‡ See p. 242.

ART. IV.—1. *Directions for Settlement Officers, promulgated under the authority of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces. Agra.* 1844.

2. *Translation of a Proceeding regarding the settlement of a village, according to the system pursued in the North Western Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal: compiled and published under the orders of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor, North Western Provinces. Agra.* 1847.

3. *Settlement Reports of several Districts, printed and published at various times by order of Government, North Western Provinces.*

4. *Memoir on the Statistics of the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, compiled from official documents, under orders of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor, by A. Shakespear, Esq., Assistant Secretary to the Government. Calcutta.* 1848.

WHEN Ram Mohun Roy made his first appearance in the streets of London, he was greeted with the cry of "Tippoo;" the mob apparently thinking that all who wore "the shadowed livery of the burnished sun" were equally entitled to that name. We have often observed a somewhat similar tendency to generalization with regard to Indian matters, even among Englishmen of intelligence and education. They acquire notions, perhaps imperfect ones, regarding some branch of administration in a particular part of the country; and upon these they argue, when the occasion arises, as if they must apply to all our widely extended provinces alike. If the Editor of the *Spectator* wishes to prove that it is the pressure of the Government revenue, which prevents the supply of cotton to the English market, he draws his conclusions from assertions of Bombay merchants, which, whether true or not, as regards that Presidency, are certainly quite inapplicable to Bengal. Even Professor Jones, with his peculiar means of information, has erred in a similar way. When discussing the nature of ryot rents in India, and lamenting that Sir Thomas Munro's advice to reduce those rents in certain parts of the Madras Territory was not complied with, he seems to have been totally unaware that, in the larger and richer portion of our Eastern Empire, the Government is no longer the sole landlord; that the agricultural management now rests with other proprietors, whose interest in the soil has been created by the limitation of the public demand; and that the amount of rent paid by the actual cultivators, where not limited by special circumstances, is

regulated by natural causes, with which the revenue paid to the State has no connection.

We think, therefore, that it may help to correct existing misconceptions, if we attempt to describe the great work of the revision of the settlement in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, which has been brought to gradual completion during the last twenty years. In the execution of this attempt, we shall be led to speak of the general mode of revenue administration now pursued; to point out the evils, which the settlement was intended to remedy; and to consider how far this end has been attained. The topic, thus set before us, is one of the highest interest. We have to deal with operations vitally affecting the welfare of many millions of our Indian fellow-subjects; not to reckon the millions more, to whom the same system may be hereafter extended. In eliminating the plan, upon which these measures were to be conducted, and in superintending their progress, men of the first intellect in the country found ample scope for all their faculties and energies; while, for the execution of the work itself, the best subordinate talent, which the service afforded, was for many years placed in requisition, and taxed to the utmost. The revision of the settlement has made us better acquainted with the people, whom we have been called upon to govern, than we might otherwise have been in centuries. It has given us an insight into their condition, feelings, desires, and wants. It has thrown a flood of light on all the relations of the people with the State. It has furnished the Government with means, never before possessed, for encouraging industry and protecting private rights; while it has accustomed our subjects themselves to familiar intercourse with their rulers, and has inspired them with confidence in our moderation, and reliance on our justice. It has done more to prevent affrays, and to lead to the peaceable adjustment of disputes regarding real property, than all the terrors of the penal law could ever have effected. While in progress, the settlement afforded the best school for fitting men to fill other offices of every description; and, even now, the necessity of maintaining its arrangements, and acting up to its provisions, supplies a training of nearly equal efficacy. Those who, after such a training, are called to preside in a civil court, are enabled by the settlement arrangements and records to decide confidently, where they must before have groped hopelessly in the dark. A measure, which has been followed by such results, besides its more immediate object of equalizing taxation, must deserve the attention of all, who take any interest in the welfare of India.

The treatise, which we have placed at the head of this article,

entitled 'Directions to Settlement Officers,' is the last which has been issued on the subject, and the only one which has aimed at embracing it in all its parts. It possesses further this great advantage over the detached instructions, issued at various former times for the guidance of the officers employed, that it has been drawn up, after the plan originally laid down has been tested by experience, in the progress of which mistakes have been corrected, and the course of procedure matured. In the clearness of its arrangement, and the comprehensiveness of its views, this manual leaves nothing to be desired: and to it we must refer our readers for the details of that system, of which we are about to place the more prominent points before them. The specimen Settlement Misl has been prepared under the sanction of the same high and competent authority, as the Directions. It only represents a supposed case, and is intended to show how the plan prescribed in the manual, may, under particular circumstances, be carried out into practice. The printed Settlement Reports, on the other hand, detail the course which has actually been pursued by many able officers. We would recommend a careful study of these reports to any one, who is really desirous of mastering the subject. They show the information which has to be sought for, the various difficulties which have been met with in different localities, and the mode in which they have been overcome. The Statistical Memoir relates principally to questions, which are foreign to our present purpose; and we cannot now pay it the attention it deserves: but we have quoted it here, as containing many of the general results of the Settlement. In it will be found the extent of land, cultivated or otherwise, in each pergunnah of every district, together with the amount of the Government assessment, and the rate at which this falls on the area. The corrected population returns, given in this Memoir, are founded on enquiries, made since the settlement was concluded; but that operation paved the way for a clearer knowledge upon this head, as well as upon all others, connected with the rural economy of the country.

The North West Provinces contain, by the last and most accurate returns, 71,985 square statute miles, with a population of 23,199,668 souls. The land revenue, demanded from them in 1846-7, amounted to rupees 4,05,29,921; in addition to which they paid in the same year a nett sum of rupees 16,60,901 (including collections due for former years), on account of Abkarí, and of rupees 12,33,903 for Stamps. The Customs duties, levied on the frontier during the same period, (by far the greater part of which must be considered a tax upon

these provinces) amounted to about rupees 62,00,000; thus making up, with other minor sources of income, a total revenue of more than five crores of rupees. The whole territory is divided into thirty-two districts, which are classed in six* divisions. The whole of these have come under survey; but there has of course been no general revision of the revenue in those parts of the Benares division, of which the Government demand was permanently fixed in the year 1795. The revenue has there remained unaltered, except in cases where an estate had always been farmed, and the demand had therefore never been determined in perpetuity; or where the permanent demand had broken down, and required reduction. The main object of extending the operations into that part of the country was to decide many long outstanding questions, in which the claims of the Government, or of individuals, were concerned, and to give the people the option of placing on record the same detailed statement of private rights, and of the mode of internal administration, which had been introduced elsewhere.

In extent of territory, therefore, the provinces which, with the above partial exceptions, have come under settlement, are about equal to England and Scotland, without Wales. In point of population, they about equal Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia: while the gross revenue, realized from them, exceeds by one half that of the Kingdom of Belgium. Following the line of the Ganges and Jumna, the extreme distance, from Goruckpore on the south-east to Hissar on the north-west, is nearly 700 miles. In this wide expanse of country much diversity of race, language, and character, is naturally met with among the occupants of the soil. The Rajpút of Azimghur, the Brahmin of Cawnpore, the Ahír of the ravines of the Jumna, the Gujur of Meerut, and the Jât of Delhi, have all peculiarities, which distinguish them, not only from other tribes, but also from men of the same tribe in other places. To the essential differences of caste, with its influence on their occupations, lawful and unlawful, are added others, arising from social position, or local circumstances; the last being aggravated by the want of communication between distant parts of the country. Among the Muhammedans, again, the Patan of Rohilcund and the Syud of the Upper Duáb have little in common with other land-holders of the same faith, but of inferior descent; while the whole race were originally as distinct from the Hindus, among whom they settled, as the Normans were from the Saxons at the period of the conquest.

* Delhi, Rohilcund, Meerut, Agra, Allahabad, Benares.

In a body of agriculturists thus constituted, there will be a considerable variety of customs, prejudices, and institutions, to which due attention was requisite, when carrying out an extensive measure, like that of the late settlement. Indeed it was one of the chief objects of the settlement to discover and record such peculiarities, whether they related to the extent of existing rights, or to the manner in which those rights were to be exercised and maintained. Nevertheless, while care was needful, not to pre-suppose the existence of complete uniformity, especially in minor points, it was easy to trace a general resemblance in the landed tenures of all parts, and among men of all tribes and races. Whoever has once mastered the position, in which the rural inhabitants of any single district stand to each other and to the Government, can find little difficulty in understanding any deviations from the same type, which he may observe elsewhere. Of these apparent anomalies many will be found, on closer consideration, to involve differences only of names, or of methods; the principle remaining the same. Such are the various modes of distributing the Government demand upon the holdings of those who contribute to it; whether by a rate on the measured number of bígahs, or on ploughs, or wells, or fictitious bígahs of large size. Others again are more real, and affect materially the interests of those concerned with them; but these almost always relate to the position of the members of one grade of the agricultural community, as regards each other—not as regards those of any other grade. Of this kind are the customs, met with in Bundelcund, of repartitioning the land on the occurrence of certain contingencies—and, under other circumstances, of the gratuitous liquidation of arrears, due from defaulters, by their solvent brethren. Such too are the peculiar rules, existing in particular tribes or families, regarding legitimacy and inheritance, and the singular distinction occasionally drawn between the possession of the land and that of the proprietary right; whereby a man may dispose of all his land, and yet retain an exchangeable interest in the estate.* It is seldom that local or special custom interferes with the relations usually found to exist between the several grand classes, who are entitled to share in the produce of the soil; as between the ryot and the zemindar, or the zemindar and the Government.† A clear view of these rela-

* See Report on the Settlement of Azimghur.—Par. 65-66.

† As a rare instance of a local rule of this kind, we may quote the custom prevalent in some districts, and especially in Azimghur, whereby cultivators of the higher castes (Ushraff) pay uniformly a lower rent than those of inferior castes (Urzal). See Report on Azimghur.—Par. 92-93.

tions is therefore a requisite qualification, either for making a settlement, or for comprehending one, when made. We shall endeavour to state, in small compass, how they stood under the Native dynasties, and in what way they have been modified under the British rule.

In tracing up the landed tenures, now existing in these provinces, to their earliest source, we find that there were originally but two parties, who possessed any fixed rights in the soil or its produce. These were the Government on the one hand, and those, who first occupied and appropriated the land under the Government, on the other. Of these two parties, the ruling power must be considered to have been the chief proprietor, inasmuch as it was entitled to demand a full rent from all productive land, and to dispose, at its pleasure, of all extensive wastes and forests. These claims on the part of the State were, at various periods, more or less rigidly enforced ; but they were indefeasible, except with its own consent.

The private proprietors, to whom the produce of the land, after paying the Government demand, belonged, were ; in some cases, single individuals, who managed a tract (of greater or less extent) through their own dependants. In these cases, the tenure had generally been obtained by direct grant from the Government itself. The zemindarí right, in a region previously uninhabited, or tenanted only by predatory and wandering tribes, was often thus assigned to some man of wealth and influence, with a view to the introduction of order and agricultural improvement. The grantee then settled on the spot, and by degrees brought in cultivators of the industrious classes, to whom he portioned off the land according to their means. In so doing, he would often find it expedient to give the head man of each location a permanent interest in the increase of the produce. This was sometimes done by a written document (as in the case of the Briteas in Goruckpore), by which certain terms were fixed, as those on which the village was in future to be held. But it was more usual merely to acknowledge one of the cultivators, as Mokuddum, or Jeth ryot, and to give him certain privileges, such as a portion of land rent free, or a small percentage on the collections, in return for his service. The office of Mokuddum, thus constituted, usually descended in the same family ; but, unless it rested on some specific and permanent grant, it was not susceptible of division among heirs, or of transfer. The Zemindar, or superior lord, remained sole master in a tract thus peopled, except so far as his authority was limited by his own grants, or by such other rights, as might spring up under him by prescription and the usage of

the country. He made his own bargain with the Government for the sum which he had to pay as revenue ; while his receipts depended mainly on the skill and success, with which he improved his domain.

Far more commonly, however, the private right in the soil was held by a numerous body of sharers, who were all descended from the same stock, and who, for the most part, cultivated, as well as owned, the land. These were the famous village communities, of whom so much has been written ; the "indestructible atoms," to which the rural body politic chiefly owed its strength and permanency ; the rocks, over which the waves of conquest or intestine disturbance so often flowed, without moving them from their fixed position. These communities were as independent in their origin, as many of them have long proved themselves to be in their self-maintained stability. The foundation of their tenures was laid in those ancient times, when tribe after tribe of Rajpúts, or of Jâts, and other races connected with the Rajpúts, left their home in the distant regions of Northern Asia, and migrated to the then thinly populated plains of India. The rise of the Muhammedan power, in Affghanistan and its neighbourhood, barred the route against any further influx from that quarter ; but similar migrations long continued to take place from the countries on this side the Indus, or from Rajpútána, to the Gangetic valley, and from one portion of that valley to another. These changes of location were not always accomplished without a contest with previous occupants; a memorial of whom may often still be seen in the old shapeless mound, on which their fort, or little capital, once stood. However this may have been, as soon as the new comers found themselves undisputed masters of the soil, they proceeded to divide it according to their families. Each of these at first settled down at some distance from the rest, leaving space around to provide for future expansion. In the next generation, shoots were thrown off from each of these stocks, who fixed themselves in the nearest unoccupied spot to that from which they issued. As time advanced, this process was repeated, till the whole tract, which the tribe had originally grasped, became fully tenanted and cultivated. It had then become divided into a number of separate properties, the limits of which had by degrees been carefully determined, though they were often interlaced in a singular way with each other. This was owing to the mode of partition practised by these communities. Instead of drawing a line through the centre of the tract to be divided, they considered it a fairer plan for each party to select their several portions, field by field, out of the whole

area. Shares in the same property were divided in a similar way. The arrangement is an inconvenient and injurious one; but it forms a peculiar characteristic of these proprietary bodies.

The individual members of the village communities were the "Raeia," or hereditary cultivators, the protection of whom was considered of so much importance by Akbár and Aurungzebe, and by every other native ruler, who paid any attention to the welfare of his people. As individuals, their rights consisted in the permanency of their tenure as occupants of their ancestral fields, subject to the payment of the dues of the State. As collective bodies, they raised among themselves the whole sum required by the Government from the village, making their own agreements with any cultivators of other castes, or families, whom they might have introduced to assist them in the culture of the land: they collected and appropriated the spontaneous products of the earth or water within their precincts: they realized ground rents from non-agriculturists resident in the village, and cesses from occasional fairs or markets. In the same capacity, they were entitled to manage their internal affairs without foreign interference; they provided for watch and ward, and for a rude system of detective Police, and decided, by arbitration, or by the authority of their head men, almost all disputes of a civil nature, which arose among the brotherhood. The amount of the Government assessment was usually determined by actual estimate of each crop, while on the ground; for which duty a special establishment was kept up by the Amil (revenue collector). The demand, thus fixed, was realized, when the crop was cut, by the Mokuddums, or chief men of the village, and conveyed by them to the district treasury; when they commonly received a turban, and an allowance of two per cent on the sum paid in, as a remuneration for their services. It might occasionally happen, that the Mokuddums, or one of their number, had the means and enterprise to engage with the Amil to pay a fixed sum for a short term of years, so as to avoid the necessity for this constant examination of the crops. In that case, the party, who took the lease, entered into an engagement in his own name, and himself arranged with the other sharers for their quotas of the sum, which he had agreed to pay. But, after the term of the engagement had expired, either the Government, or the people, had the option of reverting to the actual estimate of produce, which was better suited to the uncertainty of seasons, as combined with general improvidence of habits.

The rights and privileges, thus described, were amply sufficient to constitute a heritable and transferable property, notwithstanding the abstract right of the Government to claim, as

revenue, the whole net rent of the land. The share of the gross produce, which both Hindu and Muhammedan Governments professed to take,* would have always left a beneficial interest in the land to the ryot; and, allowing that these professions were seldom adhered to in practice, it was probably impossible to exact a full rent with any degree of certainty or regularity. The value of the tenure was increased by the other sources of profit adverted to above, as well as by the houses, groves and wells, which were gradually built, or planted, or dug, on the land. The property, thus formed, was seldom transferred by sale; a strong prejudice existing against such a procedure. But it descended to heirs, was conveyed by gift, and was frequently mortgaged and redeemed.

Nothing but the greatest calamity, or the greatest injustice, could, by sudden violence, dislodge or break up the proprietary communities thus established. The nature of their tenure, as above described, was indicated by the designations assigned to them. They were called "Biswadars," or "Bhúmias," or by other titles, expressive of their indissoluble connection with the soil. Their rights were considered as sacred as those of the sovereign himself, and were never infringed without the stigma of tyranny being attached to the aggressor. This public feeling in their favour, together with their own intense attachment to their patrimony, and the power of combination, which they possessed for mutual defence and support, enabled them to weather many a storm, and to re-appear, though perhaps with diminished numbers and resources, when the danger had passed away. The slow effects of time had, however, produced great changes among them, long before they came under our sway. A long series of years, extending often to several centuries from the first settlement of the tribe, and the succession of accidents in unsettled times, had tended to shake even the firm hold which they had upon the land. The Rajpúts, in particular, had gradually succumbed before the advance of other races of less ancient descent, but of greater industry. Where a "Choúrassi" of Rajput communities once existed, they had dwindled to a much smaller number; the places of the others being occupied by Kayths, Kachis, or Kuromis, or by some single owner.† Still no change occurred in the relations of the

* It is stated in the *Ayeen Akbarry* that the Hindu monarchs of Hindustan exacted the sixth part of the produce. The Muhammedan princes in different kingdoms of Asia exacted various proportions, as the fifth, the sixth, and the tenth; but levied at the same time a general poll tax, and other imposts. Akbar abolished all arbitrary taxes, and fixed the Government demand at one-third of the produce. It will be seen that this nearly corresponds with the theoretical share taken under our own system.

† See the maps intended to illustrate this change of proprietorship between Akbar's time and our own, in Sir Henry Elliot's Supplemental Glossary.

occupants of the soil with the State. The new proprietors merely took the places of those, whom they had supplanted, just as these had perhaps taken the place of others, many ages before.

Such were the tenures, which sprung up, under the original constitution of the country, according as the land was first occupied by a single individual of comparative wealth and power, or by a body of industrious cultivators. These parties respectively were, as we have said, in the first instance the sole private holders of any fixed interest in the soil. In the large zemindaris, other rights might by degrees arise by gift, contract, or prescription: but this could hardly occur in tracts tenanted by the village communities. Their connection with the land was too close to allow of any claims springing up under them; and, though they frequently admitted other ryots to share their labours, these last had no settled position, and were for the most part merely tenants at will. The simple system, thus established, was, however, often complicated from causes, of which some mention must here be made.

It has been seen that the native governments usually collected their revenue from the village landholders by means of temporary officers, corresponding in that respect with our Tuhsildars. But it often happened that, from motives of policy or favour, they delegated their rights in this respect in one or more villages to some person, previously unconnected with the spot, and permitted him to realize, on his own account, the share of the produce, otherwise due to the State. If this grantee was allowed to appropriate the revenue to his own use, or for special services, he was termed a Múafidar, or Jaghirdar. When he engaged to pay a yearly sum to the Government in return for his tenure, he was called a Talúkadar, or Zemindar. The only difference between these two last terms appears to have been, that the latter denoted a more permanent tenure than the former; a Talúkadar being simply a farmer upon a large scale.* Besides the grants of this nature, which were really made or confirmed by the sovereign power, there were vast numbers, which could boast no such legitimate origin. Many were conferred by the Amils, or usurped with their connivance. A large talúka sometimes sprung up by degrees from an originally small nucleus, the owner of which took advantage of periods of temporary distress to bring more and more of the surrounding estates under his influence. This was the more readily accomplished, as the people themselves were often not disinclined to

* The Zemindar was also entitled to some deduction from the jumma, at which the tract made over to him had previously been rated; whereas the Talúkadar merely made the best terms he could in settling the amount of his contract.

the arrangement. They thought that, in transferring their payments from the Amil to the Talúkadar, they were only securing a powerful friend, who could help them in time of need.

It was indeed evident, that the inherent and universally acknowledged rights of the original tenants and occupants of the soil were, neither in equity, nor by the intention of the ruling power, at all affected by this interposition of another party between them and the State. The characteristic and distinguishing feature of their tenure was, that it should remain unaltered under every possible change of the government, or of its delegates. The Government could only assign its own claims to the Múafídar or Talúkadar; which claims were, as we have seen, perfectly compatible with, and clearly distinguished from, the rights of the communities. The assignee was entitled to receive the government share of the produce; but here his authority properly ceased. The village landholders had made no transfer of their rights, nor was it in the power of any party in the state to deprive them of those rights against their will.* Instead of settling with the Amils for the revenue due from them, they had henceforth to deal with one who claimed, or hoped, to hold a more permanent office; but in all other respects their position remained unchanged. The new superior might often be induced by his wants, and enabled by his local knowledge, to lay a heavier burden on the land, than would otherwise have been levied; but he was well aware, that if he carried this to the extent of oppressing, or, a fortiori, of breaking up the communities, he was exceeding his known powers, and violating the tacit conditions, under which his own tenure had been constituted.

Our readers will now be able, in some measure, to judge of the problem, which lay before the government, when, in the years 1801-3, such vast strides were made, by the cessions from the Nuwab Vizir, and the conquest from Scindiah and the Peishwah, towards the completion of our Indian empire. The difficulty of solving that problem consisted, partly in our ignorance of its conditions, and in the want of experienced revenue officers; and partly in the hurried way in which the first arrangements had to be formed. The most pressing object was to secure the revenue; and it was thought that this could be most easily done, by fixing the responsibility of it upon the fewest and wealthiest

* See Elphinstone's India, Vol. 1, Page 140, on this subject.—"It has been mentioned, that the king can alienate his share in a village. In like manner he often alienates large portions of territory, including numerous villages, as well as tracts of unappropriated waste. But, in all these cases, it is only his own rights that he makes over; those of the village landholders and permanent tenants (where such exist) remaining unaffected by the transfer," &c. &c.

of those willing to engage. Besides this, there was still at that time a general prepossession in favor of the zemindarí system, under which the permanent settlement in Bengal, and more partially in Benares, had previously been concluded. The proper type of the rural system was thought to consist of one or more Zemindars for each estate, or collection of estates, in immediate connection with government, and of a body of ryots, some of whom had a right of occupancy, and others not. The idea of a community of cultivators, all of whom were also proprietors (though convenience required that their affairs should be conducted through a few of their number, as representatives of the rest), appears to have been scarcely realized. This tendency was observable in our laws, as well as in our practice. Many enactments were passed, in the earlier times of our rule in these provinces, for regulating the dealings of the Zemindars with their Ryots; but none, for many years, which had reference to the mutual relations of the agricultural co-sharers, or which distinctly recognized the proprietary right of those not under personal engagements with the State. The legislature, indeed, appears to have been fully aware, that the early revenue proceedings were likely to be very erroneous, and reserved to itself, by a special provision, the power of making any future enactments, which might be necessary for the protection and "welfare of 'the puttídars, under renters, ryots, and other cultivators of 'the soil;" but it was long before this intention was fulfilled.*

In the meantime we proceeded, immediately on assuming charge of our new territories, to take some most important steps with regard to landed tenures in general. We relinquished the principle, which had been acted upon by the native Governments, that the revenue of the state had no limit within the amount of the entire rent; as well as the arbitrary practice, pursued by those Governments, of interfering at their pleasure with the exercise of established rights. We abjured this system as one, which, though it had not extinguished the possession by subjects of property in land, had rendered it "precarious and of little value." We "confirmed and established" this proprietary right in all persons before possessing it; we acknowledged the claims of such parties to engage for the revenue, and we even gave them a conditional promise, that the amount of their revenue should soon be fixed in perpetuity.† The rule, according

* See Regulation XXV. of 1803, Sec. 35, C. I., and Regulation IX. of 1805, Sec. 25, C. I.

† See Regulation XXV. of 1803, Sections 34 and 36, and Regulation IX. of 1805, Sections 24 and 26. The promise of a permanent settlement was repeated on several occasions afterwards, but was happily never fulfilled; otherwise we should have perpetuated a most unequal assessment, and stereotyped all our errors of other kinds, just as has been done in Bengal.

to which the Government demand was to be calculated, was not at that time clearly or finally laid down; but a pledge was evidently given to relinquish a portion of the net rent of the land. Upon no other principle could a contract be entered into for a lengthened term of years, or could any benefit be derived from such a contract, by those who were not cultivators themselves. A distinction thus arose between rent and revenue, which did not before exist. Before, the revenue might have been nothing more than the net rent, after defraying the expenses of management. Now, the revenue became that part of the rent, which remained, after deducting both the expences of management, and the proprietary profits.*

The early settlements were made for periods, varying from three to five years. They were effected in a very easy and cursory way. The Collector sat in his office at the Sudder Station, attended by his right hand men, the Kanúngos; by whom he was almost entirely guided. As each estate came up in succession, the brief record of former settlements was read, and the Dehsunní Book, or Fiscal Register, for ten years immediately preceeding the cession or conquest, was inspected. The Kanúngos were then asked, who was the Zemindar of the village. The reply to this question pointed sometimes to the actual bonà-fide owner of one, or of many estates; sometimes to the head man of the village community; sometimes to a non-resident Syud, or Kayth, whose sole possession consisted in the levying a yearly sum from the real cultivating proprietors; and sometimes to the large Zemindar, or Talúkadar, who held only a limited interest in the greater portion of his domain. Occasionally a man was said to be Zemindar, who had lost all connection for many years with the estate under consideration, though his name might have remained in the Kanúngo's books. As the dicta of those officers were generally followed with little further enquiry, it may be imagined that great injustice was thus perpetrated. Then followed the determination of the amount of revenue. On this point also reliance was chiefly placed upon the doul, or estimate, of the Kanúngos, checked by the accounts of past collections, and by any other offers of mere farming speculators, which might happen to be put forward at the time.† Mistakes of course occurred, and it

* The allowance to the Zemindars was reckoned vaguely at 10 per cent. on the revenue, besides the expenses of management, till the promulgation of Regulation VII. of 1822, when it was fixed at 20 per cent. in cases where an increase of revenue was demanded. The fact was, however, that in the early settlements the produce of the estate was unknown, and the supposed percentage was therefore merely nominal.

† In this account of the early settlements we have described the usual course pursued. Occasionally the zeal and talents of the officer employed led him to devote more

was often necessary to readjust the demand, even during the currency of the short leases then granted; but, on the whole, this part of the system succeeded better than might have been expected. The earlier settlements were in general moderate enough, and the revenue was only raised gradually, as the capabilities of each part of the country became better known.

Great discontent was naturally excited, by these blind and summary proceedings, among those whose interests had been neglected, or overridden, in them. The increased value given to landed rights in general under our administration added to the dissatisfaction thus occasioned. Many a man, who, under a native government, would have been content with permission to cultivate his plot of ground and live, began to see that he was unjustly deprived of the proprietary profit, in which all owners of land were now entitled to share. Numerous complaints were preferred on this ground at times of settlement, or otherwise: but the petitioners were referred for redress, either to the Civil Courts, or to some future period, when the revenue officers would have leisure and authority to enter into such questions. The first of these expedients, and the only one available at the time—viz. that of resort to the Civil Courts, was worse than useless. In the absence of any detailed record of rights, or of the general nature of existing tenures, in the Revenue department, the Courts could do nothing to remedy the errors, which had been committed. They could only make confusion worse confounded. Situated as they were then, and indeed as they are still, the judicial tribunals of this country are in the worst possible position for building up any system of rights, to which they are not guided by the letter of positive enactments. Bound to one spot, tied down by rigid laws of procedure, and debarred (as in these provinces at least they are taught to think themselves) from admitting any evidence but that spontaneously laid before them by the parties, they must necessarily often be misled by packed witnesses, or partial documents. An honest and intelligent bar, the first requisite for diminishing the evil of strict legal forms among an ignorant population, is still wanting in this country. At the best, each new case comes before the Courts in an isolated form, detached from any general principles, or extended experience, and is therefore liable to every species of misconception. They are scattered over the face of the country, without any mutual communication, and with no provision for securing uniformity of

pains to the work, and enabled him to arrive at more satisfactory results. Such, for instance, appears to have been the character of Mr. Ross's settlements in the Agra District, in the year 1216 Fy.—See printed Report on Agra Settlements. Par. 45.

sentiment, except the precedent furnished by the Sudder Court.* These come few and far between, as regards any particular point on which opinions are likely to be divided; while of those which are applicable, some are likely to be erroneous, from causes of which the system, rather than the judges, should bear the blame. If a poor and uneducated man is perplexed by the forms, harassed by the delays, and crushed by the expense, of the inferior courts, how is it to be expected that he can carry up his case, through all the intermediate stages, so as to lay it fully and efficiently before the tribunal of last resort? The principle involved may therefore suffer from the helplessness of the rightful litigant, in the very cases which are to guide future decisions. The consequence of all this was, in the former times of which we are speaking, that not only were the errors of the Revenue Department too often repeated and confirmed in the courts, but decrees were constantly passed, so irreconcileable with truth and justice, that it was absolutely impossible to execute them.

The evils, arising from the haste and ignorance of our early settlement proceedings, were further aggravated by the measures pursued for the realization of the revenue. No record having been made of any sharers, besides the Lumburdars, or actual engagers with Government, much less of the quota of revenue which each sharer was bound to pay, no attempt could be made, when arrears occurred, to discover the real defaulter.† The main expedient, on which the Collectors relied, was to prevent default by keeping watchmen over the crops till the revenue was secured. When this failed, the Lumburdars were imprisoned, and their personal property distrained. The next step was to put up the whole estate to sale to the highest bidder. Many of these sales were got up by the native officers of Government, or by their friends, who themselves became the purchasers at a merely nominal price. The rights of hundreds were thus often annihilated for the default of a few, when the smallest enquiry or consideration would have sufficed to prevent the catastrophe. Many a populous community was thus wrongfully deprived, not only of their privilege of contracting for the

* The constructions, which used to be issued by the Sudder Courts, have been discontinued of late years, owing to (what appears to us) a groundless objection to extra-judicial interpretations of the law. On the other hand, the printed English Decisions of the zillah Judges now afford those officers the means of learning what the others are doing, and are likely to be of use in this respect.

† When the Tuhsildar happened to be an honest and capable man, he might sometimes ascertain this by questioning the people and the Putwari. The defaulter's share was then transferred by a sort of forced mortgage to some solvent sharer, who paid up the arrear; thus irregularly effecting what has since become the legal and authorized procedure.

revenue, which is the just and proper penalty for real default, but also of their position as hereditary cultivators of their paternal fields. They were handed over, as tenants at will, to the tender mercies of a perhaps fraudulent purchaser, without any provision for the peaceable adjustment of the lands which they were to hold under him, or the rents which they were to pay. What wonder then was it, if the high-spirited Rajpoots often took their own measures to right themselves? if they refused to submit to this summary deprivation of all that they had enjoyed for centuries, and settled their disputes with the new intruder by open violence, or by midnight assassination?

The confusion, occasioned in the state of landed property by these combined causes, became at last so notorious that it could no longer be overlooked. The intensity of the evil, which called for correction, is best denoted by the extraordinary nature of the remedy applied to it. By Regulation I. of 1821, a Commission was appointed, and invested with powers amounting almost to a Judicial Dictatorship. Every public or private transfer of land, which had taken place within the first seven or eight years of our rule,* was declared open to enquiry before this Commission, and, if equity should require it, to annulment. Every act of the revenue officers performed in the same period, with all the immediate results of such acts, were similarly thrown open to revision. The previous judgment of a regular Court of Judicature was to be no bar to the exercise of these powers in any instance. We cannot pause now to describe the effect of the expedient thus adopted. On the whole it failed to produce the advantages expected from it. Little was done till 1829, when the Revenue Commissioners became also special Commissioners. They were overwhelmed with the number of suits brought before them in the latter capacity, in addition to their other duties. Difference sof opinion also arose between them and the Sudder Commission, to which their acts were appealable—as might have been expected where so much was left to discretion. Their proceedings were thus hampered; the increasing lapse of time made it more and more difficult to restore parties, who had been so long dispossessed: and, at last, it became the great object to clear the files, with as little disturbance of the existing state of things as possible. Many gross cases of hardship and fraud were undoubtedly rectified,†

* From the cession, or conquest, till 13th September, 1810. The preamble to the Regulation is a full and fair confession of the mistakes, which had been committed in all Departments.

† In the Cawnpore district, of 405 public sales for arrears of revenue, 185 were annulled by the Special Commission.

but even in these the remedy was imperfect The inability of stationary tribunals to meet the wants, and thoroughly to understand the position of numerous bodies of men, unskilled themselves in legal matters, was felt even by these courts. Dissensions were often sown in the progress of the litigation among those, who by its issue recovered their rights. Not unfrequently those rights themselves were mortgaged by anticipation, in order to defray the expense of the contest.

We hasten on to the brighter day, which now began to dawn, when it was acknowledged, that the Revenue Officers alone were in a position to correct, as far as circumstances allowed, the errors which had been committed, and to obtain and store up such information as would prevent the occurrence of others of a like nature. Holt Mackenzie, as is well known, was the man to whom this discovery, or its reduction to practice, was due. Of retired and studious habits, and gifted with a keen and comprehensive intellect, his official position had given him abundant opportunities for observing the defects of the past system. He saw that the only way to obtain an accurate knowledge of a practical but complicated subject, hitherto little understood, was to go familiarly among the people whom it concerned ; to talk to them in office and out of office ;* to permit every one, who had any representations to offer, to bring them forward freely, and without expense ; and, above all, to consider each debateable point, not only as it appeared in one particular case, but with the cross lights thrown on it by many other analogous cases, brought under discussion at the same time. He saw that an Officer, who had such means of forming a correct judgment at his command, was best able to hear and decide in the first instance all claims connected with the possession of land, and thus to lay down the general principles to be observed in questions of that nature. Unlike his more dignified brother on the bench, such an Officer could carry on his enquiries on the spot ; could examine witnesses in the presence of their neighbours (the only real check upon false testimony in this country) ; and could procure other evidence, from sources unconnected with either party, till he had fully satisfied himself as to the matter in dispute. He perceived also that the functions, thus described, could be best exercised at the time, when the revision of the assessment was in progress. The

* Holt Mackenzie was a great advocate for relaxing the stiffness of official intercourse with those from whom information was to be gained, or to whom it was to be imparted. His advice to the Collectors was, "*Take your gun in your hand, and go among the people ;*" to the Commissioners, "*Get your Collectors together over a good bottle of Claret, and then talk to them about the settlement.*" We fear that one part of his counsel was often followed without the other.

only sure basis, upon which this revision could rest, was a detailed measurement, field by field, of the whole area under settlement, with a careful classification of the several soils, according to their varied productiveness. Great facilities were evidently offered, during the course of such a measurement, for ascertaining all facts connected with the ownership and occupancy of the land. The opportunity was therefore especially favourable, not only for adjusting actual disputes, but also for placing on record all possible information regarding the agricultural classes; their tenures, usages, numbers, wealth, and whatever else might be considered of interest in connection with them.

These views were fully adopted by the Government, and were embodied in the famous Regulation on the subject, (VII. of 1822), and in the Circular Instructions issued at the same time. Their general wisdom and justice have been amply proved, by the continued growth of revenue knowledge since their promulgation, and by the entire change, thus produced, in the opinions and modes of procedure before prevalent. Nevertheless there were vital defects in the new system, arising chiefly from its author's want of personal experience in the duties of a subordinate Revenue Officer. He was not sufficiently aware of the extent and difficulty of the task, which he imposed upon others. Too much detail was required on all points. In determining the revenue, especially, broad principles were liable to be lost sight of, in the intricacies of a laborious calculation. Arbitrary rates were applied to innumerable arbitrary gradations of soil. No positive objection could be made to any step of the process, but no faith could be placed in its result. The invariable tendency of estimates, thus formed, is to excess in the aggregate. In judicial matters, again, too wide a door was opened to complaints and claims of every description. A Court, which professed to redress every grievance in a land, where might had long made right, was sure to be overwhelmed with work. The minute, and sometimes needless, enquiry, made from each family into the ramifications of their genealogical tree, was likely to excite disputes, which might not otherwise have arisen. The interests of the great mass of the shareholders had before been wholly neglected, but the new measures ran in some hands into the opposite extreme. A spirit of insubordination was thus aroused, quite incompatible with the structure or welfare of the community. Every man wished to be independent of the rest, however much the expense and difficulty of management might thus be increased, both to the Government, and to the people themselves. We have heard of an instance, in which this wish was gratified by the appointment of no few-

er than eighty Lumburdars in a single village.* The same error of attempting too much ran through the whole of the proceedings. A host of men were examined on miscellaneous points; some of which were of importance, but others not worth the trouble of recording. The mere accumulation of paper was in itself a great evil, which would have been felt more, as the revision advanced.

Many of the faults, thus described, were doubtless attributable to misconception on the part of the Collectors, which might have been obviated under more efficient superintendence. There was then but one Board of Revenue, and that was at Calcutta; too distant from the scene of operations to be of any use as a directing authority. All depended on the Commissioners: but of these only one was found with the knowledge and energy, which the position demanded. He will soon come again under our review in a higher capacity. In all the other divisions, each separate Collector was left to act upon his own unaided judgment, and without the necessary relief from his other labours. Some of these district officers were possessed of considerable talent, and had great knowledge of men and things within the sphere of their duties; but the mainspring of the work was wanting. The revision crept slowly on, not by pergunnahs, but by detached villages; ten or twenty of which were thought to provide occupation enough for a whole year. When ten years had elapsed, since the promulgation of Regulation VII. of 1822, it was calculated that sixty more years would be required in many districts to complete the settlement at the current rate of progress. The system, in short, however admirable in theory, had broken down in common practice, and the only question was, in what way it could best be amended.

This question was determined at a conclave held at Allahabad, under the auspices of Lord William Bentinck, which ended in the enactment of Regulation IX. of 1833. The effect of that law, and of the corresponding instructions afterwards issued in the Revenue Department, may be thus summed up. In the first place, it was no longer to be considered necessary that disputes and claims, of all kinds, and of any standing, should be adjudicated at the time of settlement. The proceedings in this respect were ordinarily to be restricted to cases, in which the cause of action had arisen within a year previous to the date of the complaint. This rule was a good deal modi-

* Soon after these men were installed, one of the old Lumburdars happened to get a new turban and pair of shoes, with which to make his appearance in the Tuhsildar's Kacherri. Every man of the eighty immediately followed his example; charging the cost probably to the general expenses of the village.

fied, by the provision, that it was not to apply to suits already admitted on the file, nor to cases in which an order had before been passed that the claim should be decided at the settlement. As it had for years been the custom of the Collectors to engross such an order on the petitions presented to them, most of the disputes, which really required adjustment, were thus still left cognizable by the settlement officers. Means were however provided for submitting these disputes, when it might be found advisable, to arbitration; and the general intention and effect of the new rules was to shorten and facilitate the judicial part of the duty. The tedious estimates of the quantity and value of actual produce, hitherto thought necessary, were dispensed with; and a more reasonable and effective mode of fixing the assessment introduced. The important addition of a field map was made to the other measurement papers, and, together with these, formed the basis of a plan for registering private rights, which, though very minute and complete, was as simple as the object in view permitted. The putwari's annual papers, on which the future maintenance of this registration essentially depended, were put on a new and wholly different footing; and their punctual preparation was enforced by Sections XIV. and XV. of the Act, which rendered them absolutely necessary for the assertion of any claim possessed by a land-owner against his cultivators.

In the year immediately preceding this change in the system, the Western Board of Revenue had been constituted at Allahabad, and had become the principal authority in all matters connected with their functions. The senior Member of this Board was a mild, intelligent, gentleman-like man, with much revenue experience and knowledge, but thrown in the shade, as many an estimable public man has been before him, by a superior colleague. The junior Member bore the now well-known name of Robert Mertins Bird; and on him for many years the task of directing all revenue operations, and especially those of the new settlement, eventually devolved. He indeed was a man of no common order. The first twenty years of his Indian life were passed entirely in judicial duties; yet such was the activity of his mind, that he became, during that period, the best practical revenue officer in the country. This became evident, as has been already observed, on his nomination in 1829 to be Revenue Commissioner in the Goruckpúr division. His views were so clear, and the superintendence which he exercised was so effective, that, if all had been like him, any change in the law might have been unnecessary. In the more elevated sphere which he afterwards occupied, his talents were further developed, and took a

wider range. A mind, capable of dealing equally with minute details and general principles; stores of information collected by unusual powers of memory and observation; cheerful spirits and unfailing health; together with a robust energy, the "vigor animi, ingentibus negotiis par;" these were his qualifications for the great work which then lay before him. On that work he impressed his own stamp, and gave it all its form and feature. From the time that he took the reins in the Revenue Department, in which he long remained quite supreme, the whole conduct of the revision of settlements assumed a new character. Discordant ideas and conflicting theories soon disappeared before the influence of one controlling intellect, though free scope was still left on all needful points for the exercise of individual judgment. Allowed to select his own instruments, he usually chose young men, as being less encumbered and more manageable than their seniors, and less likely to be imbued with prejudices derived from the dark ages of our earlier administration. With these young officers he kept up constant private intercourse, and thus instilled into them his own views, and animated them by his own hearty temperament. Where he reposed his confidence, he did so without reserve. He received the opinions of those employed under him with respect; looked after their interests, defended their proceedings, and fought their battles, as if they had been his own. No better mode could have been devised of cheering those who bore the burden and heat of the day, and of exciting them to unwearied exertion. The result was that in eight years after the enactment of Regulation IX. of 1833, he was able to report to the Government, that he had redeemed his pledge; that the settlement, with some immaterial exceptions, was completed; and that he was at liberty to relinquish his arduous post, and to return to that native land, from which he had been thirty-three years separated. Doubtless there were some shades to the portrait, which we have here attempted to delineate. Such is human nature in this world. The spirit, which is strung and nerved for great enterprises, finds it difficult to deal always patiently with dullness or opposition. The man, who firmly grasps and vigorously defends a contested truth, is apt to bear it, in the ardour of the strife, beyond its proper limits, and to leave it in a position, where it cannot be permanently supported. On points like these we have no wish to enlarge. With all the failings ever imputed to him, of whom we have been speaking, as an agreeable companion, a zealous and most able public officer, a warm friend, and a sincere and liberal Christian, it will be long before we meet his like again

We pass, however, from the character of the man, to that of the measures, which will long be associated with his name. We have already seen the general nature of the landed tenures, which the settlement officers had to define and protect. Let us now take a glance at the main features and capabilities of the country, the assessment of which they had to examine and revise.

The North West Provinces are situated almost entirely in the vallies of the Ganges and Jumna; the principal part of them lying between those rivers. There is little variety in the flat alluvial soil to attract the admiration of a passing traveller, accustomed to the interchange of hill and dale in other countries. Nevertheless, if he leaves the high road, and penetrates into the more secluded parts of the country, he will acknowledge that, even here, the hand, "which makes all nature beauty to his eye," has not been wanting. If he visits the districts to the East of the Ganges, which border on the Sub-Himalayan hills, he will find much of the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, together with a brisk air and healthy climate in the winter months, such as few tropical regions can boast. There he will see the groves, of which Virgil had heard,

"Quos gerit India lucos;
"——————— ubi aëra vincere summum
"Arboris haud ullæ jactu potuere sagittæ."

The tiger and the elephant still dwell in the remains of the primæval forests; and magnificent mango topes cover large tracts, not yet required for the plough. There the fields are rich with abundant harvests, produced with slight labour, and subject to few uncertainties. The little hamlets, with their low thatched roofs, stand closely together, but do not yet contain a population adequate to the full occupation of the land. Patches of bush and grass jungle are thus interspersed with the cultivation, and relieve its uniformity; nor have the palm and bamboo, the banian and the peepul, yet been proscribed as intruders. Streams and pools abound on every side, and assist in varying the landscape.

If the traveller now crosses into the Duáb, he will perceive a considerable change. There is no longer the same moisture in the soil or climate, nor the same spontaneous fertility. The industry of man has succeeded to the profusion of nature. He now meets with more towns of note from their size or antiquity. The villages are larger, and stand farther apart; while their flat roofs, and the height, to which, in the course of ages, they have risen above the plain, give them an imposing appearance from a distance. The walls, with which they are often enclosed; the mud fort

perhaps, at the foot of which they are built; the distance, which the people have to go to their daily labour; all point to those former troubled times, when a defenceless cottage in the open fields was a most insecure habitation. Yet the face of the country is by no means bare or unpleasing, so long as the crops are on the ground. These are raised with greater toil than in the more humid districts, but are generally plentiful, except in seasons of peculiar drought. Wheat, sugar, and rice, are less extensively raised; but cotton, as a valuable article of produce, in some degree, supplies their place. The trees, which love the water side, have disappeared, but many remain; and some of these as the mhowa, the tamarind, and the jamun still attain a noble size. It is not, till the visitor reaches the arid plains to the west of the Jumna, from Etawah to Hissar, on the extreme verge of the British territory, that vegetation really languishes. There the red sand stone hills rise through the hitherto level surface. Except in those favoured spots where wells can be formed, or down the line of the Delhi Canal, the husbandman trusts almost entirely to seasonable rains. The hardy babúl and ferash alone break the line of the horizon; and every thing betokens the nearer approach to the deserts of Marwar and Bikanir.

In common with most parts of Southern and Central Asia, the fertility of the soil in this part of India depends mainly upon artificial irrigation. When the means for this are available, not only will a sandy soil yield a good crop, but the nature of the soil itself is often gradually improved. Vegetable matter accumulates in the course of years from the remains of former harvests, and from the manure, which it is worth the while of the cultivator to expend upon the land. If, on the other hand, water be wanting, the produce is always uncertain; the cultivation is less cared for; and the usually light soil drifts about with the fierce winds of May and June, till pure silex alone is left in it, or till the barren understratum of kunkur, or of red indurated clay, appears. The lands, nearest the villages, are naturally those which receive most attention, and are worked up to the greatest productiveness. These lands often bear two crops in the year, and pay rents of ten rupees, or more, the acre. Their extent varies according to the populousness and prosperity of the village, and to the classes who inhabit it, but seldom exceeds 6 or 8 per cent. of the total area of the estate. Next to these come the second-rate lands, varying up to 12 per cent. of the whole; while the great bulk of the area is thrown into the third or lowest class. This three-fold division, with the additional distinction of irrigated and non-irrigated, is pre-

valent under different names in most parts of the country. Other local peculiarities are of course every where to be found. In the vicinity of the rivers it is necessary to distinguish between the low *khadir* land on the borders of the stream, and the *baugur* land on the level of the high bank. In other places, the gentle undulations of the surface cause a succession of clayey hollows and sandy ridges, each of which has its peculiar products and capabilities. Even in level tracts, there is often much difference in the stiffness and strength of the soil, according as the sand, which forms its principal basis, is mixed with more productive ingredients. Some local soils are noted for their suitability to peculiar articles, as a certain wet clay in the eastern parts of Goruckpur for sugar, and the black soil of Bundelcund for the Al root. The quantity of saline matter in the earth and water is another point, deeply affecting the value of the land. Where the water is brackish, the agriculturist is much restricted in his choice of crops; many refusing to grow at all under such circumstances, and others requiring an abundant supply of rain water to counteract the quality of that drawn from the wells. Where much soda is present in the soil, large plains are found entirely destitute of vegetation from this cause, nor has any remedy yet been discovered for the sterility thus produced.

Without therefore entering into that minute classification of soils, once thought necessary, but which only bewilders and misleads, there is abundant scope for discrimination in the measurement, which is to constitute the basis of a settlement. The existing division of the land, into estates of a reasonable size, and of these into fields, affords every facility for the purpose. Indeed it is upon this distribution of the whole territory into convenient portions (each of which, while it is small enough to be uniform in its nature and relations, is of sufficient size to be separately considered and classed) that the whole system now under discussion must be held to rest. We must refer to the directions (Sections II. and III.) for an account, of the manner in which the survey and measurement proceed, as well as of the important preliminary work of determining boundaries. None can appreciate the value of this last named operation in diminishing the causes of animosity and strife, save those who remember the state of things before it took place. On this part of the subject we would only remark, that it seems to us an error to commit the preparation of any portion of the khusra, or native field measurement, to the superintendance of the surveyor. Something may at first be gained in expedition and economy by this course; but it is not to be supposed that the

surveyor will take the same interest in the correct performance of this duty, as the officer, who has to depend on its accuracy for the whole of his future proceedings. It is necessary (see Par. 39 and 40) that the khusra should be tested and completed by the settlement officer; and it is therefore better that he should have the whole preparation of it. It is also a mistaken economy to confine the khusra measurement to the cultivated and culturable land. The barren waste, the site of villages, in short, the whole estate, should be included in it. The total area, thus found, may then be tested by comparison with that given by the professional survey, on which full dependance can be placed. The correctness of the details of the khusra measurement must be provided for by separate examination, which, with the establishment always organized for the purpose, is readily and satisfactorily effected.

We will now suppose a settlement officer to have collected his materials, and to be commencing the assessment of a pergunnah; and we will follow him sufficiently to give an idea of his mode of operation. He has before him a professional map of each village, on the scale of four inches to a mile, at the head of which is entered the total area, as shown by the survey, and such other statistical information, regarding the number of houses, ploughs, wells, &c., as the surveyor had been able to collect.* He has also a pergunnah map of one mile to the inch, showing the boundaries of the several villages, and a third map of the whole district, which gives the limits of the pergunnahs, but not of the separate estates. These two last are of use in enabling him to lay out his work, and to obtain a general view of the relative position of the several localities. The first, after it has served its main purpose of testing the khusra, is again of value when the assessment is under consideration, as it gives a clear notion of the shape and chief natural peculiarities of each estate, and affords a good guide for personal observation upon the nature of the soil and crops. It is, however, on the native measurement papers that the work mainly rests. These consist, first of a pen and ink plan of the estate, showing the position and form of every field, as well as the disposition of the uncultivated land; and, secondly, of a khusra, or measure-

* It used to be the custom for the surveyor to give the extent of cultivated and culturable land also, for which purpose he kept up a special establishment. This was expensive and unsatisfactory, as from the nature of the operation only proximate results could be attained. Nor can the statistical entries be relied upon, till they have been re-examined by the other means at the settlement officer's disposal. They might therefore be left to that officer altogether. The duty of the surveyor is to give the total area, together with a map, showing the main geographical features of the country; such as village sites, roads, rivers, &c. All else is extraneous to his proper work.

ment register, in which are detailed the dimensions and extent of each field, the name of the cultivator, the nature of the soil the fact of its being irrigated or otherwise, and the crop grown on it in the current year. The entries in the khusra are numbered in consecutive order, corresponding numbers being inscribed in the plan, or field map, upon each plot separately measured; so that reference can easily be made from the one paper to the other. At the foot of the khusra, the whole area of the estate is summed up under its several heads; and the aggregate of these entries for all the villages gives the total land of each denomination in the pergunnah.

The first step in the operation is then to take an extended view of all circumstances relating to the entire tract under settlement. The collector's records will show the demands, collections, and balances, on account of the Government revenue of the whole pergunnah, for the last 20 or more years, and will furnish further information, regarding the degree of ease, or of difficulty, with which the collections have been made. The measurement papers afford the means of comparing the rate, at which the assessment falls on the land, with that of neighbouring pergunnahs in the same or other districts. The general facts of improvement or deterioration in the means of the proprietors; of the spread or decrease of cultivation under the present demand; in short, the signs of a light, or of a severe, assessment, are matters readily ascertainable, and not to be mistaken or concealed. The extent, to which property has compulsorily changed hands, whether for arrears of revenue, or by decrees of the Civil Courts; the proportion which the culturable land bears to that under crop; and the opinions of respectable natives acquainted with the spot, will easily lead to safe conclusions upon these heads. The information, thus obtained, will point out, within narrow limits, what the future demand from the pergunnah should be. Another mode of building up this estimate is, by going over every estate seriatim, having previously arranged them all in a form,* which brings prominently forward the apparent inequalities of the present assessment, and by roughly calculating the probable alteration in the jumma† of each. The aggregate of the separate jummas, thus found, will give the probable new pergunnah jumma. A third mode is by enquiring into the prevalent rates of rent, or into the rate, at which the revenue falls on the particular villages known to be fairly assessed. These rates, when applied to the pergun-

* See Par. 54, and Appendix No. VIII. of Directions for Settlement Officers.

† The "jumma" is the technical term for the amount of revenue payable to Government, as distinguished from the rental received by the private proprietors.

nah area, will give a proximate rental, or jumma, for the whole. Recourse may be had to all three methods, as a check upon each other; but we conceive that the first is the one upon which most reliance is commonly to be placed. The second is necessary, when some parts of the pergunnah are in a much worse state than others;* as a review of the history and condition of the whole tract may in that case lead to no certain results; but it involves the disadvantage of a double operation, as regards the determination of the jumma of each village; and there is danger, lest the first rough enquiry upon this point should too much influence the subsequent more deliberate consideration of it.

A proximate rental, or jumma, or both, being thus found for the whole pergunnah, the next process is to ascertain how this would fall upon the several component villages; taking the measurement papers as the guide. For this purpose average rent and revenue rates have to be obtained. The rent rates are supposed to have been already ascertained, as mentioned above, by preliminary enquiries; being those on which the assumed rental of the whole pergunnah was calculated. The revenue rates are deduced from these rent rates, in the proportion in which the total assumed jumma for the pergunnah differs from the total assumed rental. This proportion will vary, inasmuch as the probable jumma is computed not merely from the roughly assumed rental, but on other considerations also. Thus, if the proposed jumma is 35 per cent. less than the assumed rental, the deduced revenue rates will be 35 per cent. less than the assumed rent rates, for each denomination of soil.† The application of the rates, thus found, to the land of each village will show precisely how much that land should pay; supposing that the pergunnah estimate is correct, that full reliance can be placed on the measurement, and that nothing else intervenes to modify the conclusion thus arrived at. It is now, however, that the judgment and penetration of the officer, who conducts the proceedings, come into play. He has, on the one hand, to avoid too rigid an adherence to what is only intended as a standard of comparison, and, on the other, to equalize the public burdens, as far as is safe and practicable. The degree,

* Where the productiveness of some parts of a pergunnah differs (from natural and permanent causes) from that of others, the villages should be classed in chucks, or circles, and the process for each of these should be the same, as is here described for the whole. For an instance, where this plan has been followed with much care and labour, see the Agra Settlement Report, by Mr. C. G. Mansel.

† The object of making the calculation in this manner is to secure a proper proportion between the revenue rates for different classes of soil. This can only be attained by making them bear the same ratio to each other, that the rent rates do; it being supposed that the last are those actually paid to the zemindars by their cultivators.

in which he may be able to follow the easy and rapid plan of assessing each village according to the estimate by average rates, will depend much on the moderation of his entire demand on the pergunnah. Where this is light, the rates deduced from it are of course light also; and there is less danger of future failure in following them as his principal guide. Still, however low he may fix his standard, some of the worst estates may suffer from too close an adherence to it; while a larger amount of revenue might doubtless have been safely obtained from all the better estates, under a more deliberate course of procedure. A careful officer will therefore test the results of his average rates by every possible means at his disposal. He knows what every village has paid in former years, and how it has paid it; whether with apparent ease, or by constant compulsion. He knows the condition of the village, and the circumstances of the proprietors. He can form a pretty good idea, by riding over the land, whether it is of more or less than the usual fertility. He has the estimates of the tuhsildar, kanún gos, and others, as to the real capabilities of the estate. Above all, he can often obtain satisfactory information regarding the actual rents paid by the cultivators to the proprietors, or, at least, of the rate at which those rents are calculated.

This last expedient is, where practicable, the most satisfactory of all. When it is known how much a property has actually yielded, for a series of years past, to its owners, the Government share of the proceeds may be determined with a confidence not otherwise attainable. We believe that the fact in question can be generally ascertained with sufficient exactness, wherever money rents prevail, and the land is occupied chiefly by rent-paying cultivators.* Even then, however, it is useful to know how far the actual rental, exceeds, or falls short of, what the estate would pay on the average of the pergunnah. Where this difference is great, it either arises from the skill and industry of the people being more or less than is usually to be found, or from particular circumstances favourable, or the contrary, to the full development of the powers of the soil. If the former of these be the cause, justice, as well as policy, will require, that the indefatigable Jât shall not be reduced by disproportionate taxation to the level of the dissolute Gujur; if the latter, it will be right to remember that circumstances may change during the thirty years' term of settlement, and that both extremes, of a too heavy, or too light, assessment, should conse-

* The Muzuffernuggur settlement report shows, that this information can be satisfactorily obtained, even in the much more difficult case, where rents have been almost entirely paid in kind.

quently be avoided. It is true that a rich and well cultivated village must always pay more to Government than a poor and unproductive one, though the extent and original quality of the soil may be the same. Complete equality of taxation cannot be attempted; but the estimate by average rates, when properly used, will prevent any needless or extravagant deviation from it.

The sum, which each estate should be called upon to pay, having been thus estimated with all the care of which the operation is susceptible, it remains only to obtain the consent of the people to the terms proposed. The importance of this step in the process must not be overlooked. The work of assessment is not a purely arbitrary one on the part of the Government officer; all his labour will have been in vain, if the result should prove to be excessive, or unreasonable. Every proprietor has the option of declining to engage on the conditions offered him; the only penalty being his exclusion from the management for a period of twelve years, at the close of which he may again claim to be admitted. In such a case, the settlement officer must make other arrangements for the realization of the revenue, either by leasing the estate to a farmer, or by collecting the rents direct from the cultivators. But, whichever of these courses be followed, he will have to provide, in addition to his original demand, for the malikânah allowance, claimable by the excluded proprietor; which by law must not be less than five per cent. on the revenue. It will therefore soon become apparent, whether the owner had good grounds for his refusal; and, if so, there is no remedy but to confess the mistake, and reduce the demand. We have here supposed, what is usually the case, that the instances are comparatively few, in any tract under settlement, in which the proposals of the officer employed do not meet with ready compliance. But it does sometimes occur that very general dissatisfaction is shown by the land-holders. A large proportion of them either decline signing their engagements at all, or they do so under protest, and immediately appeal to the higher revenue authorities against the severity of the terms offered them. Further enquiry and consideration are, under such circumstances, indispensable; and it becomes incumbent on the officer employed, either to revise his proceedings, or to prove indisputably that they are not open to fair objection. It is not of course intended to assert, that the mere acquiescence of the people is, in itself, an unerring test of the settlement officer's moderation; or their apparent discontent, of the contrary. Very loud and general complaints have often arisen from no cause, but a systematic combination. Willing consent has, on the other

hand, been given, in seasons of temporary prosperity,* to terms which could not be fulfilled in ordinary years. Still the power, possessed by the people at large, of forcing a re-consideration of the assessment, and the obligation to pay Malikanah to recusant proprietors, are valuable checks on the proceedings, and place them in the light of a fair bargain between independent parties, rather than in that of a despotic demand on the one side, and of unavoidable compliance on the other.

The method of fixing the assessment, as it has been above described, will vary more or less in different hands, but its chief features will remain the same. Its essential principle is that, while it does not neglect the consideration of details, it sets out with wider and more comprehensive enquiries From the result of these it obtains a standard, which it applies to all the individual cases, not indeed as an invariable guide, but as pointing out where discrepancy exists, which should either be remedied, or accounted for. In point of accuracy, this system has been proved to be far superior to the more laborious mode pursued under Regulation VII. of 1822. No means of comparison with other extensive data then existed ; and, for want of this, the voluminous computations, prepared for each particular estate, led only into frequent error. In point of rapidity, the progress made in a given time under the new plan is probably ten times that effected by most officers under the old. The saving of expense to the Government, and of annoyance to the people, is proportionate.

It is evident that, under the plan thus sketched out, no accurate computation of the proportion, taken for Government from the proceeds of the land, is either made or required. The general rule has however been to leave to the Zemindars from 30 to 33⅓ per cent. of the gross rent, which is, or might be, levied from their estates, wherever that might be ascertainable. Supposing that this rule has been observed, and that the rent ordinarily represents from two-fifths to half the gross produce, about 30 per cent. of the latter will go into the coffers of the State.† In the more fertile and best irrigated portions of

* Such a season of unusual prosperity prevailed in Bundelcund in the years 1815-16, when Scott Waring made his memorable settlement, and nearly ruined the province. The demand for cotton, and the high price of grain, encouraged the people to enter into engagements, which broke down miserably, as soon as these advantages ceased. The eagerness of the Government officer, however, outran, in this happily unparallelled instance, even the sanguine confidence of the people. He should have taken warning from the fact, that, in 178 instances, he was obliged to lease out estates to farmers, as the proprietors would not accept his terms. See report on Pergunnahs, Mondha, &c., in Hamirpúr. Par. 38, and on Calpí, &c., Par. 20—23.

† We have attempted, but with little success, to arrive at some trustworthy conclusions, with regard to the actual weight of produce in this part of India. Even in

the Duáb this estimate (though probably somewhat too high) may not be far from the truth; but, wherever the cultivators pay in kind, or, from poverty of soil, the crops are uncertain, or waste land is abundant, the proportion of the total produce, absorbed in the payment of either rent or revenue, is respectively much less than above stated. Thus in Muzuffernuggur (see Report) the rent is only 31¾ per cent. of the gross produce, and the revenue only 20¼ per cent. If the Bareilly officer, mentioned in the note, was correct in reckoning the value of the gross produce in that district at 8 Rs. 6 as. 9 pie per acre,* the revenue, which falls (see Statistical Memoir) at 1 Re. 14 as. 3 pie on the cultivated acre, will be 22½ per cent. of the produce. In Goruckpúr it is probably not more than 12 per cent. On the other hand, there may be considerable tracts of country, in which the proportion, enjoined upon the Settlement Officers, has been inadvertently exceeded. This may have occurred, where the land was almost wholly cultivated by the proprietors themselves. It is not always easy to distinguish accurately the profits made by such men in their double capacity, as farmers, and landholders; while their enjoyment of these double profits, and the circumstance of their being generally excellent agriculturists, enable them to bear up against a heavy demand without complaint or difficulty.

Let us now turn our attention to the other main branch of the subject; viz. the mode in which the remaining share of the pro-

England, there is much uncertainty upon this subject; so the want of satisfactory data in this country is the less wonderful. We have now before us a number of estimates, all put forward with some confidence by their authors, but differing widely from each other. We will put their results, as regards the great staples of wheat and barley, in juxta position.

PRODUCE PER STATUTE ACRE IN LBS. AVOIRDUPOIS.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Irrigated.	*Irrigated.*	*Non irrigated.*	*Irrigated.*			
Wheat....	1845.	1571.	1080.	1234.	1046.	653.	794.	836.
Barley....	2904.	1832.	1098.	1186.	1315.	606.	898.	824.

No. 1, is deduced from several trials, lately made by an intelligent English Zemindar in the Muttra district. No. 2, gives the opinion of Captain Brown, formerly Surveyor in the Northern Dúab. No. 3, is taken from Mr. Mansel's Agra Settlement Report. No. 4, is the result of numerous trials, made about 1830, by a well known revenue officer in the Bareilly district. Nos. 5 and 6, will be found in the Múzuffernuggur Settlement Report by Mr. E. Thornton, the first being extracted from actual village papers for large areas, and extending over fourteen years; the second, the result of immediate experiment upon 11,419 acres of Wheat, and 1,020 of Barley. The 7th is from a Statistical Report upon the Cawnpore district by Mr. R. Montgomery. It will be observed, that the three highest estimates for wheat, and the two highest for barley, relate solely to irrigated land. The Múzuffernugger estimates, on the other hand, on which we should be inclined to place great reliance, are formed chiefly upon dry cultivation. From our own experience, we should say, that 1,200 lbs. is a high average for irrigated land, and 700 lbs. for that, of which a considerable proportion is dry. The first of these does not contrast unfavorably with the more expensive and skilful cultivation of England, the average produce of which (in Wheat) does not probably exceed 1,440 lbs.; but, if only water is procurable, the Indian sun makes up for many deficiencies.

* See Meerut Magazine, No. 13, Article "Agricultural Statistics," p. 26.

duce, after deducting that taken for the State, is divided among those entitled to enjoy it; and the provision made for protecting and recording all private rights connected with the land. In order to explain this, we must again revert to the distribution of the land into the fields, which, as we have said, forms the foundation of our system. As the classification of the separate fields, under different heads, according to their relative productiveness, was the first step towards the determination of the assessment; so the arrangement of the same fields, under the names of those who own and occupy them, must precede any attempt to adjust or record adjusting rights. This is effected by means of the Múntukhúb, or Kuteánee, which is nothing more than a list of the cultivators (whether proprietors or otherwise), disposed according to the subdivisions of the estate in which they hold lands. Under each man's name are entered seriatim his several fields, with the number and area of each, as detailed in the khusra. There are also columns for the rate of rent, and for the total sum payable on each plot of ground. When the cultivator is himself a proprietor, and pays, by a varying rate, or "bàch," these columns are of course left blank; when he pays in kind, the proportion of the crop demandable from him is specified. From the Múntukhúb an abstract is prepared, called the Tírij, which shows only the total of each subdivision, and of each cultivator's holding within it—omitting the detail of fields. Whatever may be the size of the entire estate, and however great the number of subordinate divisions and separate tenures contained in it, this abstract shows them all with the utmost clearness, and renders the most complicated arrangements easily intelligible. When corrected, as they should always be, after the conclusion of the settlement, the Múntukhúb and Tírij will show the Lumburdar of each Thok, the several sharers who cultivate in it, the cultivators possessing rights of occupancy, as well as those who are mere tenants at will, the actual lands owned and cultivated by every individual of these classes, and the sum annually payable by each, so far as it admits of specification. The holders of rent-free lands are also entered, with a list of their respective fields. It is easy to see how a record of this kind must elucidate all future claims and disputes, whether arising between landlord and tenant, or on any other point relating to landed property. At the same time it is obvious, that the entries, contained in these papers, would shortly become obsolete and incorrect, if no steps were taken to secure their periodical revision. This is provided for by the Jummabundí and Tírij annually required from the Putwarí. The arrangement of these returns, and their

principal headings, correspond with those of the settlement Múntukhúb and Tírij; and, by means of them, the information, which it is so important to have always available, is at any time forthcoming in a corrected form.

Many questions will, however, arise, both in Judicial and Revenue proceedings, which a mere record of the above nature would not suffice to decide. In order to anticipate these, as far as possible, before actual disputes arise, and parties become unreasonable, a different expedient has been adopted. This is the mutual agreement, entered into by the body of sharers at time of settlement, which is known by various names; we will term it the administration paper. For an enumeration of the points, which this agreement should embrace, we must refer to par. 167 of the Directions, and for supposed specimens to pp. 178—199, and pp. 230—235, of the English Settlement Misl. It must be observed, that these specimens are more than usually complicated, in order to include many different modes of management.* No fixed form can be prescribed, in which this paper should be drawn up; it will vary in every case according to circumstances. The great danger to be avoided, is the *suggestion* of stipulations and conditions by the Government officer, which he may think desirable, but which the people themselves would not otherwise have adopted. These are often heedlessly agreed to; but great discontent, or absolute confusion, arises when, on after occasions, it is sought to enforce them.† Caution being observed on this head, the more fully and accurately the agreement can be made to represent the real customs and wishes of the community on all questions of probable actual occurrence, the greater of course will be its value. It should, at all events, show the extent of the different existing shares, and the proportion of the revenue payable from each, or the mode in which that proportion is to be annually calculated; as well as the contingencies, if any, under which the present arrangements may hereafter become open to alteration. The practical question of most general importance, among the Hindu village communities of Upper India, is whether, and to what extent, the right of succeeding to landed property, under the national law of inheritance, is in force among them. It is easy to understand how this question has arisen. Under the native governments no proprietary profit, strictly so called, was attached to the

* For actual specimens, see appendix to Agra Settlement Report, and an article on the Settlement in the Meerut Magazine, No. 16.

† As instances, we would refer to such stipulations, as that of re-admitting sharers now out of possession, whenever they may return to the village, or of making a fresh division of all the lands, wherever any of the sharers may require it.

tenures enjoyed by these agricultural bodies. The maintenance, which each man drew from the soil, was the product of his own labour, assisted by his own individual resources. The community held a kind of joint farm, in which the land, assigned to each member, was proportioned to his means, and rose or fell in extent, as those means increased, or were diminished. The brotherhood in general may be held to have been proprietors of the whole area; but no single member could assert his personal claim to any land, except that actually in his occupation. There would have been no advantage at that time in changing this state of things. The collective body was prosperous, or otherwise, according as their united means were more or less equal to the improvement of the entire estate; and the more any individual could contribute to this result, the larger share was willingly allowed him in the joint property. Even common tenants at will were often admitted to hold their lands on the same footing as the members of the brotherhood, in order to secure their assistance in keeping up the cultivation.* But the case was altered, when the country came under British rule; and the ownership of land became more valuable. If a man could not himself cultivate the whole of his ancestral lands, he could now underlet them, and still enjoy the proprietary profit accruing upon them. Moreover, the establishment of courts of judicature, bound to decide, as a general rule, according to the written laws of inheritance, drew attention to those laws, and excited hopes in men, who would benefit by their application to their own claims. Much alteration has thus been gradually effected in common opinion and practice. Among Rajpúts, especially, the authority of the ancestral tree has often been fully recognized by the mutual consent of the sharers; and either the land, or its profits, are distributed according to the scale thence derived. The same has occurred in estates, which have passed through the special commission, or have otherwise been much subjected to litigation. The Jâts, on the contrary, and other essentially agriculturist classes, have usually retained their old customs; the interest of each sharer in the property being measured by the land, which he from time to time cultivates. The administration paper must therefore be particular on this head, whenever any doubt can exist regarding it.

As the annual jummabundí is intended to keep up the record of the proprietor, cultivator, and rent of each field, so the continued correctness of the specification of shares, as entered in the administration paper, is provided for by another of the

* This custom still prevails in many places, especially in the Delhi Territory. See the Report on Pergunnah Boruh, Par. 24, and Gohana, Par. 33.

annual returns required from the putwaris. This is the register of proprietary mutations, whereby the changes, which may take place in any year, are clearly shown in the papers for that year: and the record is thus constantly altered, so as to correspond with the true state of things. This register is entirely independant of the other one, kept up in the collector's office, which is only intended to show the changes among the lumburdars, or principal managers, of each estate.

The mode of determining the position of the ryots, or cultivators, in relation to the proprietors, remains to be adverted to. This is a subject, which has been at various times much discussed, but often misunderstood. Many have drawn their impressions regarding it from the known consideration shown to the "ryots" under the native governments—forgetting that the rights, recognized under that title, were chiefly those of the cultivating communities, whom we now style zemindars. The peculiarity attaching to these hereditary and proprietary cultivators, as compared with all others, lies in the independent origin of their tenure. They occupied the land, and made it productive, without needing the permission, or requiring the assistance, of any other private party. Hence they retain a special claim to protection, even when they have lost by default the malguzâri right, or privilege of contracting for the revenue. It is usual for the Government officer to accord them this protection, by fixing their rents for the whole term of settlement at rates somewhat lighter than are paid by other ryots. All other cultivators differ from these, in having been originally located on the spot at the will, or with the help, of the landlord: and it is only in the rare case of some express agreement with that landlord, that they can claim to hold their lands permanently at a fixed rent. Enquiry, however, has shown that there are two grades of these non-proprietary cultivators. The one consists of those, who are merely tenants at will, and who hold on from year to year at the pleasure of the Zemindar. The other grade have a primâ facie right to protection—the 'onus probandi' resting upon the Zemindar, who may wish to raise their rents; nor can they be dispossessed, so long as they pay the amount legally demandable from them. It is difficult to lay down with precision the grounds of the distinction between these two classes; but it is found in practice, that, if the question is taken up before any dispute has arisen, it may generally be decided to the satisfaction of all parties.* All doubtful cases are best disposed of by arbitration. A tenant may obtain admission into the more pri-

* See the Report on Muzuffernuggur, where much attention was paid to this subject. Par. 34 and 35.

vileged grade by having overcome great natural obstacles in re-claiming the land from waste, by the subsequent expenditure of capital upon it in a permanent form, or by prescription under long-continued occupancy. The tenure, thus acquired, descends to immediate heirs, but cannot be transferred to another without the permission of the landlord.

It is therefore the duty of the settlement officer to determine the position, which each ryot is entitled to hold, and the amount of rent, which he is for the present bound to pay. The result of his enquiries and decisions upon these points will be shown in the first instance in the settlement Múntukhúb, and afterwards, year by year, with such changes as may be necessary, in the putwari's jummabundi. The rents, entered in those papers against each man's name, will remain in force, as regards the dispossessed proprietors first mentioned above, till the Government demand itself is again revised; and, as regards both classes of non-proprietary cultivators, till altered by mutual consent, or by the order of a civil court. As the law stands, a Zemindar cannot oust even a tenant at will, or arbitrarily raise his rents, without first suing in court for that purpose. Should he be driven to that course, he ought at once to obtain a decree, on the bare showing of the settlement record; but, in point of fact, a ryot of this grade will seldom resist the demand made upon him. If, however, the Zemindar should bring a suit for enhancement of rent against a tenant of the other, or privileged, class, the court will require him to show good and sufficient cause for such a claim. He will have to prove, either that the former rates were inadequate as compared with those paid in the neighbourhood; or that the tenure had increased in value in consequence of improvements effected by himself, or by the State; or that some other permanent change had occurred, which entitled him to demand more from the land than he had hitherto received.

The arrangements, thus detailed, provide sufficiently for the various interests of the proprietors and cultivators, whenever the former were found in direct relations with the State. But we have already alluded to the numerous instances, in which a Zemindar, or Talukadar, had been admitted by the former Governments to an intermediate position between themselves and the proprietary occupants of the soil. Wherever this state of things has been found still to exist; that is, wherever a village was still occupied by the descendants of its original owners, who had never lost their rights by any legal means, though a different party had hitherto enjoyed the profits arising from the engagement with Government, the choice lay between

two equally authorized measures. In single villages, or comparatively small properties, the recorded Zemindar has been usually maintained in his position, as Sudder Malguzar, or payer of the Government revenue, and the subordinate proprietors have been protected by a sub-lease, on terms fixed by the settlement officer. But in all the larger tracts thus circumstanced, the Talukadar, or Zemindar, has been set aside, and the village land-holders have been permitted to engage directly with Government. In these cases the superior landlord has been compensated for his exclusion from the management by an allowance variously calculated, but the minimum of which is considered to be 10 per cent. on the amount payable to Government. It is evident that either of these courses involves a diminution in the public receipts; for the usual proportion of the rent cannot be appropriated by the State, when two parties, instead of one, are to be supported from the remainder. On this ground alone, independently of all others, the civil courts, having no jurisdiction over the revenue, could never have taken the initiative in proceedings of this nature. Any person, however, who may be dissatisfied with a judicial order passed by a settlement officer, is at liberty to bring a regular suit in the civil court within a limited period* to set it aside; and this option has been extensively exercised by the former recorded proprietors in the cases under mention. The suits, thus brought, have been tried always, in the first instance, and frequently also in appeal, by the uncovenanted judges; and the result has not been satisfactory. Notwithstanding the clear tenor of the law, and of the corresponding instructions from the Sudder Dewanny Adálut,† the lower courts have shown themselves most reluctant to allow, that two parties may possess heritable and transferable interests of different kinds in the same land. Their strong tendency has been to look only to the records of past settlements, though these were confessedly imperfect or erroneous; and, finding the plaintiff therein mentioned as Zemindar, to consider him as being still the sole and exclusive proprietor. This feeling on the part of the inferior courts, together with the expense and delay of a civil suit, felt of course most by the poorer party, have caused many of the decisions to be adverse to those passed at the settlement; and it has not been always possible to have these proceedings set right in appeal. In what we have here said, we do not mean to deny that errors may have been committed by the revenue officers in the disposal of these difficult questions. The strong and legitimate feeling in favor of the village zemindars, who had been so

* Formerly twelve years; now, under Act XIII. of 1848, reduced to three years.

† See Clauses 1 and 2, Sec. X., Reg. VII. of 1822, and Circular Order of Sudder Dewanny Adálut, N. W. P., dated 31st January, 1845.

long deprived of their full rights, may doubtless have led occasionally to the recognition of ill-founded claims to the same title and privileges. Even when the settlement award was substantially correct, the record of the investigations, on which it was founded, was often meagre and obscure, owing to the mass of work then on hand, and the consequent necessity of curtailing all the proceedings as much as possible. We only regret that the revision of the settlement decisions was not entrusted to men, as well qualified by talent, education, and knowledge of the subject, as those were, who originally passed them; and that it has necessarily been conducted under circumstances less favourable to the ascertainment of the truth.

We cannot do more than cursorily allude to minor objects of the settlement; such as the arrangement of many matters regarding rent free tenures, whether resumed or released; the division of estates, where the owners may wish it, or where it may be otherwise desirable; the assignment of a proper provision for the village police; and the adjustment of all outstanding questions of account between the Zemindars and the Government. Enough, however, has been said on the more important parts of the work to show the great advantages derivable from it. In order to exemplify this, we cannot do better than contrast the proceedings in any judicial case, carried on without the assistance of settlement records, with those which would now be held in a similar case in the N. W. Provinces. Let us select the suit decided by the Calcutta Sudder Court on March 24th 1831, and published at page 102 of the 5th volume of that Court's printed reports. Here Ramnarayun Naga had sued Mussummat Deb Rani and others for enhanced rent on the land held by them as cultivators. If any one will take the pains to examine the report of this case, he will see, that, after fifteen years litigation in all the courts, up to the Sudder, and the deputation of three distinct officers to make enquiries on the spot, the only point decided was, that the defendants were not privileged to hold any lands at fixed rates. The extent of land in their occupancy, the question whether any part of that land was exempt from the payment of rent, and the amount demandable from the portion not so exempt, were all disputed points, and were all left as doubtful, as if no investigation had taken place. The plaintiff, in short, was very litte nearer the attainment of his object than he had been at the first; and he was led distinctly to expect another course of law, such as he had already gone through, if he persisted in his claim. Suppose, now, that a similar suit were to be brought forward in the Duáb. Of all the above debateable points, the only one, which the mere inspection of the settlement Muntukhub and of the jummabundi for the past year would not suffice to decide, would be the amount of

the future rent. Supposing the defendants not to be recorded as entitled to hold at fixed rates, this question would be brought immediately to a hearing, without being complicated or delayed by any extraneous doubts or objections, and might probably be settled at once, by referring to the recorded rates, paid by other cultivators on similar lands, in the same, or adjacent villages.

The benefit of the records, which we are considering, would be still more sensibly felt, if the suit were for a share in one of those estates, mentioned above, in which the interests of the numerous proprietors depend upon the the extent of land in each man's occupancy, and not on the laws of inheritance. From ignorance of this distiction, the civil courts used long to grant decrees for fractional shares under the laws in question, when the estates, in which the shares were claimed, had been, from time immemorial, separately portioned out on a totally different principle. No such decree could be enforced without disturbing the possession, and injuring the rights of numbers in no way connected with the suit: and in fact many of them could never be executed at all. The settlement has now afforded an ample safeguard against errors oft his description. Wherever the above tenure prevails, the plaintiff is required to state the exact fields, with their numbers, in the Muntukhub, which he claims to transfer from the possession of the defendant to his own.* The suit is thus placed with precision before the Court, and is decided without any annoyance to the rest of the community. In fact it is hardly possible, that any dispute, connected with land, should now be brought forward, on which much light may not be thrown by reference to the Collector's office.

In the Revenue Department itself, the difference between the former and present state of things is obvious. There is no more call for constant interference in the internal concerns of the villages, than there was before; rather the contrary, as it was the previous confusion and uncertainty which used to render such interference necessary. Provided every thing goes on smoothly, years may elapse without a question being asked, or the presence of a Government official on the spot. But whenever default occurs in the payment of the revenue, it is instantly known with whom it originated, and that party is first required to make good the deficiency. If it finally become necessary to call upon the other sharers, under their acknowledged joint responsibility, to pay the arrear, the tenure of the actual defaulter is in return transferred to them, either temporarily, or in perpetuity. The increased ease and certainty, with which private transfers of landed property may now be made, is a distinguishing feature of the new system. Formerly it was

* See the Circular Orders by the Sudder Dewanny Adálut, N. W. P., dated 21th June 1842, and 15th March 1845.

difficult to say, or at least to prove, what the precise interest was, which thus changed hands. Now, whether that interest consists of separate lands, or of a share in the common profits, all needful information regarding it is immediately available. This has both facilitated the investment of capital in land, and increased the value of such property in the market.

So far then as the scheme of the settlement has been fully carried out, it may be considered that the the objects, contemplated in it, have been satisfactorily attained. It must not however, be supposed that this is hitherto universally the case. It could hardly be expected that, on the first introduction of a measure requiring so much judgment, care and diligence, it should be at once completed, with equal accuracy in all its parts, by the many different agents entrusted with its execution. Errors and omissions of one kind or another could not but occur; and it is only by experience that these can be brought to light. The amendment of these defects, as soon as they are discovered, as well as the maintenance of the arrangements, when perfected, must therefore rest with the regular revenue establishments; all of whom are now invested with the needful legal powers* for the former purpose. In the performance of this duty, great assistance will be derived from the Native Deputy Collectors, appointed under Regulation IX. of 1833; whose patience, assiduity, acquaintance with the country, and generally high character, fit them admirably for the work. In this view, too, the advance which has taken place under the late operations in the respectability of the putwaris is of much importance. Not only have the jurisdictions of these village accountants been revised, and their emoluments defined, but the closer intercourse, into which they have been thrown with their European superiors, has tended to increase their intelligence, while the corrupt or incompetent have thus been detected and weeded out. The annual returns now required from these men, are not to be prepared without some degree of ability and carefulness, so that the present higher standard of efficiency is likely to be maintained, or even carried still further.† The advantage of this improvement will be duly estimated by every public officer, whether judge, magistrate, or collector; for all have frequent occasion for the testimony of a sensible and independent witness on matters connected with the internal affairs of a village. It is, however, of special consequence, as it concerns our present

* Under Section XX, Regulation VII, of 1822.

† Several short treatises have been provided by the Government for the instruction of these officers in their duties, and have been introduced into the country schools, in which the putwaris receive their education. A further and still more important result is expected from this measure, which is to lead the zemindars themselves to understand and take an interest in the system By their help alone can the plans, which have been devised for the protection of private rights, be carried to the perfection of which they are capable.

subject, since it affords the means for counteracting the chief obstacle to the stability of the settlement arrangements. We refer to the frequen tchange in tshe shape, size, and number, of the separate fields, on the correct classification of which, it has been seen, that the whole system mainly rests. This difficulty is for the most part confined to light sandy soils, and to lands subject to inundation, in which the action of the wind or water continually effaces the former lines of division, and occasions a new demarcation. It is less felt in stiff soils, especially where artificial irrigation is used: but even there, in the course of time, great alterations may occur. It depends, then, on the putwarí to keep up the connection between the khusrah and field map, with the other papers founded on them, and the varying disposition of the fields themselves. So long as the changes are confined within narrow limits, he can designate the new fields by the numbers of those, of which, either wholly or in part, they occupy the place. But if the alteration should in time become so general as to render the settlement papers totally inapplicable, the putwarí should be able to recast them altogether; for which purpose a new measurement, field map, &c. will be requisite. That this work can be efficiently performed by officers of this description has been found by experience in Bolundshehur, Muttra, and elsewhere; and the measure must be resorted to, whenever the necessity arises.

The total expense incurred in the revision of the settlement from 1834-45 to 1845-46 (which does not however include the earlier operations) is estimated at fifty-four lacks of rupees. Of this rather more than twenty-two lacks were connected with the Professional Survey; and the remainder was expended in the salaries of settlement officers, and in temporary extra establishments. We have been unable to obtain any exact account of the alteration effected by the revision, in the Government rent roll. The following statement will however throw some light on the subject. It shows the average annual collections, in the ceded and conquered provinces, for quinquennial periods from 1807-8 to 1846-47. Unfortunately the Delhi Territory is not included in this return,* which would otherwise be complete. For the first three periods, the totals only can be given:

* As far as we have been able to ascertain from the best information available to us, the account for the Delhi Teritory will stand as follows:—

Average collections on account of land revenue for five years previous to commencement of settlement.....	Rs.	27,85,912
Ditto ditto for five years after its conclusion.....		32,70,727
Increase.....		4,84,815
Of this increase, however, about	Rs.	3,19,000

are derived from resumed lands and lapsed jaghirs, and the remainder is partly owing to some unfavorable seasons which diminished the collections in the earlier period. The actual demand of Government upon the old assessed lands has here, as in the greater part of the rest of the Provinces, been rather diminished than increased.

Division.	1807-8 *to* 1811-12.	1812-13 *to* 1816-17.	1817-18 *to* 1821-22.	1822-23 *to* 1826 27.	1827-28 *to* 1831-32.	1832-33 *to* 1836-37.	1837-38 *to* 1841-42.	1842-43 *to* 1846-47.
Meerut.....	...	...	...	57,58,125	52,28,807	56,54,624	63,81,540	69,05,136
Rohilcund	...	...	...	67,02,481	64,12,554	58,58,664	55,18,641	63,53,941
Agra.....	...	...	...	66,53,934	70,56,480	75,01,686	62,55,285	70,34,606
Allahabad	...	...	...	96,47,608	91,63,217	87,87,969	75,16,670	84,00,698
Benares (Goruckpur, and Azimgurh, only).....	...	...	...	17,42,824	17,92,438	24,43,719	29,95,416	34,99,065
Total...	2,44,39,879	2,76,41,105	3,03,45,527	3,05,43,174	2,97,14,818	3,02,46,666	2,86,37,753	3,22,01,328

As the settlement was chiefly effected between 1832-33 and 1841-42, if we take the average collections for ten years immediately preceding that period, and for the five years available which immediately followed it, we shall have a tolerable ground on which to form an opinion of the financial results of the measure. This comparison shows an increase in the annual collections, subsequent to the settlement, amounting to rupees 20,72,332. But closer examination will shew that, of this increase, Rupees 17,31,434, are derived from the districts of Goruckpúr and Azimghur alone, leaving only about three and a half lacks as the additional income from the rest of the Provinces. When the resumed Múafís and lapsed Jaghírs are taken into consideration, (between seven and eight lacks were obtained from the Begum Sumroo's estates in the Duáb alone,) it will be evident that the general pressure of the assessment has been relaxed, as well as equalized. The two districts, of which the Jumma has been so much raised, are known to be still lightly taxed, and pay their revenue with ease and punctuality.

The financial part of any settlement in these provinces must be always more or less at the mercy of the seasons. The utmost, that research and caution can effect, is to fix such a demand, as may be easily realized under ordinary circumstances; the profit left to the proprietors being sufficient to meet any moderate fluctuation in the amount and value of the produce. But no foresight can guard against those heavier calamities to which the husbandman in India is peculiarly liable; when, from failure of rain, the earth becomes iron and the heavens brass, or the ripening crops are beaten into mud by a tropical hail-storm. The late settlement has been severely tried in this respect. The Kurríf crop of 1241 Fussily (1833 A. D.) was generally a very bad one, especially in Bundlecund; and the following ten years were on the whole far from favourable to agricultural operations. One of these years, 1837-38, will long be remembered in the Duáb, as a fearful period of absolute famine. We need not describe the misery then prevalent, which must be still fresh in the recollection of all who witnessed it. The weight of the infliction fell on the five districts of the Agra division, and on Cawnpore;* and the destruction, which it occasioned in the numbers and resources of the people, will be best understood from the following facts. The settlement demand from the six districts named was in

* That it was also severely felt in all the districts of the Allahabad and Rohilcund divisions will be evident from the falling off in the collections during the five years, commencing with 1837-38, as shown in the statement above given.

round numbers ninety-five and a half lacks of rupees, which was about one lack less, than it had stood at, before the general revision. Of this sum, forty-two lacks were remitted in the year of famine; while, in the course of the next seven years, a further defalcation occurred of fifty-nine lacks; so that the total loss of revenue to Government on these districts alone amounted during the above period to more than a million sterling. Nor was this all. Such was the extent of land thrown out of tillage, and the reduction of rent in the remainder, owing to the deficiency of cultivators, and such the impoverishment of the people, that it was necessary not only to refrain from the rigid exaction of the Government demand, but also to relinquish absolutely part of its amount. The aggregate revenue of the districts in question has consequently been reduced by three and a half lacks for the remainder of the thirty years' settlement; a much larger intermediate remission being allowed for some years, till the estates, which had suffered most, should have partially recovered themselves. These results cannot be charged as an imperfection upon the settlement. They arose from signal visitations of providence, which were beyond human controul; and the losses sustained, both by the state and by individuals, could not, under the circumstances, have been averted. The country has on the whole recovered itself wonderfully from the state of depression into which it was thus thrown; and it is a further consolation that, if any parts of the assessment were unsound, they can scarcely have escaped the searching ordeal to which they have been subjected.

No provision for artificial irrigation can altogether obviate the evils attendant on long-continued drought; but it may do very much to mitigate them. The plains of the North West Provinces possess great natural advantages for this purpose. The perennial snows of the Himalayas rise immediately above them, and contain an inexhaustible reservoir of the precious element, which it only requires skill and money to convey to any point where it is needed. Two of the principal channels, which conduct the drainage of these mountains to the sea, intersect the provinces throughout their whole extent. One of these, the Jumna, has been long made use of for purposes of irrigation to the utmost of its capacity; but the much larger stream of the Ganges has hitherto been allowed to run heedlessly to waste. This will soon be no longer the case. The great Ganges Canal has been now four years in course of construction; and it is hoped that six more will witness its completion. The magnitude of the undertaking, and the difficulties attending it, may be judged from the fact, that a volume of

water, discharging 6,750 cubic feet per second, has to be conveyed, over the bed of a mountain torrent, by an embankment and aqueduct 2¼ miles in length.* This noble work will run along the high central land of the Duáb, throwing off branches along the ridges which separate the smaller streams, and will thus afford water to most of the worst sandy tracts, hitherto entirely destitute of irrigation. From Hurdwar, down to Futtehpúr, it would immensely increase the produce of the country, while it will for evermore relieve the intense anxiety now occasioned by any signs of a failure of rain. Whatever may be the state of the seasons, sufficient food will always be grown for the subsistence of the people and cattle, and sufficient land will remain in cultivation to afford them employment. They will consequently neither suffer, nor be driven away, to any thing approaching the same degree as heretofore. The effect of the canal upon general prices, and upon the fortunes of those estates, which do not come within its influence, is another question, which must be left for experience to solve.

The period, for which the settlement has been confirmed, varies in different districts from twenty to thirty years. Some of the leases will begin to fall in, ten years hence: and it will then become necessary to consider, whether they shall be renewed without alteration for a further term, or whether a new revision shall be entered on. We have no expectation that the present arrangements will be made absolutely permanent; and we should much deprecate such a course. The mere liability of the N. W. Provinces to accidents of season, even allowing for the great change which the new canal will produce, must always render it inexpedient to fix their assessment in perpetuity. A contract of this kind would always be binding on the Government, but could never be uniformly fulfilled by the people. Such a season, as that of 1837-38, would make the permanent assessment a nominal one, over a great part of the country. A sufficient argument against such a measure might indeed be found in its evident unfairness. The rate, at which the demand of Government now falls on the cultivated acre in entire districts, varies from Rs. 1-0-3 in Goruckpúr to Rs. 2-13-8 in Cawnpúr; notwithstanding that it has been nearly trebled in the former district, and much lowered in the latter. There can be no question but that these extremes may be brought much nearer each other at the next

* The masonry aqueduct, under which the Solani river passes, will be 1,010 feet in length. The total length of the canal, including its branches, will be between 800 and 900 miles. For full information, regarding this undertaking, we must refer our readers to an elaborate article on canal irrigation in the N. W. Provinces, which appeared in a late Number of this Review.

revision, and that many other parts of the country will have so improved, before that time arrives, as to be well able to bear a larger portion of the public burdens. But the inequality, to which we refer, exists as much between different villages, as between different districts. We have already observed that complete uniformity of assessment cannot be attained, even in adjoining estates; though any extraordinary deviation from it should be avoided. In the present agricultural condition of the N. W. Provinces, those villages, which are found, at the time of settlement, to be from any cause in a flourishing state, must of necessity be rated higher, than those which are depressed and unproductive. A village held by a cultivating community, who labour with their own hands, will pay more than one tenanted by men of a higher caste, who employ hired plough-men. Another, which possesses several masonry wells, will yield double the revenue of a neighbouring estate, which is without that advantage. The vicinity of a good market, facilities for obtaining manure, the number and caste of the resident ryots, are all matters on which the profitableness of different estates greatly depends. But these may all be modified, or entirely reversed, in a less period than that of the settlement. Cultivators and proprietors may vanish, and be succeeded by others; wells may become unserviceable, and others may be built elsewhere; markets may change; the populous village may dwindle to a few houses, and the hamlet may rise into importance. It is needless to remark on the revolution, in these respects, which the opening of a railway, and still more so perhaps of the new canal, will produce. The most carefully adjusted arrangements will hereafter require re-consideration, when the conditions, on which they must be founded, are thus liable to change.

Our proposed task would be imperfectly performed, if we did not advert to some of the objections, which have been brought against the settlement. We need not dwell long on those, which were more often advanced, in former days than they are now, against the present mode of assessment, as being a system of mere conjecture, or an attempt to enforce an uniform rate, entirely inapplicable to the varying circumstances, with which we have to deal. We have already shown that the average rates are only meant as a standard of comparison; that no means of obtaining really useful information need, or should, be neglected; and that the necessity of keeping up the appearance of extreme accuracy, without the substance, has alone been dispensed with. A more usual accusation, on the part of the "laudatores temporis acti," has reference to the pains which have been taken to ascertain and protect all subordinate rights.

This is the remains of the old leaven, which would have made every Zemindar the little despot of the tract, for which he had come under engagements with Government. We recollect "the father of the Civil Service" saying in 1831, with reference to a pending investigation into private claims in the Rajah of Benares's family domains, that it "was of a piece with the Re-'form agitation, then going on in England; the setting up of 'little men against the great." Men of this stamp object to affording the ryots any species of redress against a rack-renting landlord; to the admission of the mass of sharers in a proprietary community to any part in the management, or in the annual profits; and, more than all, to the independent tenures granted to the village landholders in Talúkas. Now the principles, which have been followed in these matters, may be viewed in relation, either to their equity, or their expediency. We do not believe that they have ever been seriously assailed on the former ground, though of course exception may be taken to the justice of their application in particular instances. If so, we are not very careful to answer in the matter: for it would be departing from the maxims of a civilized nation, as well as from the duty of a Christian Government, not to defend the oppressed from him that spoileth him. "Fais ce que dois, arrive que pourra," is the rule for public, as well as private, life. We are not called upon, like Lycurgus or Numa, to make laws for an infant people, by which their future opinions, habits, and institutions, are to be moulded and regulated. That was all settled for us fifty generations ago. We have only to recognize and defend private rights, in whatever hands, by the general sense of the country, they may be lodged.

Even, however, as regards expediency, we are well satisfied that, on the whole, the best course has been followed. The transactions between the zemindars and their ryots, as far as relates to the amount of rent, will be eventually determined, except in a few peculiar cases, on the same principles, which regulate such transactions elsewhere. The only interference, exercised under this head, is to protect the tenant from capricious and unjustifiable acts on the part of the landlord. It never can be injurious to the interests of an agricultural country, that some consideration should be necessary, before the burdens of the actual tillers of the soil are increased; or that cultivators of long standing should be allowed a fixed tenure, subject to the payment of a fairly estimated rent. How fortunate would it be for Ireland, if matters could be there put on the same footing! The other question, as to the recognition of subordinate proprietary rights, touches upon one which has been much discuss-

ed of late; viz. the advantages, or otherwise, of peasant Proprietorship. If this subject were being considered abstractedly, together with the law of succession to immoveable property, with which it is intimately connected, we should agree with the supporters of primogeniture, rather than with the opposite party. We are convinced that of two nations, otherwise similarly circumstanced, that one will in the long run become the richest and most prosperous, in which consolidated estates descend to a single heir, and are leased out to a distinct class of substantial farmers; and not the other, in which every property, however small, is subjected at each succession to division and sub-division; in which the owners of land are thus reduced to the grade of mere cultivating labourers, and sink both in means and intelligence to that condition. The comparative state of England and France at the present day, allowing for all the conflicting accounts, which have been put forth regarding the latter country, is, in our opinion, quite sufficient to establish this conclusion. But, with regard to India, the case is different. In the present state of agricultural science in this country, the produce of the soil depends mainly on the degree of positive labour bestowed on it; and this will be greater, cæteris paribus, when the cultivator is himself the proprietor, than when he is only a tenant. Certainly no villages pay the same amount of revenue with the same ease, as those entirely occupied by Ját or Kuromí sharers, whose separate holdings may average no more than fifteen or twenty acres. The time will doubtless come, when knowledge and capital will assert their superiority in the husbandry of this, as of other countries; when the success of agricultural enterprise will depend, less on intensity of manual labour, than on the introduction of more valuable products, of improved modes of culture, and of the use of machinery. In the meanwhile, however, a process is going on, which will greatly counteract the effect of the law of equal inheritance, and which the late admission of all sharers to defined and recorded rights will rather assist than retard. These sharers, and the smaller landed proprietors in general, are for the most part poor and improvident. Their custom of expending larger sums, than they can afford, on many domestic occurrences, prevents them from accumulating funds against a day of difficulty; which, owing to the uncertainty of the seasons, is never long in arriving. The consequence is, that they are constantly in debt, and from their own ignorance of accounts, and of our forms of law, they lie much at the mercy of their creditors. On the other hand, the trading and money-lending classes are steadily amassing wealth under our settled Government; and much of this wealth is always seek-

ing investment in land. Hence arise incessant forced or voluntary transfers of landed property; more and more of the soil is annually passing into the hands of capitalists; and properties, which had been separated under the existing law of inheritance, are being brought together again under their new possessors.* However much this course of events is on some account to be regretted, it can only be effectually checked by the spread of prudence and intelligence among those who suffer from it. The attempt to promote these qualities by an education, suited to the mass of the people, is not altogether neglected, though more may be, and doubtless will be, done in this respect; but amendments in the character of a nation are ever of slow growth. It is therefore well to look to the benefits, which may hereafter accrue from the change now in progress to the country at large, rather than to the loss of position, thus sustained, by many of its ancient and far descended occupants.

The settlement has however been also attacked from an opposite quarter. It has been said, that, when we proceeded so far as to record the sum payable to Government by every sharer, we should no longer have insisted on that rule of joint responsibility, whereby the whole community is bound, in the last resort and after all other measures have failed, to make good the default of one or more of its members. It has been urged, that this liability is a check to industry, while it encourages extravagance and dishonesty. It might be sufficient to reply to this, that the same national feeling which has been appealed to already as requiring the full recognition of individual rights, is also in favor of the rule thus objected to. It is part of the original constitution of these bodies, from which, so long as the community holds together, they never have been, nor do they seek to be, relieved.† But moreover, the obligation in question is a necessary feature of the arrangement, without which it would entirely change its character. The "village system" of Upper

* The following statement shews the mutations which have taken place in the Cawnpúr district, since the cession.

Still in the hands of the original proprietors.	Transferred voluntarily.		Transferred by operation of Courts of Law.		Transferred by the operation of the Revenue System.	Total No. of Villages
	In whole	In parts	In whole	In parts.	In whole.	
808	465	127	279	174	405	2,258

Of the 453 estates sold for arrears, 185 have been restored by the special Commission, as before stated.

† If the several sharers, or any number of them, wish to separate entirely from the rest, they can always do so under the laws for partition. The rarity of such applications, among cultivating sharers of the same family, or stock, proves how sensible they are of the advantages of their present position.

India, as it at present exists, is perhaps the best, which could have been devised under the circumstances of the country. It diminishes the toil and cost of Government, by enabling the state to deal with the representatives of large bodies of men, instead of with each individual comprised in them. It lessens the expence of management to the people themselves. It tends to minimize the evils, inseparable from a multiplicity of small properties, by collecting their owners into corporations, each member of which has a strong claim on the sympathy and assistance of the rest. It does much to produce a degree of self government among the people, and thus to obviate that utter dependence on the state, and that constant interference on the part of its officers, which are the general characteristics of Eastern despotisms. But, if the tie of joint responsibility were dissolved, the old fable of the bundle of sticks would be realized. It would be a matter of no consequence to the several sharers, whether the arrangements for the year's cultivation in the whole village were complete, or not. They would no longer have any personal interest in the prosperity of their brethren. The Revenue officer of Government would not only have to examine closely whether the distribution of the public demand on the numerous minute holdings was not designedly unequal, so as to throw the loss of the over-assessed portions upon Government, but he would also be obliged to enquire annually into the condition and prospects of perhaps 50,000 petty proprietors. He would be reduced, in short, to all the difficulties and uncertainties of a Collector under the Ryotwarí system; while the people would be subjected to the ceaseless annoyances, exactions, and official intervention, which that system involves.

It is perhaps too soon to point to the actual results upon the welfare of the country and its inhabitants, as a conclusive answer to these and all other objections, which may be brought against the settlement. The affairs of nations, like the tide, oscillate perpetually; and it requires some lengthened observation to perceive whether they are really advancing or retrograding. Still, we think, that we can adduce facts, which may justly be taken as evidence of growing prosperity. The regular collection of the land revenue is the best proof we have, that all is going on well: and this has, of late, become more and more satisfactory. We give a statement below, by which it will be seen, that, during the last 5 years, for which information is available, down to 1847-48, the total real balance, upon a demand of more than four crores of rupees has decreased to less than one half per cent; and that a marked diminution has

at the same time occurred in the coercive processes necessary to enforce payment.* The balances are given, as they appeared at the end of each official year; and at least two fifths of them were considered capable of realization. All the other branches of revenue appear to be in an improving state. The Abkárí, or Excise, which is considered in all countries a good test of the public well-being, is increasing steadily year by year.† The Ferry Tolls, from which deductions may be drawn as to the state of trade and of public enterprise and activity, are similarly advancing.‡ The Customs yield now nearly 24 lacks more than they did eighteen years ago, having been regularly progressing since that time; and, though this is doubtless owing to successive changes in the law, commencing with that which abolished the Inland Customs Houses, and confined the demand to the two lines on the Frontier and at Allahabad, still the ability of the country to pay this additional sum, without any apparent difficulty, is a matter for congratulation.§ The sums, voluntarily expended by pri-

Year.	Per centage of balance on total demand.	Coercive Processes.			
		Sales.	Farms.	Transfers.	Dustucks or summonses to pay.
1843-44	2.25	221	260	423	3,78,597
1844-45	1.88	121	214	414	3,48,790
1845-46	1.20	97	127	347	2,92,682
1846-47	.46	115	129	238	2,58,235
1847-48	.48	52	41	108	2,35,127

† Abkárí Collections for current years only ..

1843-4.	1844-5	1845-6.	1846-7.	1847-8.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs.
13,12,928	14,93,402	15,69,110	16,60,901	17,09,254

‡ Collection from Ferry Tolls.

	Rupees.
Average of 4 years from 1840-41 to 1843 44.....	1,32,391
Ditto of ditto 1844-45 to 1847-48.....	1,86,643

§ Average Customs Collections

	Rupees.
from 1824-25 to 1829 30	33,42,644
Ditto Ditto 1830-31 to 1834 35	40,25,730
Ditto Ditto 1836-37 to 1842- 3	43,79,324
Ditto Ditto 1844-45 to 1847-48	57,27,988

Two years have been omitted, in which changes in the law took place

vate individuals on works of public utility, have averaged, during the last five years, Rs. 1,23,321 annually. This may be some index to the very much larger amount, which is undoubtedly laid out, with a view to individual profit or convenience. We now come to the value of land in the market. We have no means of ascertaining accurately the current prices obtained in former years upon any sales, except those effected on account of arrears of revenue; and, as these were all forced sales, generally of deteriorated estates, and as many of them were purchased by Government at nominal prices, they would afford little information worth having. It was however usually calculated, that an estate was worth rather more than a sum equal to the revenue, which it paid each year to Government. It was stated in 1837, by the able writer of the article in the *Meerut Magazine*, which we have before quoted, that the common price was one year's rent, which would be about half as much again as the jumma; and that an examination of sixty-six cases of private sale gave him a result of Rs. 3-1-7 per acre of cultivated land. More attention is now paid to this interesting subject, and we have been able to obtain very extensive data, which show that the price, obtained at private sales, has now risen to three and a half times the annual jumma, and that it averages Rs. 4-2-10 per acre on the total area sold.* It would be higher of course on the cultivation alone. Even compulsory sales for decrees of Court bring a higher price, than private sales did in former days. Putting all these circumstances together, and considering that there is nothing to be stated on the other side, and that no general distress exists

* Result of sales in the temporarily settled parts of the North Western Provinces, for three years from 1845-46 to 1847-48, omitting Goruckpûr and Azimghur.

	Total acres.	Govt. Jumma.	Price obtained.	Price per acre.	Percentage of price to Jumma.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. As. P.	
Private Sales	7,15,03	8,60,455	29,92,221	4 2 10	347
Sales for Decrees of Court	3,11,791	4,24,623	10,94,832	3 8 2	258
Ditto ditto for Goruckpûr and Azimghur.					
Private Sales.....	1,05,880	94,736	9,89,728	9 5 7	1,044
Sales for Decrees	1,01,697	71,272	3,17,723	3 2 0	445

Goruckpûr and Azimghur are shown separately, as, owing to the lightness of the assessment, much better prices are obtained there than elsewhere.

in any extensive class of the population—we think, we are justified in assuming, that the measures of internal policy, which have been pursued, have been successful, and that we may look forward to their yet undeveloped results with well-grounded confidence.

We have reserved to the last the question, touched upon at the commencement of this article, because it refers to the Indian Revenue system in general, rather than to any particular measure connected with it. Those, who assert that the cotton and sugar of India are kept out of European markets by the pressure of the land tax, must be entirely ignorant of the nature of that tax, as enforced at least in the N. W. Provinces, and, still more, in Bengal. It is acknowledged on all hands that rent, as generated and regulated in England, produces no effect on the price of agricultural produce. That price is influenced, from time to time, by the demand as compared with the supply, but is determined in the long run by the expense of production on the worst soils; and it is the value of the produce, thus fixed, which enables the better soils to yield rent. It is the same in India; although it is true, as Professor Jones has shown, that the conditions, attaching to the origin and amount of rent, are not precisely the same here, as in England. The only difference between the principles, which regulate the price of raw produce in the two countries, is this: in England, the average price must be such, as to afford the usual wages to the labourer, and the usual profits of stock to the farmer, upon the least productive lands, which the wants of the nation require to be kept in cultivation. In India, the labourer and the farmer are generally the same individual; there is no fixed standard for the rate of wages, or of profits; and the mass of the people, having no resource except agriculture, are more liable to undue exaction than elsewhere. Still the price of produce must, at least, be such, as to enable the cultivator to subsist, and to replace the little capital necessary for his operations. In both countries, there are lands, which are barely fertile enough to fulfil these respective conditions, under which alone the works of the field can be carried on; and such lands can therefore yield little or no rent. Neither can the rent, which the superior fertility of other lands enables them to yield, in any way influence the price of produce—this having been already determined on other grounds.

If then the fact of the payment of rent (it matters not whether to the government, or to a private proprietor) can in no degree affect the price of raw produce, it is still more certain that the demand, by the state, of only *a portion* of the natural rent can exercise no such influence. It has been seen

that the revenue is limited in the North Western Provinces to about two-thirds of the gross rent, and that it is often much less. In the permanently settled Provinces of Bengal, it probably falls short of one-half. It follows, that if the public revenue were to be immediately reduced thirty or fifty per cent. the only effect would be that the private proprietors would be richer men. They would probably spend larger sums in equipages, festivals, and perhaps in litigation, as they now do in Bengal. The market price of grain, cotton, or sugar, would remain the same as before. As no distinguishing tax is laid by Government, in either portion of this presidency, upon any particular species of produce, the general diminution of the demand would in no way alter the relative profitableness of different crops. No stimulus would therefore be afforded by such a measure to the growth of any staple article; nor would any market be opened to it, from which it is at present excluded.

Notwithstanding the unusual length, to which our observations have run, we fear that imperfect justice has been done to the extensive subject, of which we have been treating. To all, who have been experimentally acquainted with the work of settlement, it is associated with the remembrance of severe exertion, but at the same time of great and varied enjoyment. We look back, as through the vista of many years, and see the white camp rising in the long aisles of the ancient mango tope. We see the fair-haired Saxon youth opposing his well-trained intellect to the new difficulties that crowd upon him. We see him exerting daily, and with no vain or fruitless result, all his faculties of observation, of research, of penetration, of judgment. It is a strange sight—a wonderful proof of the power of intellectual and moral education—to watch the respect and confidence, evinced by grey-headed men, towards that beardless youth. We see him, in the early morning mist, stretching at an inspiring gallop over the dewy fields. Not unmindful is he of the hare, which scuds away from his horse's feet; of the call of the partridge from the brake; or of the wild fowl on the marsh. The well-earned holiday will arrive, when he will be able to follow these, or perhaps nobler game; but at present he has other work on hand. He is on his way to some distant point, where measurements are to be tested, doubts resolved, or objections investigated. This done, he returns to his solitary breakfast, cheered by the companionship of a book, or perhaps by letters from a far distant land—doubly welcome under such circumstances. The forenoon is spent in receiving reports from the native officers employed under him; in directing their operations; in examining, comparing, analysing, and arranging the various information, which comes in from all

quarters. As the day advances, the wide-spread shade begins to be peopled with living figures. Group after group of villagers arrive in their best and whitest dresses; and a hum of voices succeeds to the stillness, before only broken by the cooing of the dove, and the scream of the parroquet. The carpet is then spread in the open air; the chair is set; litigants and spectators take their seats on the ground in orderly ranks; silence is proclaimed, and the rural court is opened. As case after case is brought forward, the very demeanour of the parties, and of the crowds around, seems to point out on which side justice lies. No need here of ex-parte decisions, or claims lost through default. All are free to come and go, with little trouble, and at no expense. No need of lengthened pleadings. A few simple questions bring out the matter of the suit, and the grounds on which it rests. No need of lists of witnesses. Scores of witnesses are ready on the spot, alike unsummoned and untutored. No need of the Koran, or Ganges water. The love of truth is strong, even in an Indian breast, when preserved from counteracting influences; still more so, then, when the sanction of public opinion assists and protects the rightful cause. In such a court, Abraham sat, when arbitrating among his simple-minded herdsmen. In such a court, was justice every where administered in the childhood of the human race; before wealth increased, and with wealth complicated interests, and law became a science requiring a life's study to understand.

Strange must that man's character be, and dull his sympathies, who, in the midst of occupations like these, does not find his heart accompanying and lightening his labours. He sees the people in their fairest light; he witnesses their ceaseless industry, their contented poverty, their few and simple pleasures, their plain sense of justice, their general faithfulness to their engagements. He finds them, as a nation, sober, chaste, frugal, and gifted with much of that untaught politeness, in which the rustic classes of colder climes are so often deficient. For months together, he uses no language, enjoys no society, but theirs. To these causes of attachment, is added that powerful tie, which unites us to those, whom we have laboured long to benefit. The knowledge and feelings, thus acquired under the green wood tree, will not be forgotten in after days, when the dark side of the picture will alone be presented to his view; when he has to deal with roused passions, and selfish desires, uncontrolled by a true Faith; when his intercourse with the people is confined to the prisoner at the bar, or to the vakíls of a grasping plaintiff, and of a fraudulent (perhaps because oppressed) defendant.

ART. V.—*A comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Sclavonic Languages, by Professor Bopp; translated from the German, by Lieut. Eastwick, and conducted through the Press by Professor Wilson. London. Madden.* 1845.

SOME of the wittiest sayings of Dean Swift were uttered with regard to the monstrous and absurd etymological speculations of his day; and even to a recent period the Dean's sarcasms were too generally applicable.* We ourselves recollect, in our school-boy days, how diligently and perseveringly we committed to memory all the absurd derivations in the *Clavis Homerica*. Our teacher was a first rate Grecian; but, like the generality of scholars of his time, his investigation of Greek was limited by the analogies drawn from its four principal dialects. Happily however for the cause of critical science, things have changed. Etymology, which, in the hands of narrow-minded pedants, was a mere *crux* for the school-boy, or a series of conundrums, like Hindu riddles, has risen, through the exertions of philosophic minds in Germany, to the rank of a science,—a deduction of a series of well ascertained grammatical laws, derived from facts tested in the true Baconian spirit. Comparative Philology, called also Linguistic, or Ethnography, is "the classification of nations, from the comparative study of languages." The old philologists spent their time in a vain search after the primitive language; but Comparative Philology applies a kind of chemical analysis to languages, in order to resolve them into their elementary qualities. This rises higher than (what the Germans call) mere word-mongering. On this subject, Locke remarks, in his *Essay on the Human Understanding*, "the consideration of *ideas* and *words*, as the great instruments of knowledge, makes no despicable part of their contemplation, who would take a view of human knowledge in the whole extent of it." The researches of Rawlinson, Burnouf, and Lassen, on the arrow-headed inscriptions in the ruins of

* We need only refer, as an illustration, to the work of Dr. Murray on languages, in two octavo volumes. He endeavours to deduce the words in all the European languages from the following syllables, and their compounds:—ag—wag—hwag,—bag—dwag—cwag—lag—mag—nag—rag—swag; and yet he was a professor of languages! Even that able metaphysician, Dugald Stewart, propounded the ridiculous notion, that Sanskrit was a *jargon* devised by the Greeks of Bactria,—though the laws of Manu, and the Vedas, are as old as Homer. The old Etymologists used to account for the word *sack* being found in so many languages, on the ground "that no one at Babel would have forgotten his wallet, whatever else he might leave behind." Sir W. Betham of late years, in his Irish Etymologies, ventures on as wild theories as Becanus did in former times, who strives to prove that Adam and Eve spoke Dutch! His was the day for hunting after the Philosophers' stone, and searching what language our first parents spoke in the Garden of Eden.

Babylon and on the rocks of Van, and of Prinsep on the Pali, show how closely words, and even alphabetical characters, are connected with things, and throw light on the progress of society, when tradition fails. Words are in fact "the incarnation of thought:" and it is a matter generally agreed upon among metaphysicians—that language is as inseparable from thought, in our present state, as matter is from spirit; while the investigation of language itself has elucidated many of the laws of mental science. Hence Philology ranks as one of the branches of general science, in the proceedings of that utilitarian body, the British Association for the advancement of science; and, on taking up their volume for 1847, we find the following elaborate essays published in their transactions; "On the present and recent progress of Ethnographical Philology, by Dr. Latham." "On the various methods of research, which contribute to the advancement of Ethnology, and of the relations of that science to other branches of knowledge, by Dr. Prichard." "On the results of the recent Egyptian researches, in reference to Asiatic and African Ethnology, and the classification of languages." "A discourse read before the Ethnological Section of the British Association for the advancement of science, by Chevalier Bunsen."—"On the importance of the Study of the Celtic Language, as exhibited by the Modern Celtic Dialects still extant, by Dr. Meyer."—"On the relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal Languages of India, by Dr. Muller."

It is a sign of the times not to be mistaken, that Philology holds a very different status now, from that which it occupied even twenty years ago. The examination papers of Cambridge (where a higher range of classical studies is pursued of late), of Oxford, and of Dublin, indicate this change very strongly; though it is to be regretted that, notwithstanding the Boden Sanskrit Professorship at Oxford, so little attention is paid there to Sanskrit—a language "capable of giving a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of Metaphysics." Both Professor Lee at Cambridge, and Dr. Wilson at Oxford, complain of the little encouragement given to Oriental studies in their respective Universities. The effects are seen in after life: for few of the men, who have come from these seats of learning to India, have distinguished themselves by their philological attainments; as the annals of the Asiatic Society, and the history of Biblical Criticism and Translation in India, will show. Even the best philological works published in England itself are generally mere translations from the German.

Dr. Wiseman has two Dissertations on this subject in

his lectures.* Since closer attention has been directed of late to the literary treasures contained in the German language, Philological science has become increasingly popular in England: but the Bopps, Adelungs, Grimms, Burnoufs, and Humboldts, of Germany led the way, while Oxford and Cambridge lagged far behind, content to be humble imitators: "sequuntur haud pari passu." The comprehensive mind of Leibnitz first gave shape to the science of Comparative Philology, which has of late thrown so much light on the history of mankind and "the physiological affinity of nations." In England, Dr. Prichard, by his "Researches," has elucidated, in this respect, a number of curious and important facts; while Hodgson is threading his way through the intricacies connected with the aboriginal tribes of India, guided by the clue of linguistic affinities. Following the same track, the Ethnological Society are making very important discoveries respecting the numerous tribes, and distinct nations, that are scattered over the wide range of Africa. The number of writers, that have sprung up on Philological subjects, since Catherine of Russia gave the first impulse, may well be called "legion."

The class of languages in this country, on which these general remarks bear, is derived from the Sanskrit, the study of which we consider valuable for various reasons.

It is of use, in producing a sympathy between the European and the Native, in gaining affection, and winning confidence. The former learns thereby to treat the latter with more respect. The country, which produced a Kálidás and a Valmíkí, is not to be despised, or regarded as the residence of a set of mere barbarians. We have, on former occasions, dwelt, in this *Review*, on the advantages, which a knowledge of Sanskrit may give to Missionaries, where there are time and capacity to acquire it;—we will now merely cite the authority of Professor Wilson on the same subject. "The Hindus will not listen to one, who comes among them, strong in his own faith, and ignorant of

* "*On the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*," a work which, in spite of some sectarian blemishes, we would earnestly recommend to the study of our readers, written by one of the ablest men of the day, and showing, in an interesting and popular way, how the Comparison of languages, Geology, Archæology, &c. all tend to confirm the truth of Scripture History, and to prove, as Vans Kennedy has done in his Researches, that the grammatical and lexicographical affinities of Sanskrit with the Indo-Germanic languages indicate, that mankind once spoke a common language on the plains of Babylonia;—and that in languages, as in paleontology and geology, we live in the wreck of a former world. The recent investigations of Chevalier Bunsen into the ancient Egyptian language have brought to light the important fact—that the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages, which have been hitherto considered to have no affiliation, are intimately connected, through the medium of the ancient Egyptian, which seems to be a link between those two classes. The researches of Lepsius and Meyer in Egypt also confirm the same position.

their's. To overturn their errors, we must know what they are. We must adapt our mode of teaching, with regard to the state of mind, and opinions of the people, we address." We see Paul acted in this manner in his address on Mars's Hill: and Indian Missionaries, feeling its importance, have been as distinguished, as any other members of society, for their knowledge of Sanskrit. Robert de Nobilibus wrote in Sanskrit two centuries ago, as idiomatically as any pandit could. Paolino Bartolomeo, a Friar, was the first European, who published a Sanskrit Grammar in 1790. The works of Carey, Yates, and Mill, are too well known to require enumeration; these were all vernacular, as well as Sanskrit, scholars. There is an influential order of men in this country, of classical attainments, and (some) of considerable literary abilities, whom we should like to see attending to Sanskrit studies—the Chaplains of the E. I. C. Alas! we say it with regret,—of late years they have done next to nothing in connection with Indian literature, or biblical criticism. Did they stand off less (with a kind of *kulin* exclusiveness) from all non-English-University men, and prove that they have the reality, and not the *name* of knowledge (whether it be B. A. or M. A., or even L. L. D., at present not very certain tests of scholarship) it would be far better for their own reputation and usefulness.

Such is the affiliation between different languages, that it is now established as a fact that we cannot thoroughly know any one language without paying some attention to others. The Indo-Germanic class of languages for instance, is closely connected with and comprises the following, German, Gaelic, Persian, Greek, Latin, Russian: and the Sanskrit forms a connecting link to them all.

The old method of studying Greek etymologies reminds one of the systems of Patanjali and Panini; as in both cases the etymons were sought *within* the respective languages, instead of from other languages. On this subject, Chevalier Bunsen very justly remarks, "the absurd etymologies of the ancients are the most striking proof of the impossibility of a man's becoming conscious of his peculiarities, except by contrast and comparison with those of others." We have a memorable illustration of this, in "Horne Tooke's Diversions of Purley," by the etymological blunders he commits, owing to his ignorance of the comparison of languages. The light, that the illustrious Cuvier threw on paleontology by his researches into Comparative Anatomy, gives us an example of what ought to have been done by Horne Tooke in languages on a similar principle.

We need scarcely refer to the new fountains of thought opened

by Sanskrit literature,—of which Southey has made happy use, as also Milman in his "Nala and Damayanti." Both were men unconnected with India: but they were poets, and therefore able to appreciate the poetic beauties of Indian verse. Wilson's Hindu Theatre, and the publications of the Oriental Translation Fund, are also increasingly valued in Europe, and tend to give persons a more familiar view of India; though, as Professor Wilson remarks, "it is not enough to understand the language of a people: the people themselves must be understood, with all their popular prejudices, their daily observances, their occupations, their amusements, their domestic and social relations, their local legends, their national traditions, their mythological fables, their metaphysical abstractions, and their religious worship." As in Europe, no man can enter into the spirit of Greek and Latin literature, without knowing the languages in which it has been embodied; so in India, the beautiful descriptions and metaphors, which abound in the writings of Kálidàs, Valmíkí, and others, can only be fully appreciated by reading them in the original Sanskrit.

The work, which we have placed at the head of our article, shows the use of Sanskrit in philological pursuits. "Bopp's Comparative Grammar" is fully entitled to the epithet of the *magnum opus* of Philology, and to claim as high a rank in the science of Grammar, as Newton's Principia does in Mathematics, as Bacon's Novum Organum in Mental Science or Blumenbach in Physiology.*

In Oxford, we are glad to observe that, in philological papers set for high classical attainments, there are various questions on the analogy between the Sanskrit and the Greek; and in this work, Bopp has thrown great light on the grammatical structure of the Latin and Greek, as deduced from the Sanskrit Grammar. In 1812, eager to ascertain the philosophy of language, he went to Paris to acquire a knowledge of Sanskrit; and, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to encounter, through the want of books, and the state of political affairs, he perse-

* We would like to see an analysis of such a work introduced into the Parental Academy, Saint Paul's School, and other classical schools in this country, where, we regret to say, the study of Oriental languages is to a great extent neglected. Why do the East Indian community not aim at identifying themselves with India, and, as one step to that, making its languages and literature an object of specific study—instead of striving after a mock imitation of every thing English? Germans and Frenchmen have achieved distinguished progress in Oriental studies; but the name of scarcely one East Indian can be mentioned, who has published any thing on this subject that will go down to posterity. These remarks are too applicable also to Young Bengal; in fact, Young Bengal so prides himself on writing a little bombastic English, richly charged with all sorts of inflated metaphors, that he thinks it beneath his dignity to write a common letter in idiomatic Bengali. Pandit like, he despises the Vernaculars, as only adapted for the "profanum vulgus."

vered, and, in 1816, published his "Conjugation System," comparing the Sanskrit verb with the Latin, Greek, Gothic, and German. In 1818, he was sent along with Professor Franke, at the expense of the Bavarian Government, to London, to complete his Sanskrit studies. His next great work was his "Vergleichende Grammatik," the result of the labour of years. Professor Hayman Wilson observes respecting it,—"It has substituted for the vague conjectures, suggested by external and often accidental coincidences, elementary principles, based upon the prevailing analogies of articulate sounds, and the grammatical structure of language."* The translation of the Comparative Grammar, was undertaken at the suggestion of Lord Francis Egerton, who prepared a portion of it; and the remainder was finished by Lieut. Eastwick and Professor Wilson; the original was commenced in 1833, and is not *yet* completed. We hope many works of a similar kind may issue soon from the press. We are no blind, enthusiastic admirers of Sanskrit: we think English is a far more useful language for the educated natives of India; still we approve of the noble efforts of such men, as Dr. Ballantyne of the Benares College, and Mr. Muir of the Civil Service, to convey a knowledge of European science, and of Christianity, to the learned classes of India, through the medium of their venerated Sanskrit.†

The tendency of the age is in favour of the brotherhood of nations, and the unity of states—"the fraternity of peoples." A person can breakfast now in London, and dine in Paris; and rail-roads are about to be introduced into India. While steam, literature, politics, and commercial intercourse, are bringing Europe, India, and America, into close contact, we have an antagonistic power, the curse of Babel, in the multiplicity of languages. India alone has more than ten different dialects, which cannot

* Dr. Young, an eminent mathematician, has put the affinity of languages to the test of the mathematical calculus; others have successfully applied the doctrine of chances to it.

† We would add here the name of Dr. Mill, late Principal of Bishop's College, the author of the *Christa Sangita* in Sanskrit. We trust that the newly appointed Principal, Mr. Kaye, will do what is in his power to give a more oriental turn to the studies of Bishop's College. Without neglecting the classics, Sanskrit might form an *indispensable* part of the course of study for those pupils designed to be missionaries. It would be quite as useful for them, if not more so, than Latin, when labouring for the evangelization of the Hindus. The learned Hindus cannot appreciate the acquaintance, which a Missionary or Catechist has with Latin; but they can value his knowledge of Sanskrit, and are more likely to lend a patient ear to what he says respecting the Hindu system, when he draws his references from the fountain head. The Revd. K. Banerjea has done much good in this respect by his knowledge of Sanskrit: and we trust that, not only in Bishop's College, but also in other Institutions for training Native Christian agents, some attention may be directed to this subject.

(as some would wish) be eradicated.* But Comparative Philology affords some clue to this difficulty, by enabling us to rise from the known to the unknown, and, through the association of ideas, to make the knowledge of one language serve as a key to the study of another. Thus he, who has mastered Greek, has overcome nearly half the difficulty of Sanskrit, the key (or as Bunsen calls it), the *humus*, to Indian languages. Even the German class of languages bears a strong family likeness to the Sanskrit; Bopp, when he was reading the Gothic of Ulphilas, states that he almost fancied it was Sanskrit, which he was studying—so close were the grammatical and lexico-graphical affinities between Sanskrit and that parent of the German. The Sanskrit is easily learned by a person who knows Bengali, or Hindi, and vice versâ, as nine-tenths of the words in the North of India vernaculars are of Sanskrit origin: and yet Bopp declares, that the Bengali resembles the Sanskrit, in its grammatical system, infinitely less than the majority of European languages. Comparative Philology is therefore calculated to facilitate the study of the Indian languages very much. Even a Highlander, coming from the Grampian hills, and landing on the shores of Bengal, if he be a man of scholarly habits, may trace a very close connection between his native Gaelic and the Sanskrit-derived vernaculars of India, as Monsieur Pictet, in his "Affinité sur la langue Celte," has pointed out so ably and accurately. Humboldt, in a very learned publication, has likewise shown that the Kavi language of the Eastern Archipelago is of Sanskrit origin.

* Some deprecate the notion of creating a Vernacular literature; and we are ourselves warm and enthusiastic advocates for the spread of our noble English language, likely to claim, if any can, to be the leading one on the globe. But allowing for those, who have means and capacity to devote nine years to its study, and who will continue it in after life—for those that learn English to qualify them for situations under Europeans and Government—and for the effects of increased intercourse, social, religious, political, and mercantile—can we calculate on more than 100,000 natives becoming well acquainted (not mere smatterers) with English in the next generation? Now India contains 100,000,000 British subjects: 99,900,000 therefore must depend for all kinds of knowledge, religious, social, and useful, on the Vernacular. The Vernaculars also are yearly receiving fresh accessions, since the Government has adopted the principle that they are to be the language of the Courts, and of the Administration generally. It is therefore of great importance to render them as capable as possible of expressing European ideas. But the principal North Indian languages, the Bengali, Hindi, and Mahratta, are little better than dialects of the Sanskrit. They have Sanskrit roots with Prakrit terminations; and by their connection with the Sanskrit, like the German, they have unlimited power of forming compound terms; while, in the Tamulian class of languages in Southern India, the Sanskrit has engrafted all its theological and metaphysical terms on them; and, like the Latin of Europe, furnishes all their ecclesiastical phraseology. Neither the Muhammedan conquerors of Northern India, nor the Brahminical colonizers of the South could force the aborigines to give up their languages. Some nevertheless say, Let these native languages become extinct! Dr. Channing has illustrated this subject powerfully, with reference to the Americans, in his own graphic style, in an Essay on "National Literature."

The importance of knowing the vernacular languages of India is generally admitted; the advantage of a preparatory study of Sanskrit (as in Europe of a classical education for the acquisition of the French, Italian and Spanish languages,) is great; to use the words of Schlegel,—"He, who is ignorant of Sanskrit, will have to fatigue his memory in learning the vernacular words one by one, whilst the Sanskrit Grammar makes us systematically acquainted with their formation and affinities." As the labours of classical scholars have formed the standard in English, so have those of Pandits in the Bengali and Hindi. The Sanskrit affords a test, fixed and invariable, by which the primitive sense of Bengali and Hindi words, synonymes, and technical terms, is to be ascertained. Few would venture on vernacular composition without having a person to refer to, acquainted with the Sanskrit. Nine-tenths of the Bengali and Hindi, and four-fifths of the Mahratta, languages are of Sanskrit origin: and, even in the Urdu language, though of Muhammedan parentage (in which there is a contest going on, whether it shall be fixed on a Sanskrit or Persian basis, which is likely to be decided in favour of the former) nearly the whole of its verbs, and many of its nouns, are derived from Sanskrit. The Pali, the sacred language of Buddhism, from Thibet in the north to Ceylon in the south, and from Siam to Japan, bears a close affinity with the Sanskrit, as may be seen in "Burnœuf et Lassen. Essai sur le Pali."

In the system of education, pursued in the Normal Schools of England and Scotland, the Latin and Greek roots, incorporated into the English language, form a branch of instruction—as conveying the primitive meaning of words, and therefore giving clear ideas. Sanskrit holds precisely the same position with regard to Indian vernaculars, assigning to their meaning a fixity, and ascertaining the exact force of synonymous expressions, besides producing copiousness and precision. Professor Wilson states—"The Sanskrit was a spoken language, broken down into various dialects, which were fitted with new grammatical combinations." Since the Persian has been discontinued in Bengal, as the language of the Government and of the Courts, the Bengali language has been gradually purifying itself from its foreign admixtures, and falling more and more into a Sanskrit mould. It has not, however, had the advantage of a Dante to raise it at once to a classical standard, and has been long impeded by the general use of the Persian and Urdu, which, like the French tongue in Prussia in the days of Frederic the Great, have prevented national development, and proved a complete clog on all endeavours to unfold the rich resources of the Mother language.

The utilitarians of the day sneer at philological studies: but the institution of the Ethnological Society has shown their va-

lue; for, as Leibnitz remarks—"As the remote origin of nations goes back beyond the records of history, we have nothing but their *languages* to supply the place of historical information." This is eminently the case with respect to India, as the genius of Brahmanism has ever loved metaphysical investigation, in preference to historical research. Mr. Pickering, the President of the American Oriental Society, justly observes, with reference to the Sanskrit,—"No man can claim to be a philologist, without some acquaintance with that most extraordinary, and most perfect, of the known tongues."

Much light is thrown on the common origin of the Hindu and the European races, by the number of words, expressive of simple ideas, bearing a resemblance both in sound and sense, in their respective languages. Out of a number, we give a few, as specimens; the Sanskrit words are marked in italics:—

LATIN.	SANSKRIT.	LATIN.	SANSKRIT.
Deus.	*deva.*	Anguis.	*nág.*
Vent-us.	*vát.*	Ante.	*ati.*
Humus.	*bhumi.*	Bellum.	*valam.*
Mensis.	*más.*	Carmen.	*karman.*
Æs.	*ayas.*	Cano.	*gána.*
Juvenis.	*jùva.*	Curro.	*chara.*
Rota.	*ráth.*	Domo.	*dám.*
Ago.	*aj.*		

ENGLISH.	SANSKRIT.	ENGLISH.	SANSKRIT.
Door.	*dwar.*	Tree.	*tara.*
Another.	*anyatra.*	Very.	*bara.*
Woman.	*vamìni.*	Was.	*vasa.*
She.	*sa.*	Wish.	*ish.*
Son.	*santán.*	While.	*velá.*
Sweet.	*swad.*	Away.	*ava.*
Sir.	*sri.*	Bake.	*pakwa.*
Smile.	*smi.*	Bald.	*palit.*

GREEK.	SANSKRIT.	GREEK.	SANSKRIT.
τεινω,	*tan.*	ὑπερ,	*upari.*
νυξ,	*nishá.*	φυω	*bhu.*
οστεον,	*asthi.*	χειρ,	*kar.*
ὁρμη,	*urmi.*	χειμα,	*hima.*
φαω,	*bhá*	επι,	*api.*
τοτε,	*tathá.*	ετι,	*iti.*
τυπτω,	*tup.*	ερα,	*irá.*
ὑδωρ,	*uda.*	ετερος,	*itara.*
ὑπο,	*upa.*		

We have remarked on the affinities shewn to exist, on indubitable philological evidence, between the Sanskrit and the Gaelic—thus opening out a wide field for investigation in tracing the emigration of nations. We here annex, as an illustration, a few words out of many, as specimens: the meaning corresponds in both languages.

SASNKRIT.	GAELIC.	SANSKRIT.	GAELIC.
An.	Anain.	*Rich.*	Ruig.
Nar.	Anear.	*Navan.*	Noi.
Hri.	Airde.	*Drip.*	Drip.
Adhi.	Adh.	*Dru.*	Dair.
Uru.	Air.	*Dashan.*	Deich.
Ata.	Eath.	*Dwi.*	Da.
Anu.	Ann.	*Dhi.*	Dhi.
Ayu.	Aois.	*Drish.*	Dearc.
Rájata.	Airgidh.	*Dam.*	Duine.
Bád.	Baidh.	*Jani.*	Gein.
Bhú.	Bu.	*Go.*	Ce.
Bad.	Bita.	*Kul.*	Ceil.
Bhru.	Bruach.	*Stha.*	Stad.
Ekaki.	Ceach.	*Dwára.*	Dorus.
Asti.	Ata.	*Iti.*	Ath.
Atti.	Ith.	*Uri.*	Awr.

The German, derived from the Gothic according to Grimm, bears a strong affinity to Sanskrit in various points. We give a few specimens of corresponding words.

SANSKRIT.	GERMAN.	SANSKRIT.	GERMAN.
Aksha.	Achse.	*Gri.*	Girren.
Hansa.	Gans.	*Adya.*	Heute.
Am.	Um.	*Yuj.*	Joch.
Apo.	Ab.	*Lok.*	Lage.
Ayas.	Eisen.	*Mur.*	Maure.
Hrid.	Herz.	*Mira.*	Meer.
Shad.	Schader.	*Manas.*	Meinen.
Chanda.	Scheime.	*Mush.*	Maus.
Char.	Karren.	*Mashaka.*	Mukke.
Gau.	Kuh.	*Násá.*	Nase.
Dám.	Zahm.	*Nabhas.*	Nebel.
Vidhava.	Weide.	*Nam.*	Name.
Drá.	Traum.	*Plu.*	Fluss.
Dashan.	Zehn.	*Pára.*	Fahre.
Ir.	Irre.	*Pilu.*	Pfeile.
Bhrátri.	Brudar.	*Rita.*	Recht.

The Russian, sprung from the Slavonic, bears a close relation to Sanskrit.

SANSKRIT.	RUSSIAN.	SANSKRIT.	RUSSIAN.
Lip.	Lipnur.	*Jiva.*	Ziwoe.
Ubha.	Oba.	*Dhumas.*	Dym.
Apa.	Ob.	*Dwárá.*	Dwor.
Anu.	Na.	*Dal.*	Dolia.
Vaymen.	Bain.	*Dhayá.*	Diewa.
Jani.	Zena.	*Sthá.*	Stoiu.
Dri.	Deru.	*Klesh.*	Kli.
Dwi.	Dwai.	*Kash.*	Koszu.
Dháman.	Dom.	*Lok.*	Likuiu.
Devri.	Diever.	*Lagh.*	Leczu.
Drip.	Drobhu.	*Lup.*	Lupliu.
Saptan.	Sedm.	*Madhu.*	Med.
Veda.	Widok.	*Marana.*	Morin.
Asti.	Est.	*Mátri.*	Mater.

The Persian, along with the Zend and Pehlevi, its ancient forms, corresponds also with the Sanskrit.

SANSKRIT.	PERSIAN.	SANSKRIT.	PERSIAN.
Nar.	Nar.	*Misra.*	Amizad.
Tárá.	Sitara.	*Nau.*	Nau.
Dadami.	Daden.	*Nabhas.*	Nebo.
Dashan.	Deh.	*Ashta.*	Hesht.
Eka.	Yek.	*Megha.*	Migh
Saptan.	Haft.	*Nám.*	Nam.
Tij.	Tizad.	*Bhru.*	Abru.
Dwárá.	Dar.	*Panchan.*	Penj.
Sthá.	Istad.	*Sam.*	Ham.
Lih.	Lazad.	*Chháya.*	Sayah.
Madhu.	Mai.	*Swar.*	Siphar.
Maha.	Mah.	*Apah.*	Ab.
Mátri.	Madar.	*Shat.*	Sad.

To these may be added names of numbers, of relations, &c., not taken at random, but formed on fixed analogies and positive laws. Philologists however rely more on grammatical, than on lexico-graphical, affinities.

The Sanskrit has numerous and striking grammatical analogies with the Classical languages. The Sanskrit feminine ends in *a*, *i*, corresponding with Greek *α*, *η*; the Greek comparison ends in *τερος*, *ταtος*; the Sanskrit in *taras*, *tamas* : and the Sanskrit and the Greek have each three numbers, and three voices, &c. &c We give a comparative table of the declensions.

SINGULAR—The Sanskrit *Accusative* terminates in *m*; the Greek in *ν*; the Latin in m; as *danam*, δωρον, donum.

Ablative —— *t*, old Lat. d.

Genitive —— *s*, *sya*, thus bharatas, φερουτ-ος, *eu-jus*, *vrika-sya*, λυκοι (σ) ο.

Locative —— *vrike*, λυκω, *nave*.

DUAL. *Nom. Accus. Voc.*—— *náv-au*, ναε: *madhini*, μεθνε: *vrika-au*, λυκω.

PLURAL—*Nominative* —— *duhitaras*, *dánáni*, θυγατερες, λογοι.

Accusative —— *duhitris*, θυγατερας.

Dative and Ablative —— *bhyas*; Lat. bus, as *vágbhyas*, vocibus.

Genitive —— *ám*; Greek ων; as *navám*, ναων.

Locative —— *shu*; Greek σι; as *bhrátrishu*, πατρα-σι.

Neuter—*Nom., Accus., Sing. Danam*, δωρὸν, donum.

We subjoin one or two specific examples.

Sing.		*Dual.*		*Plur.*	
Nom., dátá,	δοτηρ, dator	*dátárau*	δοτηρε	*dátáras*	δοτηρες datores.
Acc., dataram,	δοτηρα, dato-rem.	„	„	*dátárs*	δοτηρας datores.
Loc. dátari	δοτηρ-ι, dator-e				

Sing.			*Dual.*		*Plural.*		
Nom. Bhrat-a	πατηρ	frat-er	*Bhrat-arau*	πατερ-ε,	*Bhrat-ras*	πατερ ες	fratr-es-
Acc.	*-aram*	——(a) -rem	„	„	*-ris*	*-as*	-es.
Abl.	*-re*	-e,(d)			*-bhis* / *-bhyas*		-ibus.
Gen.	„	-ρος -ris	*-ribhyam*	οιν	*-rinám*	-ων	-um.
Loc.	*-ari*	-ρι -re			*-rishu*	-ασ,	

Though we fully admit the road to Sanskrit literature is rugged; yet it has been, to a considerable degree, Macadamized of late years. On this point we quote the authority of Professor Williams. "When the student has once thoroughly mastered the rules, relating to the combination of letters and the inflection of nouns and verbs, the path, in Sanskrit, becomes easy to him; and he passes, with the utmost certainty, to a complete acquaintance with the subject in all its bearings. Not so in Greek, or Latin. At the point in Sanskrit, where our labours end, at that point, in the others, do our real labours begin. It is in the syntax of Greek and Latin, that the true test of scholarship lies. In Sanskrit, on the other hand, the subject of syntax is reducible to a few plain rules." Of the Sanskrit verb, he remarks—"There is no part of the grammar, so capable as this, of plain exoteric explanation; whilst there is none so obscured by the esoteric and mystical teaching of native grammarians. In no language are the general principles so few, and so close to the surface; whilst the abstruser truths, the niceties and refinements, are multiplied to an extent, that tends to discourage, or even disgust, the uninitiated learner. Hence it happens that the expounder of Sanskrit Grammar, who wishes to exhaust his subject, is here not

only compelled to embarrass and perplex an otherwise simple statement, by the diffused exhibition of various forms, and tenses, and exceptions, which are of little utility to the ordinary student; but is forced, moreover, to bewilder the beginner by a complication of technical phrases, conventional abbreviations, and symbolical letters, which are as puzzling at the first stage of his studies, as they may be useful in assisting his memory at a later period. And thus it is that a very false impression is formed of the difficulty of a language, the broad and useful principles of which lie wholly within the reach of the most moderate capacity."*

Comparative Philology smooths this path still more, by giving us the rationale of grammatical forms, and by interesting our inventive faculty; for one great help to memory is the power of associating ideas, in opposition to the mechanical-rote system of the Pandits. There are about 1,700 roots in Sanskrit; and a considerable number of these have an affinity to roots in the European languages. The rules of *Sandhi*, which are difficult to be remembered by a mere effort of memory, may, to a certain extent, be impressed on the mind by the analogy of other languages, such as the French, which has many changes of a similar kind. The rule of *Guna*, that *a*, when it precedes *i* at the end of a word, is to be changed into *e*, (as in *Parama Ishwar*, Parameshwar,) may be remembered by noting the words in English, that, though written *ai*, are pronounced *e*. Similarly *a* and *u* are changed in to *o*; as *Hita-upadesh*, Hitopadesh; like the English, beau. In English, the article *a* takes an *n* before a vowel, on a similar principle with that, by which *r* is often inserted in Sanskrit words. We find in Latin corresponding changes, as collate for conlate, accept for adcept, &c. This key of linguistic affinity has simplified the difficult question of the termination of verbs; as the personal endings of verbs in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, are shown to be mere contractions of pronouns. Professor Williams himself, like Socrates, has, in his grammar, "brought down philosophy from the clouds to dwell among men."

Among the facilities for the study of Sanskrit, afforded of late years, is the publication of Grammars and Parsing-books, which enable one to dispense with the cumbrous and absurd mode of learning grammar according to the pandit system—the system of Panini and Vopadeva. The remarks of one of the greatest philologists of France, the late Baron de Sacy, are applicable to this subject. "The study of language is not a mere

* Williams's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 56.

exercise of the memory; the judgment may and must come frequently into operation; and the more successful we are in applying the reasoning and intellectual powers to this study, the more we abridge it, and render it easy and accessible to well constituted minds." Sydney Smith, in his own witty style, has, in a similar way, exposed the absurd method, adopted formerly in the old Grammar Schools of England, of learning Greek through a grammar in Greek.

We would say to a beginner at once; do not study Sanskrit Grammar by the irrational and mere parrot modes of the native Grammarians, designed rather for metaphysicians than students; but avail yourself of the grammars of Ballantyne, of Yates, and, above all, of Professor Williams. The latter was published in London in 1846. The author constantly keeps in view the affinity between the Greek and Sanskrit, and renders the acquisition of the principles of Sanskrit Grammar as easy as of those of Greek; he simplifies the rules of *Sandhi* very much, and gives a number of parsing exercises, which are of incalculable benefit to the tyro. We remember ourselves the severe mental labour we underwent in Greek studies both at school and college: and our experience, in contrasting them with the labour we have devoted to Sanskrit, is—that it is quite as easy to study the lyric strains of Jaydeva, as the odes of Pindar, and that Sanskrit does not present greater difficulties than Greek.

To those, who ask why we would leave the native track, we reply, that time is the great improver. We study metaphysics and philology in Europe now, in a far easier and more intelligible mode, than the schoolmen did. Even in England grammatical science has undergone considerable improvement. The pandits are very indifferent teachers, even of their own tongue. It is to Europeans, not to Hindus, that we are indebted for all the facilities, that have been presented of late years in the study of the Indian languages and literature, and which have rescued us from the endless refinements of the *Laghu Kaumadi*, &c. &c. The writers of the Port Royal Greek Grammar, though Frenchmen, did more for rendering the study of the Greek Grammar easy and intelligible, than any of the Greeks, or their successors, that were driven from Constantinople, when that city was captured by the Turks. So it has been in reading Sanskrit. In 1825, Humboldt commenced the plan, now so generally adopted, of separating the Sanskrit words; though it was the pandit system from time immemorial to agglommerate them. We have seen, in a book on the pandit model, a word of 318 syllables! Consult Yates's Grammar, p. 337, for an illustration. Even the Nalodaya, one of the most difficult books in Sanskrit, has been so simpli-

fied by the labours of Dr. Yates, that it "may now be read by any person, only just commencing his study of the Sanskrit." Archbishop Whately, following out the same plan, has, in his Logic, brought down the Aristotelian syllogisms to the comprehension of an ordinary understanding, though previously they were very difficult.

The proficiency, acquired by continental scholars in Sanskrit, *without the aid of pandits*, and, in former days, with very defective dictionaries and grammars, shews that the language is not of so difficult nature, as is commonly imagined. The knowledge of Sanskrit notwithstanding great obstacles, attained by such men as Schlegel, De Chezy, Raske, Westergard, and Lassen, evinces that Sanskrit, when studied according to the principles of European philology, requires neither the time nor application that many imagine. "Ex uno disce omnes." We give one example in the case of Monsieur de Chezy, the translator of the drama Sakantala, who shews, both in his translation and notes, a high degree of scholarship.

De Chezy commenced Sanskrit in Paris* in 1806, by studying the Hitopadesh, using Wilkin's translation as a dictionary—a work of enormous difficulty: yet in six months, without dictionary or grammar, he accomplished the Herculean task of analysing its words, idioms, and syntax. In the same way, he spent the next ten months on the Bhagavat Gita and Manu. In 1808, he read the Brahma Purana, not having the aid of any translation. He subsequently perused in one year the whole of the Ramayan; on which he remarks, "I confess I felt not less proud of having comprehended the description of the feats of Ram, than was that hero himself after the conquest of his fierce enemy." In 1810 he read the Megha Duta, Gita Govinda, and Sakantala; he had no Sanskrit Grammar until that year; and, in his previous studies he had to form, *à la mode Hamiltoniane*, his own grammar and dictionary from the language itself.

But Comparative Philology, by bringing to light the connection between the Greek and Sanskrit, has afforded the greatest aid in the study of the Indian languages, and particularly of the Sanskrit. Bopp first directed attentionto this subject, in his admirable little work—"The Conjugation System." We append a comparison between the Greek and Sanskrit verbs, as an illustration of this principle.

The *first person* singular ends in Sanskrit in *m* or *mi*. In Latin, the plurals end in mus; in Greek in μεν (μεσ); and in

* Napoleon afforded every encouragement for the study of the Oriental languages; and the same policy has been pursued by the French Government since, and particularly under the regime of Louis Philippe.

Sanskrit in *mas*. Thus *tishthámi*, ιστημι : *tishtámas*, ισταμες (ν): *bháreyan*, feram : *bhárémas*, feramus.

The *second person* in Sanskrit ends in *si* or *tha*; thus *tishtasi*, ισης : *bibhaditha*, fidisti.

The *third person* in Sanskrit ends in *a*, or *t*; as *tishtate*, ιστατι : *tishtet*, stet.

The Imperfect is formed by prefixing *a* in Sanskrit, and ε in Greek. Thus *a-tarp-a-m*, ε-τερπ-ον : *a-dada-m*, ε-διδ-ων.

We proceed to show, more in detail, the grammatical affinities of the Greek and Sanskrit verbs.

THE VERB SUBSTANTIVE.*

PRESENT.

SING.	*asmi*	*asi*	*asti*	PLURAL	*smah*	*stha*	*santi*
Greek.	ειμι	εις	εστι		εσμεν	εστε	ενται (*Doric.*)

IMPERATIVE.

SING.	*edhi*	*astu*	PLURAL	*sta*	*santu*	
Greek.	ισθι	εστω		εστε	εστω (σα) ν	

POTENTIAL.

SING.	*syam*	*sya*	*syat*	PLURAL	*syama*	*syata*	*syaih*
Latin.	sim	sis	sit		simus	sitis	sint

IMPERFECT.

SING.	*ásam*	*asis*	*asit*	*ásma*	*ásta*	*ásan*
Latin.	eram	eras	erat	eramus	eratis	erant

VERB IN THE ACTIVE VOICE.

PRESENT.

SING.	*Lagami*	*lagasi*	*lagati*	PLUR.	*Lagámah*	*lagatha*	*laganti*
Greek.	λεγω	λεγεις	λεγει		λεγομεν	λεγετε	λεγουτι

IMPERFECT.

SING.	*Alagam*	*alagah*	*alagat*	*Alagama*	*alagate*	*alagan*
Greek.	ελεγον	ελεγες	ελεγε	ελεγομεν	ελεγετε	ελεγον

PERFECT.

SING.	*Lalaga*	*lalagishe*	*lalage*	*Lalagima*	*lalaga*	*lalagul*
Greek.	λελεχα	λελεχας	λελεχε	λελεχαμεν	λελεχετε	λελεχασι

POTENTIAL.

SING.	*Lageam*	*lage*	*laget*	PLUR.	*Lagema*	*lagete*	*lageyuh*
	λεγοιμι	λεγοις	λεγοι		λεγοιμεν	λεγοιτε	λεγοιεν

* See Vans Kennedy's Researches, p. 255.

FIRST FUTURE.

Lagishyámi	*lagishyási*	*lagishyati*	*Lagishyámah*	*lagishyatha*	*lagishyanti*
λεξω	λεξεις	λεξει	λεξομεν	λεξετε	λεξοντι

CONDITIONAL, FIRST AORIST.

Alagishyam	*alagisheah*	*alagishyat*	*Alagishyama*	*alagishyata*	*alagishyan*
λεξαιμι	λεξαις	λεξαι	λεξαιμεν	λεξαιτε	λεξαιεν

IMPERATIVE.

Laga	*lagatu*	*lagata*	*lagantu*
λεγε	λεγετω	λεγετε	λεγοντων

Participle present active *Lagan* λεγων

Middle *Lagamanah* λεγομενος

We add various miscellaneous examples:

Present		
Sing.	ACTIVE.	
vah-a-mi	εχ-ω	veh-o
a-si	-εις	is
-ti	-ε (τ) ι	it
Dual		
thas	-τον	
Plur.		
a-mas	-μες (ν)	-mus
-tha	-τε	-tis
-nti	-ντι	u-nt
Sing.		
Bhav-a-mi	-φυ ω	
a-si	-εις	
-ti	-ε (τ) ι	
Dual		
-thas	-τον	
Plur.		
a-mas	-μες (ν)	
a-tha	-τε	
-nti	-ντι	
	PRESENT MIDDLE.	
Bhar-é (from *Bhar-a-me*	φερ-ο-μαι	
a-se	ε-σαι	
a-te	ε-ται	
a-vahé	ο-μεθον	
e-thé	ε-σθον	
á-mahé	ο-μεθα	
a-dhvé	ε-σθε	
-nte	ο-νται	
Sing.		
Tan-u-e (from *tan-u-mé*)	ταν-υ-μαι	
-u-shé	-σαι	
-té	-ται	
Dual		
-vahé	μεθον	
-áthe	σθον	
Plur.		
-mahé	μεθα	
-dhvé	σθε	
-r-áte	νται	

	IMPERFECT ACTIVE.	
Atarp-a-m	ετερπ-ο-ν	
— —*-s*	ε-ς	
— —*-t*	-ε	
Plur.		
á-ma	ο-μεν	
a-ta	ε-τε	
a-n	ο-ν	
Sing.		
Abhav-a-m	εφυ-ο-ν	ba-m
s	ε-ς	á-s
t	ε- (τ) ι	a-t
Dual		
a-tam	ε-τον	
Plur.		
á-ma	ο-μεν	bá-mus
a-tha	ε-τε	ba-tis
n	ο-ν	ba-nt
	FUTURE.	
Sing.		
Bhav-i-shyámi	φυ-σω	fac so(faxo)
asi	-σεις	-sis
ti	-σει	-sit
Dual		
shyathas	σετον	
Plur.		
shyámas	σομεν	-simus
—athas	σετε	-sitis
—nti	σοντι	-sint
Sing.		
Da-syami	δω-σω	da-bo
asi	-σεις	-bis
ati	-σει	-bit
Dual		
syathas	-σετον	
Plur.		
syámas	-σομεν	-bimus
syatha	-σετε	-bitis
syanti	-σοντι	-bunt

FUTURE MIDDLE.

Sing.		
	Dâ-syé	δω-σομαι
	-syasé	-σεσαι
	-syáte	-σεται
Plur.		
	Dâsyámahé	δω-σομεθα
	syad	-σεσθε
	syanté	-σονται

POTENTIAL.

Sing.		
	Dadyam	διδοι-ην
	——ás	-ης
	——át	-η
Dual		
	Dadyatam	διδοιητον
Plur.		
	Dady-áma	διδοι-ημεν
	-áta	-ητε
	-us	-εν
Sing.		
	Déyasam	δοι-ην
	Dév—as	-ης
	——at	-η
Plur.		
	Deyasma	δοι-ημεν
	——asta	-ητε
	——asus	-ησαν

We append, from Vans Kennedy's work, a list of words common to the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, German, and English languages, which shews that the coincidences, we have given, are not accidental or conjectural, but accord with the laws of speech.

Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
asti	εστι	est	ast	ist	is
upar	ὑπερ	super	abar	ober	over
richate	ορεγεται	porrigit	rasad	recket	reacheth
kálámam	καλαμον	calamum	kalam	kiel	quill
jánu	γονυ	genu	zanu	knie	knee
tárá	τειρεα / αστηρ	astrum / sidera	sitara	stern	star
twam	συ (τυ)	tu	to	du	thou
dwi	δυω	duo	do	zwey	two
nákhám	ονυχα	unguem	nakhan	nagel	nail
náwam	νυον	novum	nau	neu	new
náwan	εννεα	novem	nan	neum	nine
náma	ονομα	nomen	nam	nahme	name
no	νη	non	nah	nein	no
pádám	ποδα	pedem	pa	pfote	foot
pitri	πατηρ	pater	pidar	vater	father
bharate	φερεται	fert	barad	gebäret	beareth
bhratri	φρατηρ	frater	birádar	bruder	brother
madhyam	μεσον	medium	mian	mitte	mid
mashaka	μυια	musca	mágás	mücke	midge
matri	μητηρ	mater	mádár	mutter	mother
mishrayate	μιξεται	miscet	amizad	mischet	mixeth
musha	μυς	mus	mush	maus	mouse
yugam	ζευγος	jugum	yugh	joch	yoke
lakayate	λειχεται	lingit	lázad	lecket	licketh
sharkara	σακχαρ	saccharum	shákár	zucker	sugar
shash	ἑξ	sex	shash	sechs	six
sapta	ἑπτα	septem	háft	sieben	seven
sthá	ἱστα	sta	istad	steh	stay
swar	σφαιρα	sphæra	siphar	sphäre	sphere

We could easily enlarge this list, by appending words in other languages, such as the Anglo-Saxon verb substantive *Eom, es, is, Sy, sy, sy, Beom, bist, bith,* and the corresponding Sanskrit *Asmi, asi, asti, Siám, siáh, siát, Beom, bist, bith ;** as also from the Zend Vocabulary of Du Perron, and the Comparative Tables furnished by Pott, Von Hammer, Merian, Eichhoff: but we trust the lists given already are sufficient to satisfy any man, who wants moral and not mathematical evidence; for, to use the well known adage of Butler "probability is the guide of life."†

Our object in this paper has not been merely the gratification of the curiosity of the Philologist: we aim at a more practical effect. India is now becoming more and more the *home* of many Europeans—the place to which they look forward to settle their children in. They ought therefore to feel a warmer sympathy in the ancient history, modes of thought, and literature, of the Hindu races, who surround them: that hauteur and exclusiveness, for which the English on the continent of Europe are so notorious, must be abandoned; and the Indian languages, the key to the hearts of the Indian people, must receive a greater degree of attention, and must be studied, as the expression of national thought and national feelings. The Anglo-Indian population is not much given to the study of any foreign language. The great works of the continental writers seldom reach these shores. Most Europeans, indeed, come to India before their education is half finished, or any solid foundation for mental improvement is laid: the consequence of which is, that they too often remain children for life. "Men are but children of a larger growth," as is seen here in the undue importance attached to rank, and the vast preponderance (as shown some time ago by the *Friend of India)* of millinery over literary importations. The head-gear is often magnificent, when the head itself is quite unfurnished.

It is high time that this lethargic indifference to philological pursuits should be shaken off. Philology must be regarded, not as a mere play upon words, but as a science, having as great a practical bearing on vernacular studies in India, as the lectures of the Professor of military fortification and gunnery at Addiscombe have on the labours

* Sharon Turner has given lists of Anglo-Saxon words, having an affinity with Sanskrit in his "History of the Anglo Saxons;" as also in a valuable dissertation published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.

† The Lithuanian, still spoken in Courland and Lithuania, of which the ancient Prussian is a dialect, bears also a very close affinity to the Sanskrit; as does the Cymraig, the cognates of which are the Cornish, Welsh, Armoric. On a recent occasion a priest from Bretagne visited Wales and was understood by the people—the Basque dialect having a strong affinity to that of the Ancient Britons. See "Prichard's Eastern origin of the Celtic Nations."

of the Officer in an Indian Campaign. Hence, while the generality must be content with a knowledge of the vernaculars, it is advisable that a few should thoroughly master the difficulties of the Sanskrit language ; which, though dead as a spoken tongue, still lives in the mighty influence, which it is daily exerting in moulding, and supplying with technical terms and linguistic principles, the leading vernaculars of Hindustán. Our young Civilians, it is true, apply to it at Haileybury; but hitherto all the benefits, to be expected from the study there, have not been produced, because, though the foundation has been laid, no suitable superstructure is erected ; and when, as in the case of those designed for Bengal, they arrive at the Presidency, instead of being located in some Mofussil station, where the language of the country is spoken pure, they are left for a year or more in the dissipation of Calcutta, where a horrid jargon, neither Bengali nor Urdu, is spoken. Thus the young employé, who leaves College profoundly ignorant of the colloquial,* when engaged in the Mofussil, continues from habit the use of the same *patois,* and thus perpetuates an evil, which is fraught with much mischief. We allude to the fact, that while the peasantry and population of the country understand only Bengali, and while they are the chief suitors in Mofussil Courts, the language of the Court—Bengalí in theory, and by Government regulation—is still to a great extent, (we believe sometimes through the roguery and wilful obstinacy of the Amlahs and other officials), chiefly of Persian origin, with a slight infusion of the vernacular. This is bad policy, as well as bad taste. We desire to see the Bengali (the language of twenty-five millions of people) take its proper position here, instead of the lingo of Syces, Khansamahs and bigotted Musalmans, whose pride is still mortified in seeing their favorite Persian dethroned, and who therefore cling with excessive tenacity to its eldest daughter, the Hindustani. The preference, given by Government in former days, to the Persian over the Sanskrit has exercised an unfortunate influence. What use is there that men, who ought to speak Bengali, a language of Sanskrit parentage, should learn Persian, which is of a totally different genius? The chief effect hitherto has been to foster the attachment to a mongrel dialect. Now the study of sound philological principles would tend very

* Censure has been passed on the authorities of Fort William College, as if they were the sole persons blameable for the little which the Civilians learn there of the languages of the country. We fear, the Government of Bengal is the party which has resisted every plan for carrying out a system of strict examination, instead of the present cramming system. Let an example be made, by sending back to England a few of those young Civilians, who have not passed in the languages, and we shall soon see a change.

much to check this evil; and adherence to the standard set up, in Sanskrit, would preserve the Sanskrit-derived languages pure from foreign admixtures.

We have always been, and are now more than ever, strenuous advocates for the diffusion of the English language and literature in India, which we believe is destined to be as much the exponent of Protestant Christianity throughout the world, as Latin has been of the Romish Church, Arabic of Muhammedanism, or Páli of Buddhism. We have no sympathy with the old school of Orientalists, who, like Zachariah Holwell and others, thought the Hindu religion and literature susceptible of little improvement. We reprobate, as worse than useless, the whole Pandit system of teaching Sanskrit Grammar;* but we still hold to our ground, that the study of Sanskrit by a select few would be of very considerable benefit and importance; and we hope the Government of India will pay more attention than it has hitherto done towards fostering a taste for Oriental languages among its servants and subjects. One step, we are happy to learn, has been taken in the right direction. The Court of Directors has made a grant of 80,000 Rs. for publishing a portion of the Vedas in Sanskrit, with an English translation by Professor Wilson.†

While the Government of India might do much, and does so little, for the promotion of Orientalism, we see Russia, with far sighted policy, affording every possible encouragement to those studies, and even to Sanskrit. We remember, when leaving London for India ten years ago, finding it very difficult to purchase a copy of a particular work in Sanskrit, in consequence of the Russian Government having sent over an agent to buy up all that could be procured. The emperor of Russia has offered at his own expence to print one portion of the Vedas; he sometime since sent a magnificent present of books to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (which showed the progress made by Russians in Oriental languages), along with a gold medal, as a token of his approbation of the labours of the Society. To the Russian system of diplomacy, Oriental languages are absolutely necessary. She knows well the indispensible importance of her agents being acquainted with the languages and literature of the countries, where she has any political or commercial dealings;

* Professor Wilson, in his Sanskrit Grammar, which has passed to a Second Edition, adopts to a considerable extent the mode of the native grammarians.

† The original is edited by a *German*, much to the disgrace of Oxford and Cambridge, which could not furnish a man for such a purpose. There is one ray of hope in the latter University. The Greek lexicon chiefly used there, Scott and Riddel's, gives the Sanskrit cognates of the Greek. This indicates that the tide is on the rise.

and the Russians are, perhaps, the best linguists in Europe. Had Russians, instead of Englishmen, carried on the late campaign in the Púnjáb, there would not have been that gross and unpardonable ignorance of the language, and, by consequence, of the feelings of the people, which led to such a lamentable loss of life. English officers were laughing at this stupidity of "the black fellows," and priding themselves on the calmness and quietness, that prevailed, at the very time that the elements of hate and aversion to the Feringis were accumulating all around. "We were fiddling, while Rome was burning." Had we at that period men, like Halhed in days of yore, (who knew the languages and manners of the Bengalis so well, that he used often to disguise himself, and pass for a native) to have gone among the Sikhs, and learnt the state of feeling, the Government might have been apprised in time, and many widows and children might still enjoy the benefit of a father's aid. We trust our topographical and linguistic ignorance will teach this important lesson—that the Government ought to require, as a sine quá non, a thorough *colloquial* knowledge of the Panjabi, a daughter of the Sanskrit, from every functionary employed by them in the District of the Five Rivers, and to apply the same principle to all their uncovenanted servants, whether clerks or teachers of schools, or in any other capacity throughout India.

From "Young Bengal at present," we regret to say, there is not overmuch to hope—whether we regard his mock imitation of English habits—or notice the progress of (what he calls) civilization, in chop-houses and champaign, English stockings and Wellington boots—or his political entrée in to, what O'Connel terms "normal schools for agitation," the so-called municipality of Calcutta. We have seen the contempt, which Young Bengal generally entertains for his own national literature, while he spouts Emerson and Carlyle. Notice has also been directed in a former number of this *Review* to the lamentable defect of the system in Bishop's College, (deplored by many of its warmest friends,) in accustoming natives designed for rural districts to the use of wine, beef, &c., and thus assimilating them with that most degraded of all the inhabitants of India, the low Portuguese—men who have lost every trace of the European, except the ridiculous appendages of a chimney-shaped hat, a swallow-tailed coat, and boots after the latest fashion of Hoby.

It is not from men, who make themselves a species of renegades, that we expect much benefit for this country. They are not the men to sympathise with the masses. Their know-

ledge of English, valuable in the abstract, is used by them, more as a means of distinction and isolation, than as "a fort over a valley for protection." We can make allowance for the novelty of their situation, and the difficulties they have to contend with. But our hopes mainly rest on another class, who, while they are imbued with European ideas, can communicate them in an Oriental mould. Our views on this point thoroughly agree with those expressed by a writer in an able periodical, the English Review for June 1848, in a clever article on "Indian priests, pandits, and missions." The writer argues that the evangelization of India is likely to be effected by a class of men, who have Christian ideas, but cast in an Oriental mould.

"There is scarcely an instance on record of one nation resigning its own language, and its own civilization, in exchange for a foreign language, and an exotic civilization. The rule is, that the less advanced people have their condition modified and ameliorated, but not obliterated, by their superior invaders, until the introduction of the new element brings them to a high standard, just as the mixture of races seems destined to bring the human species to perfection. It is thus that our own character as a people has been formed. There was no forcible transportation of Roman or Norman language and civilization. Where such was attempted, it failed; but there has been a happy blending of antagonistic principles, so that whilst our Saxon origin may be distinctly traced in our language, manners and dispositions, we have been moulded into symmetrical proportions, by the literature of Italy, and the daring spirit of Norman chivalry. Now, such a process is not going on in India; for we are at present only attempting to produce an intellectual revolution, and to squeeze Oriental minds into European shapes."

We trust that due attention will be paid to this by persons who have charge of the training of Native Christian youth. The tendency of the latter is evidently to *anglicise* themselves in dress, habits, &c. Besides the evil of increased expenditure, which defeats the design of having a *cheap* native agency, this is calculated to foster a notion, too common among the Heathen, that Christianity is an *English* religion, designed for Englishmen and imitators of the English, and that drinking wine and eating beef are accompaniments of native conversion. On the importance of native Catechists knowing one of the classical languages of India, we quote the authority of an able periodical in its day,* edited by Drs. Carey and Marshman:—

"But the other advantages, which the cultivation of Sungskrit would give the native advocate for truth, are certainly great. Not to mention the value of that habit of patient investigation, which a few years' study of Sungskrit would form, and which would prepare the mind for the examination of every other subject—the copiousness, correctness, and delicacy which

* *Quarterly Series of the Friend of India, for* 1822, p. 139.

might pervade the diction of a native advocate for truth versed in Sungskrit, would render his discourse highly acceptable. Of this we can easily form an idea, from the pleasure with which we listen to a speaker of superior accuracy and delicacy in our own language: and if this be often the fruit of a thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin, the Sungskrit, entering so fully as it does into the Indian languages, enables a man to speak them, (the Bengalí for example,) with that choice of adjuncts, of connectives, and compound phrases, to which one ignorant of it, is scarcely competent. When to these we add the advantages, which he would derive from an acquaintance with the fabulous history of the country; the examples which this must afford him, for illustrating the truth; the opportunity, which it must give him, for contrasting light with darkness, and sound doctrine, relative to both God and man, with the grossest delusion—we must feel convinced that the language deserves cultivation, were it only as an instrument to dispel Brahmanic deception, and repair the mighty evils, which it has been hitherto the means of spreading throughout India."

We also cite, in confirmation, the opinion of Mr. Muir, a gentleman, who has devoted much time and money to the diffusion of knowledge among the learned classes, through the medium of the Sanskrit, and who is the strenuous advocate of an enlightened Orientalism. He observes,*—

"The necessity for a Missionary mastering the Indian Philosophy (as well as Mythology), in all its branches, and of his being able to talk readily and familiarly about it, if he would hope to be the instrument under God of eradicating the deeply-rooted and widely-diffused errors of the systems it embraces, is too evident to need to be urged at length. It is manifest that he can carry no weight with learned Natives, if his conversation does not indicate that he does not vituperate at random the doctrines he assaults. If either confessedly or apparently he has never investigated the merits of those systems, he will be exposed to the imputation of impugning that, of which he knows nothing, on no better grounds than those of foreign prejudice, and an aversion to every thing, which does not form a part of his *own* Literature and Religion. The more extensive the Missionary's acquaintance with Hindu Literature, and the freer his acknowledgment of the merits of all its unobjectionable portions, the more credit will he be likely to gain for pure and honest views, and an enlightened wisdom, in his attacks on the undeniably great and fatal errors of the Indian creeds."

The signal failure of the efforts of the English Church, both in Wales and Ireland, to influence the masses in its favour, reads a solemn lesson on this subject to those who have the welfare of India at heart: for it was mainly owing to its clergy's remaining ignorant of the vernacular languages, and (by consequence) of native habits and modes of thought, instead of following the example of St. Patrick, who, in the sixth century, made himself thoroughly master of the Gaelic. We are glad to see that the Welsh are pressing on the notice of the British Government the importance of insisting, that

* *Christian Intelligencer*, 1838, p. 182.

the Bishops, appoinnted for Wales, shall know the Welsh language.

There is one class of natives, however, in Calcutta that are taking a right direction in respect of language: we refer to the members of the *Tatwabodhini Sabha.* By their publications and meetings, they have done much to foster a taste for Oriental languages. Their *Tatwabodhini Patrika* is equal, in the literary value of its matter, to any English monthly publication in India, giving a series of excellent articles on Archæology, the Vedas, and Puranas, which exhibit great research and talent. May they be led ere long to see the necessity of a purer and holier religion! The heads of the *Sabhá* evidently feel the importance of inculcating European ideas through an Oriental medium. They are aware of the evils of a state of things, which prevails, we are sorry to find, at Bombay, as well as in Calcutta, and on which Dr. Wilson in reference to the Scottish Institution at Bombay, remarks:*—

"The applications for admission are very numerous; but only those are attended to, which are made in behalf of boys, who *read their vernacular languages with fluency.* He (Dr W.) was more and more persuaded of the immense importance of the study of the native languages. The English, he was sure, would never be mastered by those who are ignorant of them. It is absolutely necessary that the learner should associate all his acquisitions with the grammar of his own tongue. An essay had been read by one of the pupils, which exactly expressed his sentiments on this subject. He felt impelled strongly to state his views regarding it. There is a *Negro-English* prevalent in the West Indies; and, if particular care be not taken, there will speedily be a *Parbhu-English* in Bombay, and a *Babu-English* in Calcutta. A corruption of our powerful and beautiful language, in fact, was already almost established. Nothing can be more ridiculous than the attempts to write in it, which are made by the clerks of our public offices, when circumstances lead them to go beyond the routine of official forms. The errors, to which he referred, were not peculiar to individuals. They pervade the speech and correspondence of whole communities. But without insisting further on this subject, he would ask, if it can ever be expected that India can be regenerated, with the neglect of its own languages? Such seminaries as this could not contribute to its improvement, if their pupils could not communicate their stores of knowledge to its sons. The very object of giving a superior education, at a great expense, to a limited number of persons, is, that they may diffuse learning throughout the country. If they be not led to study the languages of their own people, they will find it impossible effectually to instruct them.'"

The present is the day for centralization, which to a certain extent is a blessing; but we believe that the efforts, made to destroy nationality in language and literature, will be as vain as have been the attempts of conquerors, like Charles the Fifth

* *The Evangelization of India*, by John Wilson, D. D., 1849, p. 484.

and Napoleon, to extirpate the distinctions of peoples, and to blend them in a common mass. Napoleon's temporary successes in this point, like the swell of a flood, died with himself.

"Naturam furcâ expelles, tamen usque recurret."

The leading statesmen of France now repudiate this part of Napoleon's policy, though the Austrians are about to try the experiment with regard to unfortunate Hungary. The remark is applicable to other matters, besides poetry, "that whatever is to be truly great and affecting, must have in it the strong stamp of the native land, and this not of a law, but of necessity, from the intense hold on their country of the affections of all truly great men." We see this illustrated by Dante in Italy, Goethe in Germany, and in our own Shakespeare.

While the perpetuation of obscure dialects, containing no literature, and confined to a fragment of people, is not to be desired, —we rejoice to think, that strenuous efforts are now in progress to cultivate the principal vernaculars of India, the languages of one hundred millions of people; and that a greater impulse will thus be given to the study of Sanskrit philology, as the great basis. We deprecate any attempts to bring the English and Oriental languages into a state of rivalry. They have both distinct spheres. They can run parallel, without clashing. Let English be studied, as the instrument for acquiring knowledge, and the vernaculars, with their Sanskrit roots, as the media for imparting it. We need ripe scholars in both—men who will clothe European and Christian ideas in an Oriental garb. Let us take warning by the Portuguese. They denationalised the natives, and produced a mongrel breed, deficient in moral, intellectual and physical energy,—as we have formerly pointed out, in an article in this *Review*, on "The Portuguese in North India." All the personalities and prejudices of former days are passing away. The field is wide. Let there be a friendly feeling between all the advocates of Native improvement —whether they agree with the views of Wilkinson and Muir on Sanskrit studies, with the abettors of an exclusively English education, or with Adam, the able compiler of the Report on "The state of Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar."

ART. VI.—*An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch; a letter from an Artist in India, to his Mother in England. Calcutta* 1849.

THERE are probably not very many of our readers, whose recollections do not include visits paid, in the days of other years, to houses "at home," that had sent forth some of their members to search for glory, or for gold, in the regions of the East. Such need not be reminded of the admiration, with which they were wont to gaze on the "Indian curiosities," that had been sent home, with the view of imparting to affectionate relatives some idea of the *environments*, amidst which their beloved exile had pitched his tent in the land of his sojourning. Now we can predict, with considerable confidence, that the book, now in our hands, will ere long be as regularly found on the drawing-room tables of such houses, as hitherto the palm-leaf or ivory fans, the curiously carved ivory balls, and the tale paintings, on the mantel-piece —the large umbrella, the sola hat, the long spear, and the battle-axe, in the lobby—the leopards' or tigers' skins, on the landing-places of the stairs—the powder-manufactured curry, and the chatni, on the dinner-table—the hooka after dinner, (in "learning to like" which, various qualms are by the adventurous encountered), and the preserved ginger and citron and guava jelly at the dessert. And truly the "sketch" before us will do more to put our friends at home *up* to an infinity of our belongings, than would a whole ware-house of "Oriental Presents," consisting of things that we never see, except when we go to buy them for the purpose of sending them home. This is not the case with the articles described and delineated in the very clever production before us. *They* are the persons and the things that are around us, and about us, throughout our every waking and every sleeping hour; and are just the things, which those, who are most interested in us, would like to understand, because we are so constantly surrounded by them, and which, *for the very same reason*, strange as it may appear, ordinary letter-writers never think of describing.

Before we go further, we may as well announce our townsman, Mr. C. Grant, as the author of the sketch. The publication is indeed anonymous; but we do not think we are guilty of any breach of confidence in making this announcement, inasmuch as, to those who are acquainted with Mr. G.'s previous publications,* the fact is virtually announced in every

* Oriental Heads; and Sketches of Public Characters; and several single portraits. Among these we may take the liberty of mentioning a very admirable likeness of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, which is just about to be published, and which will doubtless be eagerly sought for by his Lordship's numerous friends and admirers.

page save the title-page. We may safely say that there is no artist in India, who could have produced the work before us, except Mr. Grant.

Mr. Grant's sketch then is a gossiping rambling letter, descriptive of Indian men, and manners, and habits. The author follows no very regular plan, but breaks off from point to point, as object after object strikes his artistic eye. And we propose to indulge ourselves in a similar gossiping and rambling notice of it.

After a short preface, and a dedication to the *memory* of the mother, for whose gratification the sketch was originally designed, the writer starts off at once into a description of his Calcutta home. Outside and inside, above and below, he delineates it with the accuracy of an appraiser, and the skill of an artist. It is surprising how difficult it is to give to the uninitiated an idea of ordinary things, without the aid of diagram, or graphic illustration. We remember on our return voyage to India, after a temporary absence, having had the greatest possible difficulty in making our shipmates understand the nature of that simplest of all machines, a hall punkah; and it was not till we enlisted a log-slate and a clue of spun-yarn into the service, and rigged an actual jury punkah in the cuddy, that we quite succeeded in indoctrinating some of the more obtuse of the party into a knowledge of the mystery. This, by the way, suggests another place, where our friend's sketch will be sure to be found, and where it will not fail to be extensively popular—in the cuddy, to wit, of all outward bound India men.

The description of his own house in Calcutta naturally leads to a sketch of a bungalow (which, we think, we recognize as one at Barrackpore), and of the quadrangle of a native house. Then there is a well-merited tribute to the taste of Col. Powney, who, as many of our readers know, surrounded himself, wherever he sojourned, as well with all manner of birds and beasts and creeping things, as with a body of young men, whom he blessed with his counsel, and in many other ways: and many of whom delight in remembering the obligations, under which he laid them at the outset of their honourable career.

It is but a poor, and evidently a sour-grape sort of congratulation that our author chuckles over, when confessing the absence of that essential element of home comfort, the fire, and the cheerful fire-side. He boasts forsooth, that, if we have no fires, we have no smoky chimneys. The fact is, that very few of our houses have fire-places; but all of them ought to have; and, if we were invested with legislative authority, the very first Gazette should

contain the Draft of an Act to render it penal to build a house without a fire-place. We rejoice to know that "the voluntary principle" is already at work in this direction, and that a good fire is a luxury of which our children understand the meaning. It was not so a few years ago. The daughter of a friend of ours went home only three or four years ago, and of all the wonders that she saw to wonder at in that most wonderful of all places, London—the one, that seemed to strike her as the most wonderful, was the fire in the parlor grate! The fact is, that there is a good long period of every year, during which the weather is such, that there is no place in the world, where a fire is either more enjoyable, or more necessary. Elsewhere it is possible by other means to produce a comfortable temperature of body; but here nothing will do it but a fire. The cold of Bengal is indeed a formidable foe, against which no weapons but *fire*-arms will avail to wage effectual war. Every one of us has experienced the feeling which dictated the words which Mr. Martin, puts into the mouth of a sturdy Scotsman; 'the cold of Caledonia's mountains he could bear, but against the cold of Bengal he was powerless.' He, who should put a grate and a chimney into each house in Bengal, would be worthy to have his name handed down along-side of his, who found the imperial city of brick, and left it of marble.

Our author waxes eloquent upon the musquitoes, those most formidable antagonists of the Anglo-Indian's comfort, whose "wound is great, because it is so small." We suppose our anxious relatives at home, when they think of the discomforts to which we are exposed in this land, conjure up in their imaginations a group of Bengal tigers, and cobras, and hideous alligators, and our poor selves trembling with terror, while we are fleeing from one, lest we fall into the jaws of the other. But we can assure them, for their satisfaction, that if the number of the cobras were doubled, and that of the alligators trebled, and that of the tigers quadrupled, while that of the musquitoes should be halved, the comfort of ninety-nine out of every hundred European residents in India would be sensibly increased. One of our friends, indeed, professes to have arrived at such a pitch of philosophy as rather to like them than otherwise; and the affliction that they caused to ourselves on our first arrival is now a matter of distant recollection; but really to new-comers the matter is a very serious one. We have seen more than one lady, whose feet were so inflamed and blistered, that she could not put them to the ground; and we remember there was in the ship, in which we first came to India, a sailor-boy who

was invalided for half the voyage, by reason of the bites, that he had received on his previous trip. Captain Basil Hall's description of a griffin's turning into bed is no caricature. It must be said, however, in justice to trans-fossal Bengal, that whenever we cross "the ditch," the pest is greatly abated.

Our entomology is indeed a subject of much interest to every new-comer. If the musquitoes interest him painfully, the red ants, which swarm in our houses, excite his curiosity, and are frequently the objects of his watchful attention. We think it is old Nestor Iron-sides, in the *Guardian*, that describes a community of ants, in terms which, from our observations of European ants, we deemed fabulous. But scarcely any terms could do more than justice to the sagacity and persevering industry of their brethren in India. The white ant is a disgusting insect, with which all mankind, that is all Indian mankind, wage, and ought to wage, internecine war; but the red ant is a respectable and companionable fellow, to which we can pleasantly consent to give up an occasional sponge-cake, or the remnants of a jar of jelly. Like the house-swallow in England, the red ant in India seems to claim our protection; and, unlike the swallow, he abides with us in all seasons, and renders us not an unimportant service in clearing away, as our author says, the carcase of any defunct cockroach or departed lizard, that may have escaped the vigilance, or the broom, of the sweeper. The small black ants too are a poor delicate helpless race, which there is neither honor nor advantage in destroying; and the large black ants do not generally infest our houses, however they, mole-like, may sometimes disfigure our lawns. But the white ants! We affect them not. Without doors, and within, in our trees, our wardrobes, our furniture, and worst of all, our book-cases, they commit their disgusting and destructive ravages; and it is all but impossible to be secure against their attacks. We have heard that the venerable Dr. Carey was never known to be thoroughly enraged by any creature, except by these same white ants: and, well he might,—for they utterly destroyed in a single night, either Walton's Polyglott, or Poole's Synopsis. We believe it is on record, that the good old man forthwith set about a search after the queen mother, with the view of cutting off the succession; but whether he succeeded, or not, we do not remember to have heard. If however our readers wish to peruse a description of such a hunt for the prolific mother of this unclean race, they will find a very graphic one in Captain Basil Hall's Fragments, in which the principal huntsman was not the meek Dr. Carey, but the choleric, warm-hearted admiral, Sir Samuel Hood.

Not one of the least amusing portions of the sketch before

us is the description of the cook-room. It certainly would astonish a European *artiste*, were he to set eyes on the place, whence our dinners are produced, and on the implements and utensils, wherewith and wherein they are concocted. If the saying be true, (which we once quoted before, while discussing in these pages a somewhat different subject) that he is the real philosopher who can "bore with a saw, and saw with a gimblet," we may claim for our Indian cooks a high standing place in the temple of science. We cannot precisely say whether it is true or not, as is commonly reported, that the French cooks can convert superannuated leather slippers into all the elegant luxuries of three courses; but, supposing it to be so, we could back the cooks of India against the world for their powers of producing eatable dinners with the smallest possible apparatus of the implements of their craft.

From the cook-room, our author proceeds to the store-room, where he delivers a lecture upon wine and beer, Calcutta auctions, Calcutta tradesmen generally, China shoe-makers, the adulteration of various goods, and the substitution of country-made, for "Europe," articles. He then returns to the subject of wine and beer, and quotes various opinions, and various practices, of medical men for and against the use of these beverages in tropical climates—one, declaring that they are indispensable; another, that they are destructive; a third, that water is certainly by far the best drink, in support of which opinion he had not himself tasted water in 28 years, but had enjoyed excellent health all the time.* It is just the old story. General rules will not suit all cases. We believe that one main reason of the improved health and prolonged life of the European people of India now, as compared with former times, is the great increase of temperate habits among them. And we believe that a still further diminution of the consumption of wine, beer, and spirituous liquors, would produce a still further improvement in the health of the community; but we believe there is a limit which it is dangerous to cross; and this limit is different for different individuals. It must in fact be ascertained, by an inductive process, by each individual for himself.

From those liquids, the author proceeds to descant upon milk, or upon that compound, which passes muster as a substitute for it within the ditch. It is indeed very poor stuff at the best;

* It should be noticed however, in justice to Dr. Corbyn, one of the worthiest and best of men, and absolutely incapable of insincerity, that this inconsistency between his theory and his practice was, in a manner, accidental. He had formed the habit of drinking every day a very moderate allowance of beer, and nothing else; but he confidently believed that, since the habit had been formed, it was better not to break it off; but that it would have been better still, if it had never been formed.

and we have often wondered, that, amongst all our "companies," no one has ever been formed, for the supply of pure milk to the inhabitants. From milk, he makes a transition to buffaloes, wild and tame; butter; butter making; the Acra farm; Bandel, Dacca, and Hissar cheese, (the last of which, he says, is by some considered equal to Parmezan); and then, to that staff of Bengali life,—ghee. It is altogether astonishing to what an extent the consumption of this article is carried by many of our native fellow-subjects. If they are in good health, they take it in all possible and imaginable forms; and in a few, that are neither possible nor imaginable, because they are well; and, if they are sick, they take it in still other forms in order to make them well. We remember once, on occasion of a severe illness, to have received a visit from a native gentleman of the respectable old-school class. On entering the room where we were extended on a couch, he stood speechless for a couple of minutes, as in astonishment at the emaciation that the disease and the doctors had been clubbing for three weeks to produce; and then broke silence with—"Ah! master must drink ghee. Master lean too much—ghee make master fat—very good thing ghee!" The goodly presence of our friend was a sufficient voucher, that he at least was no stranger to an experimental test of his own prescription. It is certainly strange, that, in so hot a climate, such an article of diet should be used in any considerable quantity. We can understand how the inhabitants of Polar regions regale themselves with train oil; but it is strange that a similar regalement should find acceptance with the inhabitants of a sultry land like Bengal; yet so it is. As our author truly remarks—"To the natives generally, I believe that nothing can be too rich. They are as fond of ghee as the Esquimaux."

The next subject noticed is that of conveyances. This is a fertile subject. For variety of equipages, we believe the Calcutta Course might be backed against the world; and really, although some of them are sufficiently grotesque, and although there may be no one that in the London parks would be deemed actually first-rate, we doubt whether so large a number of neat carriages and good horses could be found anywhere else in the world. There are no doubt in London a few "turns-out" that might out-price any two Calcutta ones; but we question whether the two hundred vehicles, that should first pass a stationary spectator in Hyde Park, would be found on the whole, so good, or so neatly turned out, as an equal number that should pass him at driving time, on the strand, in Calcutta. But the European vehicles all yield in point of interest to the Karanchi: and we do

not understand why our author has withheld a sketch of it. Sure we are, that his pencil would have found employment, worthy of it, in delineating the horses, the harness, the driver, with his foot ever lifted in mid-air, in order to add emphasis to the *coups-de-fouet*, wherewith he incessantly visits his cattle,—the passengers, three asleep, three awake, and one *in transitu*,—and the carriage itself! Words are baffled. Really, there should have been a picture of the Karanchi.

The subject, next introduced, is that of horses, and their "keep." Of the temper of our country horses our author seems to have formed no very high opinion. Our experience has led us to a somewhat different conclusion. We know that some of the cavalry horses are very savage; but then, we believe, it is the delight and pastime of the *sowars* to render them so. We remember to have heard from an old cavalry officer, that it was no unusual thing for a horse to seize the rider in front of him by the loins, and drag him from his horse, and while his own rider pulled him off his fore-legs by a powerful Hindustani bit, to rear on his hind-legs with his victim dangling from his mouth. We believe this, to the exent that it had happened once or twice; and we lately knew a horse do, what we never heard of a horse's doing before—that is, biting his rider, while actually on his back. It was a little brute of a pony, that, on receiving a touch of the switch, deliberately turned his head round and upwards, like an elephant grasping a branch of a tree over his head, seized his rider's arm, and bit it so severely, that there was danger of its requiring to be amputated. But withal, we do not think that our country horses are generally so bad-tempered. Of those, with which we have been personally conversant, a fair proportion have been perfectly gentle.

The subject, next introduced, is bathing; one of the real luxuries of our hot-weather life. We have long been of opinion, that as a general rule, every one of us ought to bathe every day once. Lord Bacon somewhere relates of "a certain bishop;" that he used to bathe twice a day, and, being asked the reason, replied, "because I cannot conveniently bathe thrice." But we do not think that even here, either purposes of cleanliness, or health, or comfort, require more than one thorough ablution a day. Unless in extraordinary circumstances, however, we do not think that this should ever be omitted. By a very natural transition, our author passes from the subject of bathing to that of water; and truly we must acknowledge, that the best drinking-water in Calcutta is not good. We never enjoy a glass of water, however properly it may be iced, within the

ditch. Filtering makes it look clear enough ; but still it is not good. So far as we know, the best correction of the Calcutta water is charcoal made from the wood of the Babul tree. This, we believe, may be had from the apothecaries at a very moderate price, and really makes the water drinkable. The subject is an important one ; and we trust that our readers will be suitably grateful to us for the hint, that we now furnish to them.

The next topic introduced is the fertile one of servants, on which there is a long discussion, containing many remarks that are well worthy of being pondered by all Indian residents: and this, by the way, suggests to us, that we have not yet allowed our author, in any instance, to speak for himself, and that we may as well introduce an extract on this subject.

We will now, if you please, return into the house, where, being seated, allow me to direct your attention to an Indian domestic squad. Of the characters of its members, we have as many varying estimates, both oral and written, as they, probably, were they to turn authors, would give of their masters, the Europeans ; a diversity of opinion, however, that may be traced to the usual sources, difference of rank and station, of temper and of habits, and of many accidental causes, which you can as well imagine, as I describe.

The Calcutta servants, are, chiefly, natives of Bengal, a portion of this mighty land, wherein the class, to which the domestics (at least) belong, is (as nearly all authors and all living witnesses, whom I have either met with, or heard of, agree in representing) at a very low ebb in morality. It will not be necessary for me to be more definite than this, with reference to class. —I feel assured that the " natives of Bengal," sometimes so collectively and sweepingly spoken of, will not need either exception, or advocacy, so humble as mine. I am happy in the acquaintance of a few native gentlemen, of whose friendship and esteem I shall always be proud, and who, together with many of the rising generation, now educating,—springing up, as it were, from a new soil—are, I trust, calculated to prove to their country, both " useful and ornamental."

From the servants then, without education, without the inculcation of any moral code, accustomed to those listless habits, which climate, want of mental excitement, and the depression consequent on political causes, operating for ages past, have induced, it would be vain to seek for any large evidence of principle or spirit; though, under circumstances of excitement, they may occasionally be seen to extraordinary advantage. They are patient, forbearing, generally speaking, grave and quiet in their demeanour ; and I believe that with a proper acquaintance with their language, a determined and consistent strictness, short of personal violence (as erroneously or heedlessly resorted to by some, as ingloriously by others) regular payment of wages, and careful administration of justice in the various little disputes and grievances arising amongst themselves, and that are most probably submitted to their masters, as " of the bench" for adjustment,—much may be done towards gaining their respect, attention, and even attachment. I have heard instances of their following their masters on foot, and coming in, after a journey of six or seven hundred miles with cheerfulness. In one of these instances, following the same lord and mistress

(upon whom indeed it reflects much honor) was an aged female domestic :—in the words of Chaucer,

> "So eld she was, that she ne went
> A foote, but it were by portent;"

and who, declining the use of the bullock carriages, which, she said, only made her bones ache, actually performed nearly the whole of the journey from Cawnpoor to Lahore, from Lahore to Mussoorie, thence to Gwalior, and finally to Calcutta, *on foot !*

Amidst, however, so vast a variety of people, whom fortune or misfortune, adventure or trade, servitude or crime, may have severed from their native soil in all parts of this vast country, or this vast land and its many countries, and thrown into the city as a common centre, you will readily suppose that there exists a proportionate variety in character and worth. You will as readily believe that a city, ever the arena of vice and dishonesty, is not only the least advantageous to the morals and education of the lower order of its inhabitants, but to the estimate, which observers, who may not have particularly studied Miss Martineau, will form of the people at large : hence many of those prejudices and errors in regard to the people of India, which are so injurious to a kindly state of feeling generally betwixt them and Europeans, and to a just discrimination and separation of the evil from the good, which "peradventure may be found," amongst the domestics, or their qualities. I have spoken, however, of diversity of opinion ;—a case will best illustrate this.

Let us suppose an old and independent resident,—his health best, if not alone, preserved by a warm climate—long habituated to a troop of attendants—taught on his arrival, and accustomed to obey, an unwritten but thoroughly understood law, which saith, "Thou shalt do nothing for thyself, which thy servant can do for thee"—having, in fact, resided over long in the camp of Darius, and acquired a natural fondness for eastern pomp, servility, and quietude—forming, or influenced in his estimate of the people's worth, not by their integrity, but by the degree in which their services conduce to this envied state of ease and feudal dignity ; never having need to study either their expense, or individual industry, which will not appear to be lacking in the presence, and (from the numbers to share it) is never very largely drawn upon,—such an individual is not likely, unless a man of very observing mind, to view, otherwise than favourably, the reverential and submissive Asiatic attendants, whom he will probably declare to be "the finest servants in the world." These, on the other hand, with high and regularly paid wages ; with full opportunity for the acquisition of "perquisites," and with very little to do, will of course do their best to set that little off to advantage. Away, however, from attendance on the master, or put in the slightest degree out of the usual way, none can be seen more independent and careless. They will do nothing, which is not "so nominated in the bond ;" to which many Europeans, unless acting from motives of private policy, are good-natured, or weak enough, to yield. I have generally observed far more neglect of strangers, or visitors, and sometimes worse attendance, in the houses of the higher classes, than in humbler dwellings.

The individual of more circumscribed means has to look somewhat closer, and through a less golden medium than his wealthy neighbour. He is brought into immediate collision, both with the servants, and the people generally ; and then it is that the gulf between master and man in India becomes apparent. Participation of interest, or feeling, cannot be expected. Dissimilar faiths, and diametrically opposed habits and customs, even amongst equals, who, with few exceptions, neither eat nor drink together,

and lack, consequently, one of the grand sources of sociality and good feeling, are sufficiently inimical to any such participation: how much more, therefore, where servitude is the only connecting bond? Whether rich or poor, the Europeans are regarded as birds of passage: the domestic in India, therefore, can never, as in England, look upon himself as in a place of permanency,—as forming part and portion of the family, domiciled for his old age,—possessing, as it were, for his own, and probably children's sake, an actual interest, a *fee simple*, in the very soil.

Although I feel assured that the mass of Europeans arrive in the country most favourably disposed towards their "brethren of the sun," there appear no means or appliances, save the enlightening and all charity-breathing spirit of Christianity (where its riches are fairly drawn upon), to foster and encourage the disposition; and so it commonly follows in a short time, that those, who on their arrival, had entered their protests against the severe opinions, careless demeanour, and harsh language of their friends, themselves merge into the indifferent, the careless, and the severe.

The want of principle, so unhappily prevailing amongst the very class with whom Europeans in Calcutta have the most dealings, strikes at one of the most vital points in a man's affections. Indifference to the master's interests begets, of course, indifference to the servants' feelings; and their want of spirit and energy seems further, too often, to beget the opinion that they have no feelings to hurt. Ignorance of their language bars appealing to, or correcting, them in a proper manner; and thus it follows, that their fears or self-interest are supposed, and, in many cases, too truly, to be their only assailable points. The feelings, thus engendered toward the servants, extend themselves to the people at large.

With persons of violent tempers, insufferable pride, and sweeping prejudices—maladies incurable, and as common to the frozen north, as to the burning east—it can only be said—You cannot "gather figs from thorns, nor grapes from thistles." To the impetuous may be added the juvenile, and too often, consequently, the inconsiderate; of whom, arriving in the country at the ages of sixteen and seventeen, no small number go towards the formation, immediately and ultimately, of Indian society. With hot blood in their veins, little judgment in their heads, and spirits above boiling point—sobriety or circumspection of behaviour would be *milk-sopism* in their vocabulary: any tricks, inconsistencies, or indignities, are of no consequence to the "black fellows," who, in accordance probably with the imbibed notions of our young Englishers, are regarded, without discrimination, as rogues, thieves, and pusillanimous cowards, undeserving either of consideration or respect. The mildness of demeanour, perfectly natural to the Bengal oriental, whatever his principles be, is neither appreciated nor understood, but rather furnishes theme for contempt.

On the other hand, the very griffinage of many kind-hearted persons is evidenced by some attempted demonstrations of kindness, conceivable only in an English brain, or of that unrestrained demeanour which they have been accustomed to show towards domestics at home. *There*, the spirit of Benevolence need fear no mortification, by the rejection of her offerings and her sacrifices; *here*, where superstition, fatality, priestcraft, and idolatry, live and reign in almost the zenith of their prosperity and their power—where our griffins cannot approach even a menial who may be cooking—offer his child a fruit—accidentally touch an article of his cooking paraphernalia—lay finger on his *hooka*, or put foot within the threshold of his mud hut—without having imparted pollution; where, amongst the most heinous sins of ill-breeding, is that of asking a man after the welfare of his wife and sisters—and to admire and compliment his infant is to plant upon

it "an evil eye"—where if, in mercy and in kindness, they offer medicine to the sick, it is probably refused from their hands or their vessel—one might detail a catalogue of their errors and mishaps, to exceed even those of the '*Blunderer*' of Theophrastus.

Turn which way they will, they are checked in every attempt to do the polite, or the social: their endeavours to render any little attention, or acts of consideration, might be compared to a child's industrious exertions with shawl, pillows, and sweetmeats, to "make pussy comfortable."

Now these little things are neither agreeable nor self-flattering, and, in spite of some persons' philosophy, act as so many rebuffs and annoyances: the consequence is that the European, in self-defence, wraps himself in a cloak of dignified reserve, and holds a respectful distance for the future.

Here we must stop; else we should very willingly go on to quote our author's very sensible remarks upon the advantage that would be derived by each individual, if, on coming to India, he (or she) would set resolutely to the learning of one, or other, of the native languages. Hindustani probably would be best for a lady in almost every part of India; but it is very desirable, that every gentleman, in addition to a competent knowledge of this widely spread dialect, should be able to read and speak well the language, peculiar to the part of the country, where he is "located." This would unquestionably cause him to be regarded with much greater respect by the natives. In fact it is not very creditable to us, that we generally know so little of the language of the people among whom we sojourn. Multitudes of instances might be given to show the evil effects, that have arisen from want of knowledge of the language, on the part of those who might have known it. But we shall content ourselves with one instance, in which the effects were not evil, but only ludicrous; and this we the rather give, because we can vouch for the actual occurrence of the fact, substantially as we relate it, and because it has never "appeared in print" before. A lady had occasion to be dissatisfied with the condition of her carriage horses. They had gram and grass at will, but still they seemed to grow leaner and leaner. At last she took the advice of a friend, who recommended that a trial should be made with oats. She accordingly wrote a "chit" to a lady, who was her next-door neighbour, to the following effect:—"Pray tell me what is Hindustani for oats?" The answer was returned immediately, and forthwith the coachman was summoned. He appeared in full state; and, whatever might be the condition of the horses, *he* was all right on that score. After making due salams, the following dialogue took place:—

Lady. Why are the horses so thin?

Coachee. How can I tell, Mem Saheb? If it be the will of Allah that they should be thin, who shall make them otherwise?

Illa. But *why* are they so lean?

Ille. If your Ladyship does not know, how can your slave by possibility know?

Illa. But what do you give them? What do they eat?

Ille. Every day each one eats four seers and sixteen bundles, (4 seers of gram and 16 bundles of grass).

Illa. But do you not give them any rats?

Ille. Mem Saheb?

Illa. Rats? Don't you give them rats?

Ille. (With an adjuration). How can I do so?

Illa. Of course. No wonder though they are lean. In England we always give our horses plenty of rats; and they are so nice and plump.

Ille. Oh Father!

Illa. Every day give them one seer of rats; one seer, you understand, mixed up with their gram, and you will soon see how fat they will grow.

Ille. (Looking excessively puzzled). But how shall I get them?

Illa. In the bazar, to be sure. Are there not any in the grain-dealer's shops?

Ille. Too many there.

Illa. Well, get a maund; have you not got money?

Ille. Yes; but they are not to be sold.

Illa. Why! Did not you tell me that they are in the grain-dealer's shops! Why won't they sell them?

Ille. But how shall they be caught?

Thus the dialogue went on for some time, until the lady began to "smell a rat"—if we may be allowed for once to condescend upon such an expression—and dismissed the coachman to discuss the wonderment with the syces, while she in like manner sought the assistance of her husband towards the unravelment of the mystery. We presume our readers have unravelled it long ago; and therefore we need scarcely explain, that the note, which she sent to her neighbour, being written in a modern "lady's hand," the first principle of which, as of the science of derivative etymology, seems to be, that "all letters are convertible," the receiver read "rats" instead of "oats," and gave the answer accordingly. We cannot make the matter palpable by means of types; but if any sceptical reader will ask any young lady to write the two words in her best hand, he will see how natural the mistake was. Before we leave this subject of mistakes arising from an imperfect knowledge of the language, we must take leave to caution our readers against ever being betrayed into the addressing to their servants any of the terms of abuse, that they may hear them address to

one another. We have been told that it is no very uncommon thing, to hear ladies call their servants by a name, which, applied by one man to another, conveys the basest insinuation against some member of his family, and which, addressed by a female to a male, could only convey the basest declaration respecting herself. Of course the servants know very well, that it is in pure and perfect ignorance of the meaning of the term that the lady uses it; but how they chuckle over it, and make it and her the subject of all manner of impure conversation among themselves, can easily be imagined.

On the subject of language there is another point on which we must say our say. It is about the language that is taught by the servants to our children. A friend once assured us, that he overheard a band of his own servants teaching his two daughters to repeat every term of obscenity in the language. This we trust is a rare case; but this is certain, that all our children do learn terms of abuse, and especially that one to which we have just alluded. Of course they know nothing of the meaning of it; but it is not to be doubted that a portion of that impurity of mind, which dictates the impurity of language to those, who do understand it, and continually make use of it, is transferred into the tender minds of those, who pick up the language without understanding it. The practical conclusion is, not that children should not be allowed to learn the language of the servants, for this it is impossible to prevent; but that they should never be left under their care, when it is possible for them to be under the care of their parents. This would be attended with many good effects, which this is not the place to enter upon.

The mention of khansamahs, and their monthly bills, leads the author into a digression, (if any thing can be properly called a digression, where no special order is professed to be followed) upon the coinage and current money of the country. He then gives a description of the various bazars in Calcutta, as they were in the days when his "sketch" was begun. We must quote his description of the Burra bazar:—

"But for *oriental* traffic, oriental tongues, and 'Oriental heads,' commend me to the *Burra Bazar*, a mart tailed on to the north end of the China Bazar,* and occupied or visited by merchants and travellers from all parts of the East; from the snowy range of the Himalayas, north-westward, to the very shores of the Caspian and Mediterranean—southward, from the scorch-

* The north end of the China Bazar, being occupied chiefly by up-country people, or foreigners to Bengal, I take the liberty to consider as forming part of the Burra Bazar.

ing sands of Arabia Deserta to Cape Comorin, and eastward, to the Archipelago and the Celestial Empire.

Few Europeans, I believe, have ever taken the trouble of exploring the inmost recesses of the Babel-like regions of the Burra Bazar. Indeed a person might walk through it, and, from the singular manner in which the buildings are constructed, remain unconscious, that the chief or most important part of the traffic existed above his head—a whole range of little offices or apartments occupying a second floor, to which, possibly, but one or two narrow, dark, break-neck passages are to be found as entrances.

Here, above and below, may be seen the jewels of Golconda and Bundelkund, the shawls of Cashmere, the broad-cloths of England, silks of Moorshedabad and Benares, muslins of Dacca, calicoes, ginghams, chintzes and beads of Coromandel, furs, fruits, and gums of Cáubúl, silk fabrics and brocade of Persia, spicery and myrrh and frankincense from Ceylon, the spice Islands, and Arabia, shells from the eastern coast and Straits, iron-ware and cutlery in abundance, as well from Europe as Monghyr, coffee, drugs, dried fruits, and sweetmeats from Arabia and Turkey, cows' tails from Thibet, and ivory from Ceylon. A great portion of these, and other such articles, are either sold or brought by natives of the countries from whence they are obtained, who, together with visitors, travellers and beggars, form a diversified group of Persians, Arabs, Jews, Marwarrees, Armenians, Mundrazees, Cashmeerees, Malabars, Goojratees, Goorkhas, Affghans, Seiks, Turks, Parsees, Chinese, Burmese and Bengalis."

He then describes the *motiyas*, or coolies, who take home the "bazar" (the uniform abbreviation for "the goods daily purchased in the bazar"); and then the hackeries, or carts, which are employed for the conveyance of heavier articles. Respecting these, he says,—"we have carts, which for roughness, simplicity, awkwardness, and noisiness, I would match against any carts in the world." And safely could we back him. But these same hackeries are singular things. It had struck a friend of our's, that he had very often seen them fall down on a fair road from the breaking of their axle; but that, although they are constantly pushed, in the narrower streets, to the extreme verge, he had never seen one turned over into the ditch; at last, being a man, *calide qui potuit rerum dignoscere causas*, he discovered that this is due to the fact, that the bullocks are yoked so far apart, that they are always *without* the wheels, so that even were the bullocks in the ditch, the wheel might still be on the road. To ourselves also, deeply pondering, like a certain quondam Lord-Chancellor, an idea occurred, which seems to us not altogether unworthy of record. Our India readers all know that the hackeries are drawn by bullocks, and that the Indian bullock is furnished by nature with a hump. Now this hump is made a *point d' appui* for the draught pole, or rather for a cross pole, attached to the draught pole, as a yard is to a mast. Now it is certain that

the ox was used as a beast of draught, long before the horse was. But at last men discovered that certain advantages would result from the use of the horse for purposes of draught. But horses have no humps; and here was a problem. How was an animal, without a hump, to be made to do the work, which an animal, with a hump, had hitherto accomplished, and to the accomplishment of which the hump had been essential? Why,—by being furnished with an artificial hump. And such an artificial hump, composed of rags and straw, was fitted upon him, and he wears it, in its primitive form, whenever he does duty in a Bengali karanchi; and in a somewhat modified and refined form, under the style and title of a cart-saddle, when his services are required in England to draw a cart; and in a style of superlative refinement, when he tosses his proud head in a curricle. From the nautilus shell to the ship of the line; so from the bullock's hump to the most improved curricle harness; thus does art borrow from nature.

We must pass very cursorily over the notices of the various servants of the household, only observing that the sketches of them (evidently portraits) are particularly good. Under the head of the khidmutgar it is related, that, until of late years, those servants* refused to put on the table any of the flesh of the unclean animal; and, it is stated, that the objection was overruled, in consequence of many of them having been detected, not only touching, but eating it. As we have heard the story, it goes that a gentleman high in authority had a very fine Yorkshire ham, which his servant refused to bring to the table. He had no resource but to bring it himself, and in due time to remove it to the sideboard. After dinner, having occasion to return to the dining-room, he found the servants busily employed in consuming large slices of it, thickly spread over with strawberry jam!

In connexion with the notice of the durwan, our author utters a well-merited reproof of the habitual falsehood, that is perpetrated, in the orders given to servants to say, "Not at home" to visitors at inconvenient hours. But we must confess that we were in perfect ignorance of the existence of such a practice in India. It is certainly much less common here, than "at home." The "*Darwaze band hai*" (the gates are shut) we thought to be the universal substitute for it; and always implicitly believed, that, if the individual, whom we wished to see, was declared to be *bahar* (abroad), that he (or she) was really and literally so, in the lexicological, and not in any conventional, sense of the term. We should be sorry

* They are Muhammedans.

to yield up this belief, and must enquire more diligently into the matter.

Before leaving the subject of servants, we must quote our author's graphic description of one peculiarity of Anglo-Indian life; that of transacting all matters, down to the most trivial, by means of written correspondence.

"The man of whom I am now to speak is known—without reference to nice distinctions and derivations—by the various appellations of CHUPRASEE, HURKARUH, PIYADUH, PEON, or *Messenger*, and borrows the first name from the *chuprás*, or brass plate, containing his master's initials, or the name of the firm or office to which he is attached, worn on a belt across his breast. Though commonly attached to mercantile or public offices, where indeed he forms an indispensable assistant, he is yet occasionally found in private domestic life, and *there* serves to mark one of its peculiar features. His duty is simply that of carrying bills, parcels, letters and so forth, in which way an office will, of course, find for him plenty of employment; but of *verbal messages*, whether in public or private affairs, he is seldom, if ever, the bearer. No; you would really imagine that the whole business of life here were conducted by *chits*—anglice *notes*. Even were Europeans sufficiently acquainted with the language to trust *themselves*, they could not well trust *the men*, for the delivery of any but the most simple message; and now, indeed, by a kind of conventional agreement, to do so would be considered as something akin to a slight, or a rudeness. I know of but one general exception,—on occasions of enquiry after the sick, when, alike from good feelings and necessity, the formalities of life are disregarded,—but at other times, and those times endure from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, for the remainder of the year, nothing less than a note will answer the purpose. The very constitution of society here, arising from the nature of the climate, serves to multiply the occasion for paper and pens. A lady cannot, in India, put on her bonnet, nor a man at all times his hat, and step, were it but fifty yards from the door, to see a friend, or a new investment, or transact the slightest affair of business. Carriage, buggy, or palkee cannot *always* be at command without expense: a chit, therefore, favours economy. If a neighbour wish to set his clock; to know the range of the thermometer, to borrow the newspaper, or a friend to invite you to tiffin, to desire your advice, opinion, or aid, in the most trifling matter; if an article be required from the bazar or the shops— a new pair of boots, a book from the library, or a cheese from the provisioner's,—these, and the thousand little matters which require no enumeration, are all subjects for note correspondence. As for the ladies, it would be superfluous to attempt detailing the occasions which *they* find for the expenditure of their gilt-edged chit paper and medallion wafers. I need only remark that the ladies of this country, proverbially, write good hands, and with a facility of language and expression, which *practice* only can give. But why talk of the ladies and their *out door* correspondence? the habit of chit-writing is so strong, that members of the same family, living in the same house, correspond by note from one room to another!—Nay, the very children of eight years of age resort to pen, ink and paper, to borrow from their playmates, 'Peter Parley', 'Goody Two Shoes', the 'Boy's Own Book,' or the last new toy!

In short, I think, that a greater quantity of *note paper* must be consumed in Calcutta, and the other presidencies, than in London, Edinboro,' Dublin,

and Paris, put together!—and that, if one other to the various appellations of "*Curry laters*"—"*Mules*"—"*Ducks*," and "*Qui hy's*,"* by which the society of India has been honoured and distinguished, were needed, it might characteristically be found in the designation of "*the chit writers.*"

Under these circumstances, you will readily believe that, in a large family, employment, in the small way, may generally be found for servants about a house; and that where, to obviate the possible inconvenience of taking them away from their accustomed sphere of usefulness, a *chuprási* is engaged, it is not exceedingly difficult to preserve him from the rust of idleness.

I may remark, further, that the thoughtless habit which many people have of keeping servants unnecessarily waiting at the door (where they may sometimes be seen enjoying a composing nap), might serve as a further excuse, were any wanting, for the retention of the chuprási's services."

This constant writing of notes might be supposed to be traceable in some way or other to the influence of the stationers: for verily it must lead to a consumption of note-paper and envelopes, in proportion to the population, far beyond what takes place in any other country in the world. But we suspect that the real origin of the habit is that same ignorance of the native tongues, to which our author elsewhere refers; and which is, we will not say sometimes, but very generally, such, that it were not safe to trust any message to a servant. Indeed in any case, in which a message might be delivered by a European to a native servant, and by that servant conveyed to another European, and an answer brought back, the probability is so great, as to amount almost to certainty, that a mistake would occur somewhere, and some one link in the chain be snapped. Hence the necessity of constantly sending notes. Our author says that there is an exception in favor of messages of enquiry respecting the sick, and of the answers thereto. There are two standing stories, which at once shew the reality of the exception, and the unadvisableness of extending the exception more widely. For aught we know, they may be rather representations of what *might* have taken place, than of what actually *did* occur in any particular instance, but we "tell the tale as 'twas told to us." The one is of a gentleman, who, on receiving such a message of enquiry as to the health of his sick wife, sent back in reply that she was *burra kráb* (very wicked); and the other is that of a lady, who declared of her husband in similar circumstances, that he was a *swine*. To our Indian readers it is superfluous to explain, that the gentleman meant to say of his lady, that she

* *Mulls*—from Mulg-táni, a favourite dish, and made in perfection, at *Madras*. "*Ducks*"—the inhabitants of *Bombay*. *Qui hy's*—applied to the Bengal folk, amongst whom the pompous call for servants—*Qui hi?*—who waits? was thought to be characteristically common.

was *very ill*, and that the lady intended to convey the favourable intelligence, that her husband was *asleep*.

We have next a long, but interesting, account of the eatables, that constitute our daily food. On this point many people at home sadly lack information. A lady, who had been born in this country, and had never left it, till she went to England with her husband, told us that she afforded great surprise to her husband's relatives, by her not being surprised at the sight of beef! They were people of good standing in society, and, for aught we know, people of average information; but they had heard that the Hindus do not eat beef, and thence had concluded, by an over-hasty generalization, that there is no beef eaten in India. Be it known then to all such, through the medium of these pages, that we have in Calcutta better mutton (so says our author, and so say we), as good beef (so says not our author, but so say we), as is to be had in England. We have moreover as good fowls, as good ducks, as good geese, and nearly as good turkeys, though smaller. Then, we have as good pease, as good cauliflower, as good cabbages, as good asparagus, as good potatoes (nearly), as good turnips, as good carrots, as good onions, as good salad herbs of all kinds; and, in addition, we have several vegetables of excellent quality, which are little, or not at all, known in England. There is, for example, the *brinjal*, a very good vegetable, which we never saw or heard of in England; the nol-kole, which is much more common here than there, and which is one of the most delicate vegetables that can be put on a table; the sweet potatoe, which some people like very much, but which, we confess, is not to our taste; the durras (our author calls it dherras, and we suppose correctly), which is not at all to be despised, although its snail-like appearance renders it rather repulsive to new-comers.* Then, (not to mention a great variety of *sâgs*, or vegetables, of which the leaves are used as food, we have a vast multitude of plants of the gourd or cucumber kind, many of which are fit for something else than to be cultivated and dressed, and thrown away. The only really good vegetable, which we have seen at home and not here, is the sea-kale; and we are not sure, that we have not read in Mr. Speede's work, that it also has been cultivated here with success.

Nor has our Ichthyine—(such we think is the term, by which the books that teach us "how to observe" and "what to observe," bid us designate the whole body of fish, that frequent the

* It is the seed-vessel of a hibiscus.

rivers, and sea-coasts, and dining-tables of a country) any reason to shrink from comparison with that of England. The *bhekti* is very like the cod; the *hilsa* is scarcely distinguishable from the grilse; the mango-fish is as like a burn-trout, as two blades of grass are like each other. Our author narrates the usual legend, illustrative of the taste that old Indians exhibit for this fish. He says that an old gourmand declared, that a dinner of mango-fish is worth a voyage to India. But this is an apocryphal version of the matter, and by no means equal to the genuine. As we have it, his speech ran thus, "True I have lost my health in India; my liver is gone, and I have nothing before me but a few years of suffering; but—I have eaten mango-fish!"

The flora of India, indigenous and exotic, is very extensive; and although the general opinion is exactly the opposite, we venture to assert, that there is no place in the world, where the flower-garden affords a more pleasing amusement. Plants will *grow* here; whereas in England, you have to wait for three months before you can decide, with respect to any plant, whether it will grow or not, and then generally the decision is in the negative. There is certainly no *city* in the world, where there are such facilities for gardening as in Calcutta. This is owing to the way in which the houses are generally built, each within its own compound. And as we write, not indeed within Calcutta, but in its immediate neighbourhood, we look out upon a garden, which we venture to say contains as many fine flowers as could be found in any garden in England, that is kept up at not more than ten times the cost, that is expended upon ours. As an instance of the rapidity, with which plants are propagated in this country, we may refer to the *Poinsettia pulcherrima*, which, we have understood, was introduced here in the time of Lord Auckland's administration, probably not more than a dozen years ago; and, at this moment, its bright rich flowers are beautifying, we believe, every garden in Bengal. The *Russelia juncea* is also a nearly recent importation, which is now everywhere. The *Poivrea coccinea* was introduced but a few years ago, and is already becoming not uncommon. Plants which, a few years ago, were esteemed as rarities, and bought at 16 and 20 Rupees per graft, can now be had every-where for the asking; such for example are the *Cordea Sebestina*, the *Euphorbia Jacquiniflora*, and though in a less degree, the *Bouganvillæa spectabilis*. In fact, there is every encouragement that can be desired to amateur gardening. The idea, that the heat of the weather makes it impossible to take pleasure in a garden, is a groundless prejudice.

It is true that, in the middle of the day, it is impossible to enjoy a walk in the garden, unless under thick shade in the cold season; but where in the wide world is there a greater proportion of really enjoyable mornings and evenings, than in this maligned climate of Bengal? Throughout the hot weather, the mornings are always delightful; during the rains, there are very few evenings, that are not exceedingly pleasant: and in the cold weather, both mornings and evenings are almost uniformly fine—the only exception being a few days in December, when the cold of the morning and evening is too intense, and when the mid-day is the most enjoyable season of the day. We wish we could disabuse our fair readers of the too prevalent notion, that gardening is not an amusement suited to the climate of India. As to India generally, we cannot speak. From the little we have seen of Madras, we should suppose that there are difficulties to encounter there, which it would be very honorable to surmount. But in Bengal, we repeat it, few amusements could be devised to which the climate is so suitable and so helpful, as the superintendence, and occasional participation in the lighter work, of a garden. But, if they will not be persuaded of this, at least let them be advised to undertake the task of arranging the flowers, that the *mali* brings into almost every house every morning. How easily could these be converted, from an object of pure ridicule, into a really tasteful ornament; for the flowers themselves are good enough; it is only arrangement that they require.

Our author next describes some of the fruits of India, beginning with the cocoa, which is certainly entitled, in respect of its multifarious utility, to take precedence of all others. With all that he says about it we most cordially agree, excepting as to the point on which, above all others, his judgment is entitled to infinitely greater respect than ours. We mean as to the beauty and gracefulness of the tree. We confess we have never thought it either graceful or beautiful, except indeed when it is only about 5 or 6 feet high. These epithets, we can more conscientiously agree with our author in applying to the *areca*, or betelnut palm, which he aptly compares to an arrow shot down from the sky. But is he right in saying that it sustains the shock of the storm, by yielding to the wind like a willow? Our impression is rather that it bears it without yielding at all, and all through its very slenderness. In fact, the wind has nothing to take hold of.

As to our Indian fruits generally, we suspect that all new comers find them fall far short of the expectations they had been led to form of tropical fruits. At the time of their arrival, which is generally in the cold season, the best of the fruits are

not in season; and when they express disappointment, they are told to wait till the mangos are ripe; and this constantly repeated advice so stimulates their curiosity, that it defeats its own end. Generally speaking, they do not wait, but form their first acquaintance with the fruit, while still unripe; and certainly few edible things are worse than an unripe mango. But, in point of fact, we are not such enthusiastic champions of the fruit garden, as of the flower garden of India. It is true that, besides the mango (and as a bad mango is very bad, so a good one is very good), we have the líchí, and the guava, which we estimate more highly than does our author, and the pine-apple, which with a little care, may be had in as great perfection, as in the West Indies, or in the pineries of England; and the orange, which however is by no means so good as those that are imported into England, and which moreover "comes in" in the season, when it can least of all be enjoyed; and last of all, the plantain, which is, all over the year, the staple fruit. We cannot agree with our author in the preference that he expresses for this fruit over all others. But, from his picture, we suppose that he refers to a variety, with which we are not conversant. This variety he calls the Mutawan (Qu. *Martaban?*). It may be common enough, although we are unacquainted with it, as our researches have not pointed in that direction.

But we must draw to a close. We cannot afford to follow our author through his graphic description of the seasons, nor to allude to the various peculiarities of Anglo Indian life, which are connected with these. We take leave of him with hearty thanks for the pleasure he has afforded us. The work having occupied Mr. Grant's scanty leisure hours during a period of nearly ten years, there is a very marked progression both in the literary and artistic style. When he has to re-write the "sketch," —which, we doubt not, the exhaustion of the present edition will soon require him to do—he will probably be induced by his matured taste and judgment to render the former part somewhat less "eloquent," and more plain and accurate. The human figures too, in the former part, seem to us very much inferior to those in the latter. There is just one matter, which may be brought under the head of literary style, on which we will venture a remark. Mr. Grant sometimes indulges in (what we cannot but regard as) an unpleasing habit—that of using the expressions of Scripture, diverted from their original sense and application. For example, we do not like even such an expression as this, that "the morning air, and evening breeze, and a night's sound sleep, are more precious than gold—*yea than much fine gold;*" while we positively dislike some expres-

sions, which it is not necessary to quote. We know that this is, or rather we should say, *was*, with Mr. Grant, merely what we may call an external habit, and altogether unconnected with any want of reverential feeling towards the inspired records of our holy faith; and it is with real pleasure that we observe a total disuse of the practice in the latter portion of the sketch.

Altogether, we look upon this work as a real acquisition to our Anglo-Indian literature, and confidently predict that it will be received as a very acceptable present, by the multitudes in England, to whom it will be sent. The illustrations are a highly creditable indication of the state of the fine arts amongst us, and will contribute to the extension of that reputation, which Mr. Grant has already earned as an artist. As we have been permitted to adorn our pages with a specimen, we select the following, not as the best in the book, but as a fair specimen of the whole. When our readers know that there are nearly two hundred of such lithographs, they will be disposed to wonder at the reasonable price of the book.



ART. VII.—1. *A Digest of the Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William.* 1846. *By F. L. Beaufort, Bengal Civil Service.*

2. *The Magistrate's Guide.* 1849. *By F. Skipwith, B. C. S. 3rd Edition.*

3. *Correspondence on the Abolition and Modification of Criminal Appeals. Mil. Orphan Press.* 1848.

4. *The Criminal Statistics of Bengal, by G. Speede, Esq.*, 1847.

5. *Statement, submitted by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, relative to the administration of Criminal Justice in the territory subject to the Government of Bengal, during the year* 1847.

6. *The Justice's Manual, by A. Montgomery.* 1847.

IT has been well stated, that it is the duty of the sovereign power in every civilized country "to protect, as far as possible, every member of society from the injustice or oppression of every other member in it," or, in other words, "to establish an exact administration of Justice."

The issue of two Guides to the Criminal Regulations and Acts of the Bengal Government, has led us to consider, how far the above rule has been followed by the Hon'ble East India Company in this country: for it is a rule, which, if duly administered, must promote the prosperity of the empire, the advantages to be derived from it by the Company, and the interests and the policy of the British nation.

The East India Company, it is well known, was originally, simply, a Company of Merchants, empowered by a Charter, granted by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1600 A. D., to trade to the East Indies. Accordingly, the Company established different settlements in India, exclusively for the purposes of trade, and, in the year 1661, obtained authority from Parliament to judge, according to the laws of England, all persons living under them in their settlements. By two subsequent Charters, respectively granted in 1683 and 1686, the Company was authorized to erect Courts of Justice for the trial of offences, committed both by sea and land, according to the English law, and the Courts, thereupon established, continued to exercise the powers assigned to them till the year 1765, when they were superseded by Courts established under the Nazim of Bengal, which were superintended, though very imperfectly, by the English heads of Factories.

It was not the policy of the Company's servants to subvert the existing system, and, accordingly, the Mahomedan criminal law was retained; but it was their firm determination to correct

abuses without delay, and with caution and judgment to purify the fountains of justice.

We shall continue our sketch in the words of Mr. Beaufort's book—we say of his book, because he tells us in a note, that "in 'some few places, the language of the authorities, from which 'he has compiled his sketch of the penal system, has been adopt-'ed, without the usual acknowledgment, implied by inverted 'commas.

"The administration of criminal justice was therefore left to 'the tribunals previously instituted. Those entrusted with the 'duties, which are now within the cognizance of our judicial 'authorities, are thus enumerated, in the report of the Com-'mittee of circuit: 'The Nazim, as supreme Magistrate, pre-'sides personally in the trial of capital offenders: the deputy 'of the Nazim takes cognizance of quarrels, frays, and abusive 'names: the Fouzdar is the Officer of Police, the Judge of all 'crimes not capital; the proofs of these last are taken before 'him, and reported to the Nazim for his judgment and sentence 'upon them. The Mohtesib has cognizance of drunkenness, and 'of the vending of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs 'and the examination of false weights and measures; and the 'Kotwal is the peace officer of the night, dependent on the 'Fouzdarí.'

"But it would appear, that the offences, here enumerated, were 'confined to the capital; for, beyond its precincts, the Zemin-'dar, who was originally the chief fiscal officer of a district, 'exercised both a civil and a criminal jurisdiction, almost 'supreme, within the territory over which he was appointed 'to preside. The minor offences he visited with fines, impri-'sonment, or corporal punishment, according to his individual 'pleasure, or sense of justice; and, even in capital cases, he was 'under no further restraint, than that of reporting the circum-'stances to the Nazim, before proceeding to execution. The 'Government but rarely interfered with his decisions.* * *

"But even, if the institutions of the native government had 'been in themselves excellent, it would yet be no cause for 'wonder, that the administration of justice ceased, at a time 'when the government of the country underwent a total 'change, and when the Nazim was left without power to maintain 'the authority of his tribunals. The best instruments may be 'applied to the vilest purposes; and as an establishment, how-'ever good the principles on which it is founded, must fall to 'the ground, if the check of supervision is neglected in prac-'tice, so institutions, which have been perverted to accomplish 'only evil, may be capable of producing much good, if the

'conduct of the ministerial officers is attentively and fitly in-
'spected."

The British Government, therefore, commenced by providing means for superintending the native tribunals.

"In August 1769, certain servants of the Company, under 'the title of supervisors, were stationed in appropriate districts 'throughout the country with this intent; and, in the next 'year, two councils, with authority over the supervisors, were 'stationed, one at Múrshedabad, and another at Patna. In '1772, additional experience allowed the Government to create 'new courts, and to furnish them with certain rules, which were 'drawn up by the Committee of circuit, and adopted by the 'President and Council, on the 21st August of that year. In the 'Report, which accompanied these regulations, the Committee 'observed—'we have confined ourselves with a scrupulous 'exactness to the constitutional forms of judicature, already 'established in this province, which are not only, such as we 'think in themselves best calculated for expediting the course 'of justice, but such as are best adapted to the understanding 'of the people. Where we shall appear to have deviated, in 'any respect, from the known forms, our intention has been 'to recur to the original principles, and to give them that effi-'cacy, of which they were deprived by venal and arbitrary 'innovations, by partial immunities granted as a relief against 'the general and allowed abuse of authority, or by some radical 'defect in the constitution of the courts in being.' By this 'scheme a Court of criminal judicature was established in each 'district under the denomination of Fouzdarí Adawlut, in 'which a Kazí and Múftí, with the assistance of two Moula-'vis, as expounders of the law, were appointed to hold 'all 'trials of murder, robbery and theft, and all other felonies, 'forgery, perjury, and all sorts of frauds and misdemeanours, 'assaults, frays, quarrels, adultery, and every other breach of 'the peace, or violent invasion of property;' and it was also 'declared to be the duty of the collector of the district (he 'being a covenanted servant of the Company), 'to attend to 'the proceedings of this court, so far as to see that all neces-'sary evidences are summoned and examined; that due weight 'is allowed to their testimony; and that the decision passed 'is fair and impartial according to the proof exhibited in 'the course of trial; and that no causes be heard, or deter-'mined, but in the open court regularly assembled.' A sepa-'rate and superior Court of criminal jurisdiction was at the same 'time established at Múrshedabad, under 'the designation of 'Nizamut Sudder Adawlut, in which was to preside, with the

'title of Daroga, a chief officer, appointed on the part of the 'Nazim, assisted by the chief Kazí, the chief Múftí, and three 'capable Moulavis, whose duty it was declared to be, 'to 'revise all the proceedings of the Fouzdarí Adawlut; and in 'capital cases, by signifying their approbation or disapproba- 'tion thereof, with their reasons at large, to prepare the sen- 'tence for the warrant of the Nazim.' A controul over the 'proceedings of this court, similar to that which the collectors 'of revenue were empowered to exercise over the provincial 'courts, was vested in the Committee of revenue at Múrsheda- 'bad; and the object of such control was stated to be 'that 'the Company's administration, in character of King's Dewan, 'may be satisfied, that the decrees of Justice, on which the 'welfare and safety of the country so materially depend, are not 'injured or perverted by the effects of partiality or corruption.'

"Certain rules were supplied for the guidance of these 'courts. The collector was directed to keep a box, under his own 'key, at the door of the kutchery for the reception of petitions. 'Complete records were to be kept by the Fouzdarí Adawlut, 'and transmitted to the superior Courts twice every month; the 'collector was also to keep an abstract register of all the pro- 'ceedings of that Court to be transmitted in like manner. The 'authority of the Fouzdarí Adawlut was to extend to corporal 'punishment, imprisonment, sentencing to the roads, and fines, 'but not to the life of the criminal. In capital cases the trial 'was to be forwarded to the Nizamut Adawlut, and ultimately to 'be laid before the Nazim. Persons guilty of misdemeanours, 'whose rank, caste, or station in life was thought to exempt 'them from corporal punishment, were made liable to fines; but 'such fines, if above one hundred rupees, were not to be 'enforced by the inferior courts; forfeiture and confiscation 'of the property of felons were to depend on the Nizamut 'Adawlut. Stringent penalties were enacted against dacoits, and 'threats of dismission, or fines, and promises of rewards, were 'held forth to the thannadars, and payks.

"By these arrangements, it will be observed, the judicial 'administration alone was affected; the law itself remained 'the same, with the exception of an additional and more severe 'provision respecting dacoity; and with the system of Police 'no interference was attempted.

"In the following year, we find it a matter of consideration 'with the President and Council, whether the decree of the 'Nizamut Adawlut, after having received the confirmation of 'the Nazim, should be carried into execution precisely in the 'terms of his warrant; or whether the Government should in-

'terfere in adding to, or commuting, the punishment, in cases 'wherein it appeared inadequate to the crime, or ineffectual as 'a check. And the result was the appointment of the Daroguh 'of the Nizamut Adawlut (which Court had previously been 'removed to Calcutta) 'to affix the seal of the Nazim, and the 'signature on his behalf, to warrants issued for the execu-'tion of sentences approved by the court:' and a power was 'vested in the President 'to superintend him in the exercise 'of this office, as well in revising sentences of the Adawlut, as 'in passing the warrants and affixing the seal.' However bene-'ficial the controul over the administration of criminal justice 'thus entrusted to the president, a short experience proved 'that it imposed a labour, and involved a responsibility, which it 'was not convenient to him to sustain; and consequently, in Octo-'ber 1775, the Nizamut Adawlut was removed back to Múr-'shedabad, and the uncontrolled administration of criminal 'justice was confided to the Naib Nazim, by whom Fouzdars, 'assisted by persons vested in the Muhammedan Law were ap-'pointed to superintend the criminal courts in the several dis-'tricts, and to apprehend and bring to trial offenders against 'the public peace."

And here we must pause, and consider the legislative powers conferred upon the Company by the new Charter of 1773.

This Charter confirmed them in their possession for twenty years, and declared the Governor-General in Council of the settlement of Fort William, and the places subordinate thereto, competent to make rules and regulations for the good order and civil Government of the said settlement, provided they were not repugnant to the laws of England. They were not however to be valid, or of any force, unless, or until, they received the consent of, and were recorded by, the Supreme Court in Calcutta. The jurisdiction of this court was declared, by the Charter of 1773, to extend to all persons residing within the town of Calcutta, as well as to British subjects resident in any part of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; as also to certain descriptions of Natives of India, who might be in the employment of the Company, although not inhabitants of the town of Calcutta: and consequently the judges thereof claimed authority, not only over all the Company's servants and British subjects resident in India, but over all the Native inhabitants, and all the Mofussil Courts. Had this claim of jurisdiction been recognised, the English law, modified possibly by the Judges of the Supreme Court, would have become the law of India.

Reference was in consequence made to the British Parliament; and, as the habits, manners, prejudices, and customs, of the peo-

ple of India were so totally at variance, in principle and practice, with those of the people of England, the application of the English laws to them was declared to be unsuitable; and a statute of 1781 exempted all judicial Acts of the Mofussil Courts from the interference of the Supreme Court, and conferred upon the local Government a more extensive power of legislation.

The Governor-General in Council was declared competent to enact regulations for the Provincial Courts and Council, subject, however, to the sanction of the King in Council: but, in all and every enactment, regard was to be had to the civil and religious usages of the Natives.

So soon as the Charter was received, the Governor-General, with the concurrence of his Council, immediately remodelled the Police establishment. "The Collectors and Amils," says Mr. Beaufort, "had been acting as magistrates; but the want 'of an efficient Police had thus early shown itself in the ''increased confidence of the dacoits,' and in the difficulty, 'with which government obtained 'intelligence of such events, 'as related to the peace of the country.' These evils 'were ascribed by Mr. Hastings to the abolition of the Fouzdari jurisdiction of the Zemindars; to the resumption of the '*Chakuran* land, and the employment by the farmers of the 'servants allowed to them by government solely for the business of their collections; and to the farming system, which 'removed the claim on the Zemindars, formerly possessed by 'the public from immemorial usage, to the restitution of all 'damages and losses sustained from robbers The remedies 'adopted for the removal of these disorders were that thannadars were appointed to the fourteen districts, into which 'Bengal was divided for the various purposes of police; that 'the landholders and officers of the collections were enjoined 'to afford them all possible assistance in the discharge of their 'duties; that the land servants allowed for their respective districts were placed under the absolute command of the Fouzdars; that the *Chakuran* lands were again applied to their 'original design; that the Fouzdars were enjoined to assist 'each other in their respective jurisdictions; that an office 'for the superintendence of the Fouzdars was established under 'the control of the President; that the landholders were made 'responsible for losses, sustained by their neglect to assist the 'Fouzdars; and that all persons, convicted of abetting or conniving at the practices of robbers, were to be adjudged equally 'criminal with them, and to be punished by death.

"On the 6th April, 1781, it was declared that this system 'had by experience been found not to produce the good effects

'intended by the institution. The general establishments there-
'fore both of the fouzdars and thannadars were abolished by a
'resolution of the Governor-General and Council; and the
'English judges of the several civil Courts, being Company's
'covenanted servants," were invested with the powers, as magis-
'trates, of apprehending dacoits and persons charged with the
'commission of any crimes or acts of violence, within their
'respective jurisdictions.

"They were not however empowered to try or punish such
'persons, nor to detain them in confinement, but were to send
'them immediately to the Daroga of the nearest Fouzdarí
'court, with a charge in writing, setting forth the grounds on
'which they had been apprehended. Provision was at the
'same time made for cases, where, by especial permission of
'the Governor General and Council, certain zemindars might
'be invested with such part of the police jurisdiction, as they
'formerly exercised under the ancient Mogul government.

"In such cases, the Judge of the Dewaní Adawlut, the Da-
'rogn of the Fouzdarí court, and the Zemindar, were to exercise
'a concurrent authority, for the apprehension of robbers and
'all disturbers of the public peace. The better to enable the
'Government to observe the effects of the regulations thus
'introduced, and to watch over the general administration of
'criminal justice throughout the provinces, a separate depart-
'ment was established at the presidency, under the immediate
'controul of the Governor General, to receive monthly returns
'and reports from the judges, zemindars, and the Nazim; to
'arrange which, and to maintain, 'an effectual check on all
'persons employed in the administration of justice, as well
'for such other purposes as his experience might suggest,'
'an officer was appointed to act under the Governor General,
'with the title of Remembrancer of the criminal courts.

"These provisions proved inadequate. They contained one ca-
'pital defect. The power of the English magistrates, over the
'zemindars and other landholders, was not only inefficacious in
'general, and the course of justice therefore weak and uncertain;
'but the regulation, which vested the apprehension of all offenders
'in the magistrates, without permitting them to interfere in any
'respect in the trials, gave rise to a new evil. The magistrates
'being obliged to deliver over to the daroga of the fouzdarí
'courts, and to that officer's prison, all parties charged with a
'breach of the peace, however trivial, and a considerable time
'often elapsing before they were brought to trial—many of the
'lowest and most indigent classes of people were frequently
'detained for a long period in confinement, where the length

'of their sufferings very often more than equalled their de-
'merits.

"In June 1787, therefore a new regulation 'for the adminis-
'tration of justice in the criminal courts in Bengal, Bahar, and
'Orissa,' was passed by the Governor General in Council; and,
'at the same time, the offices of judge, collector, and magistrate
'(except in the cities of Dacca, Moorshedabad, and Patna)
'were invested in the same person, but under distinct rules
'for his guidance in each capacity. By this regulation it
'was made the duty of the magistrate, 'to apprehend all
'murderers, robbers, thieves, house-breakers, or other distur-
'bers of the peace, and to send them to take their trial, accom-
'panied with a written charge in the Persian language, to the
'nearest Fouzdarí court.' He was further 'invested with
'power to hear and determine, without any reference to the
'Fouzdarí courts, all complaints or prosecutions brought before
'him for petty offences, such as abusive language or calumny,
'inconsiderable assaults or affrays, and to punish the same,
'where proved, by corporal punishment not exceeding fifteen
'rattans, or imprisonment not exceeding the term of fifteen
'days;' but in all cases, affecting either the life or limbs of
'the party accused, or subjecting them to a greater punishment
'than the above specified, the case was to be remitted, as above
'prescribed, to the nearest criminal court. In the case of
'groundless and vexatious complaints, the magistrate was au-
'thorized to inflict a fine, not exceeding 50 or 200 rupees, ac-
'cording to the supposed wealth of the offender,—the distinctions
'being the same, as those since prescribed in Section 8, Regu-
'lation IX., 1793. The Daroga of the Fouzdarí Adawlut was
'declared to be totally independent of the magistrate, as far as
'related to the trial of causes, but subject in every respect to
'the Naib Nazim. Various rules for the guidance of the magis-
'trates and the Fouzdarí Courts were at the same time enacted.
'All complaints, with the orders upon them, were to be recorded
'in the magistrate's office, both in English and Persian—copies
'of which, with the result of each case detailed in a given form,
'were to be sent monthly to the Remembrancer of the criminal
'courts. The magistrate was not to detain in confinement, be-
'yond two days, any person accused of an offence not within
'his competency to try. He was to inspect the jails, which were
'under the care of the Daroga, and to report thereon to the
'Governor General, 'that the necessary representations might
'be made to the Naib Nazim.' A report was to be made to
Government of every landholder committed for trial; and Eu-
ropean British subjects were to be committed under certain

'rules to the Supreme Court. It was declared at the same time, 'that 'all Europeans, not British subjects, were equally answer- 'able with the natives to the authority of the Magistrate within 'his own district, and to the Fouzdarí Court to which they might 'be committed. The darogas were directed to transmit to the 'Naib Nazim copies of their proceedings at large, and to fur- 'nish him with various returns regarding the jail and the 'mal-khana; they were to deliver to the magistrate, for sub- 'mission to the Governor General, monthly statements of the 'cases decided by them, and of the disposal of prisoners com- 'mitted to them for trial. The officers of the Fouzdarí courts 'were to be appointed by the Naib Nazim, and were required 'to hold courts at least three times a week throughout the year. 'Other provisions were adopted, regarding the establishments 'allowed for the various courts, and the manner in which the 'bills for all expenses were to be drawn.

"The power thus vested in the magistrates, to take cognizance 'of petty offences, obviated in some degree the hardship and 'inconvenience, which had before been experienced from the 'necessity of delivering over for trial to the Daroga of the Fouz- 'darí court all parties charged with a breach of the peace, 'however slight, or any other criminal act, however trivial in its 'nature and consequences. But as all crimes of consequence 'were still exclusively cognizable by the Naib Nazim and his 'subordinate officers; as the sentences of the Nizamut Adawlut 'were final, and not notified to the Governor General, until they 'had been carried into execution; as the judges and officers of the 'inferior criminal courts were appointed by the Naib Nazim; and 'as he possessed an almost exclusive controul over those courts 'and their proceedings—many defects in the Mahomedan law, 'and abuses in the administration of it, were left unremedied, 'and placed beyond the controul and ameliorating influence of 'those who were, alone willing to suppress them. The Court 'of Directors had desired, in their primary instructions to Lord 'Cornwallis in 1780, that 'the trial and punishment of offenders 'against the public peace should be left with the established 'officers of the Mahomedan jurisdiction, who were not to be 'interfered with, beyond what the influence of the British Go- 'vernment might effect, through occasional recommendations of 'forbearance to inflict any punishment of a cruel nature. But his 'Lordship found himself compelled very early to bear testimony 'to the inefficacy of such measures, to prevent on the one hand 'the cruel punishments of mutilation, which were frequently 'inflicted by the Mahomedan law, and on the other to restrain 'the spirit of corruption, which so generally prevails in native

'courts, and by which wealthy offenders are generally enabled 'to purchase impunity for the most atrocious crimes. In con- 'formity with this opinion, the Governor General in Council de- 'termined, in December 1790, to introduce an entirely new sys- 'tem, and to take into his own hands the superintendence of the 'administration of criminal justice throughout the provinces."

But before detailing the provisions which introduced this very important change, it seems useful to note the argument, from which he deduced, that Government held a right legally sanctioned to alter the Mahomedan law. It is clearly stated in a minute by Lord Cornwallis, dated December 1st, 1790; and it is worthy of remark that the framers of the celebrated "Fifth Report," sanctioned by the House of Commons in 1812, had adopted his Lordship's opinions, and even the words in which they were expressed. He writes: "With a 'view to ascertain more particularly the nature and causes of 'the defects (in the administration of criminal justice), and to 'collect the necessary information for remedying them, I direct- 'ed some queries to be stated to the magistrates of the several 'districts: from their answers to which, it will appear that the 'evils complained of proceed from two obvious causes; first, 'the gross defects in the Mahomedan law; and secondly, the 'defects in the constitution of the courts established for the 'trial of offenders. A provision against the first of these de- 'fects cannot otherwise be made, than by our correcting such 'parts of the Mahomedan law, as are most evidently contrary 'to natural justice and the good of society. That this Govern- 'ment is competent to such an amendment of that law, as may 'appear thus essentially necessary, cannot, I think, admit of a 'doubt; since being entrusted with the government of the coun- 'try, we must be allowed to exercise the means necessary to 'the object and end of our appointment; besides that we ap- 'pear to possess a sufficient legal recognition of the right in 'question from this—that the alterations made in the establish- 'ed Mahomedan law of the country by the first code of judi- 'cial regulations of 1773, and more particularly that entire 'alteration, and new and very severe provision, therein con- 'tained, for the punishment of dacoits, together with the su- 'perintendence and controul over all the new criminal courts, 'which the said regulations vested in the Company's covenanted 'servants, stand both fully submitted to Parliament in the sixth 'report of the committee of secrecy, already quoted, as a dis- 'cretional act of legislation by the President and Council in 'the year 1773. And yet so far was the Parliament from dis- 'approving thereof, or limiting in any respect the authority of

'our government in India; that with this information before 'it, and having these reports as the ground work of the law 'then passed, the Act of the 13th George III. Chapter 63, 'Section 7, vests the ordering, management, and government 'of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues, in the king-'doms of Bengal Bahar, and Orissa, in the Governor-General 'and Council, for such time, as the territorial acquisitions and 'revenue shall remain in the possession of the said Company, 'in like manner (as the said Act recites), to all intents and 'purposes whatever, as the same now are, or at any time here-'tofore might have been, exercised by the President and Coun-'cil, or Select Committee in the said kingdoms. And, as it was 'then before the legislature, that the President and Council had 'interposed and altered the criminal law of the country, such 'alterations, and all future necessary amendments thereof, ap-'pear, by the above clause, to be legally sanctioned and au-'thorized.

"It is necessary only to add to this, that all subsequent Acts 'of Parliament, which have entrusted to the Government of 'India renewed or increased powers of enacting laws, have in 'no way restricted them in amending the Mahomedan criminal 'law. In the conclusion of the minute quoted above, Lord 'Cornwallis proposed to introduce four modifications of that 'law by a formal enactment; first, that the apparent intention 'of a murderer, and not the manner, or instrument of perpe-'tration, should constitute the rule for determining his pun-'ishment; secondly, that in all cases of murder, the relations 'of the deceased should be debarred from pardoning the offen-'der, and that the law should be left to take its course, with-'out any reference to their wishes, upon all persons convicted 'thereof; thirdly, that other punishments should be substi-'tuted for mutilation; and fourthly, that heinous offenders 'should be admitted to become witnesses against each other, 'in the manner of king's evidence in England. Three out of 'the points, which he thus brought forward, as those most re-'pugnant to the principles, or inadequate to the ends of jus-'tice, were the same as those, which Mr. Hastings had advanced 'in 1773, as reasons for that system of interference with the 'decrees of the Nazim, which he instituted and superintended; 'but as they had never been formally abrogated, the Naib 'Nazim had doubtless considered as of no effect such innova-'tions in practice on the prescribed rules of the Mahommedan 'law.

"It seems unnecessary to follow Lord Cornwallis in the obser-'vations, which he recorded, on the second defect above men

'tioned; viz., the imperfect constitution of the criminal courts, 'because they must be generally obvious to all, who consider 'the facilities to a dishonest tampering with justice, and the 'unavoidable delay between the primary investigation by the 'police magistrate, and the final sentence by the Naib Nazim, 'which such a system necessarily produced. The correct-'ness of his conclusion, that the future controul of so im-'portant a branch of Government ought not to be left to the 'sole discretion of any native, or indeed of any single person 'whatsoever, is sufficiently apparent. As such controul must 'necessarily be exercised by the Government itself, and as it 'is 'essential for the prevention of crimes, not only that offen-'ders should be deprived of the means of eluding the pursuit 'of the officers of justice, but that they should be speedily and 'impartially tried, when apprehended,' it was determined to 'create a new machinery. Judges of circuit were appointed to 'the duties hitherto performed by the Fouzdarí Darogas; and 'the place of the Naib Nazim was supplied by the Governor-'General and Council.

"By the regulations passed on the 3d December 1790, the 'Court of Nizamut Adawlut was again removed from Moorshe-'dabad to Calcutta—the duties of the court being undertaken 'by the Governor-General and the members of the Supreme 'Council, assisted by the local Kazí of Bengal, Bahar and 'Orissa, and two Muftis; and a Register was appointed for the 'conduct of the executive business of the court, the office of 'the Remembrancer being merged therein. The powers of the 'court were declared to be those 'lately vested in the Naib 'Nazim:' and their decisions were in all cases to be regulated 'by the Mahommedan law, except as far as the restrictions 'passed in accordance with Lord Cornwallis's two first propo-'sitions, noted above; but the applicability of the law to the 'circumstances of the case was to be determined by the Kazí-'ul-cuzat and the Muftis.

"Four courts of circuit, superintended respectively by two 'covenanted Civil Servants of the Company, and each having 'a Kazí and Mufti to assist the Judges, and to expound the 'law, as well as an executive officer, called the Register, were at 'the same time established, for the trial of offences not punish-'able by the magistrates; but they were directed to hold two 'general jail deliveries annually, at the stations of the several 'magistrates within their divisions. In cases of acquittal, and 'of punishment less than death or imprisonment for life, in 'which the judges of the court of circuit might approve of 'the futwa of their law officers, they were empowered to pass a

'final sentence; but in cases of death, or perpetual imprison-
'ment, as well as in all cases where the judges might 'see cause
'to disapprove either of the ground of the trial, or the futwa,'
'they were required to transmit their proceedings for the final
'sentence of the Nizamut Adawlut. Rules of practice were
'at the same time enacted for the various functionaries; in
'which all the provisions of the preceding regulation of 1787,
'applicable to the new system, were re-enacted; and further, a
'regular system of investigation was prescribed to the magis-
'trate and the superior courts in all complaints, the whole of
'the proceedings being committed to writing. Murder, rob-
'bery, theft, and house-breaking, were at the same time declared
'to be unbailable offences; and French subjects were placed
'on the same footing as European British subjects.

"The regulation, thus enacted, continued in force, with a few
'alterations and additions, until 1793. But as the whole was
'embodied in the regulations published in that year, and still
'forms a part of the existing code of laws, it is unnecessary to
'detail here the various improvements, which time and experi-
'ence produced.

"In December 1792, the police system was entirely remo-
'delled. It was found, that 'the clause in the engagements of
'the landholders, by which they were bound to keep the peace
'and, in the event of any robbery being committed in their
'respective estates, to produce both the robbers and the pro-
'perty plundered, had become not only nugatory, but, in numer-
'ous instances, had proved the means of multiplying robberies
'and other disorders, from the collusion which subsisted between
'the perpetrators of them, and the police entertained by the
'landholders.' All powers were therefore taken away from the
'landholders; the country was divided into jurisdictions of about
'ten koss square; and a darogah, with an establishment of officers,
'was appointed to each. The regulation, which introduced this
'system, was republished, with some slight modifications, in the
'following year, as part of the permanent code of Bengal,
'Regulation XXII, 1793; and it is therefore needless to advert
'further to its provisions in this place."

This system, embodied in the Regulations enacted in the year 1793, referred to Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa only; but has been extended, with modifications suited to the inhabitants, to the rest of India under the dominion of the East India Company.

In the year 1793 the charter was renewed; and again in 1813; but the Legislative power of the local Government was in no material degree altered. In the year 1797, it was enacted that all regulations, affecting the rights of persons or things

whether of natives, or others, who were amenable to the provincial courts, should be registered and formed into a code: and those already passed were expressly confirmed.

In the year 1833, the character was again renewed for twenty years; and the legislative powers of the Governor General in Council were very considerably increased. He was authorized to make laws for all persons, whether British or Native, foreigners or others; and for all Courts of Justice, whether established by Her Majesty's charters, or otherwise, and for the several jurisdictions thereof; but it was expressly declared, that such legislative should not affect any of the provisions of the acts for the punishment of desertion, or mutiny, in Her Majesty's, or the Company's, armies, the prerogative of the Crown, the authority of the Parliament, or the constitution and rights of the United Kingdom, or of the East India Company.

It was further declared, that the registration of the laws or regulations, made by the Governor General in Council, should be unnecessary; for this was imperative under former charters: but that every regulation or law should be laid before both Houses of Parliament, which should be competent to confirm, alter, modify, or repeal, them, as they should deem fit.

The Court of Directors also, with the concurrence of the Board of Controul, was declared competent to require the Governor General in Council to rescind any law passed by him: and a power was reserved to the British Parliament to enact generally any law, which it deemed proper, for the territories of the Company, and the inhabitants thereof.

This charter is still in force: and having therefore traced up, *ab initio*, the legislative powers of the Governor General in Council to the present time, as well as the alterations introduced by the servants of the Company in the system of administering the Mahomedan law, it is necessary briefly to declare what that law is.

"The elements of this law," says Mr. Beaufort, "are taken 'from the Koran: but there are so very few passages therein, 'which are applicable to ordinary cases, that the administra-'tors of the law are obliged to have recourse to numerous 'commentators, as well as to the *súnnut*, or rules of conduct 'deduced from traditions of the oral precepts, actions and 'decisions of the prophet. The two great sects of Maho-'medans, the Shías and Súnis, frequently differ both in inter-'preting the Koran, and in admitting or rejecting the tradi-'tions; but the authoritative writings of Abú Hunífah, and his 'two disciples, Abu Yusuf and Imam Muhammed, who were 'Súnis, govern all judicial decisions in India. If a difference

'of opinion exists between these authorities, judgment is to 'be given according to the decisions, in which the master and 'one of his disciples agree; or, if both the disciples dissent 'from their master, according to that which appears most con-'sonant to reason, or the practice of modern days, or founded 'on the best authority. In judicial decrees, however, the doc-'trine of Abu Yusuf is considered more sound than that 'of his fellow disciple. When no precedent can be found, the 'Mahommedan judge is directed to abide by the decisions of 'subsequent lawyers; but, if these also fail to afford a direct solu-'tion of any legal question, it is deemed not improper to resort 'to judgment, analogy, and reason. The principles of penal 'justice comprised in the Mahomedam code are classed under 'three heads; viz. 1st, *Kisas*, or retaliation, including *diyut*, or 'the price of blood; 2nd, *Húdúd* or prescribed penalties; '3rd, *Tazír* and *Siyasut*, or discretionary correction and punish-'ment. Under the first head are included offences against the 'person (called *pirayat*), as wounding, homicide, and murder. 'Under the second, are arranged robbery *(surika-i-kulesa)*, 'theft *(surika-i-sughra)*, drinking wine *(shurâb)*, adultery '*(zina)*, and slander *(kuzuf)*. And the third head comprises all 'crimes not expressly falling within the laws of *Kisas* and *Húdúd*, 'as well as those, which, though comprehended within the general 'provision of those laws, are specially excepted from the opera-'tion of them, by some doubt or legal defect *(shúbha)*. The 'offences, which fall under the heads of *Kisas* and *Húdúd*, 'will be noticed hereafter, in their proper places; but the 'principles of *Tazír* and *Siyasut* are of a more general nature; 'and it is more convenient to note here their general pro-'visions.

"*Tazír*, in its primitive sense, means prohibition or restric-'tion, and is legally defined to be an infliction *(akúbut)*, 'undetermined by law, on account of the right of God, as 'well as for the rights of individuals; or, in other words, for 'the ends of public, as well as private, justice; and it is 'declared to be incurred by any offence, whether word or 'deed, not subject to a specific legal penalty.

"*Siyasut*, literally protection, is a word used to express the 'exemplary punishment, extending even to death, which may be 'considered necessary to protect the community from atrocious 'and irreclaimable offenders. These terms include both objects 'proposed to be affected by punishment, correction and disci-'pline; individuals are punished and reformed; others are deter-'red from committing the like offence, and the well being of the 'community is improved.

"In the case of offences against the community, the evidence 'of the prosecutor is admissible, or the offender may be brought 'to trial and punishment without any complaint from the party 'injured; and the judge alone is capable of remitting the pu-'nishment incurred. But, in the case of offences against indivi-'duals, the plaintiff must himself, or by deputy, conduct the 'prosecution, and, though incompetent to bear testimony in 'his own case, is at liberty to forgive the offence. In cases of 'the latter description, absent witnesses may appoint persons to 'give evidence for them; or, in defect of proof, the accused 'party may be put upon his oath. *Tazir*, though allowed as 'a private right, cannot be inflicted without a judicial sentence; 'and, though for the full legal conviction of a Mahomedan, the 'evidence of a witness of any other religious persuasion is not 'strictly admissible; nor of women, if the prosecution be of 'a public nature; yet *Tazir* and *Siyasut* may in all cases be 'inflicted upon strong presumption, whether arising from the 'credible testimony of men or women, of whatever religion, 'or from circumstances which warrant a violent presumption 'of guilt, as well as upon the confession of the accused. And 'it is expressly declared that a conviction for *Tazir* may be 'founded upon the depositions of the prosecutor and one 'credible male witness in public cases, or, in those of a 'private nature, upon the testimony of two men, or one 'man and two women. The punishments, which may be 'awarded upon a conviction for *Tazir*, include private and 'public reprimands, and exposure *(tushir,)* a temporary se-'questration of property, stripes, imprisonment, and even 'capital punishment, according to the rank and situation of the 'offender, or the nature of the offence.

"The general doctrine of discretionary punishment has been 'clearly set forth in the preamble to Regulation LIII. 1803; 'and it will be fit to cite the passage at length. 'The Maho-'medan law vests in the sovereign and his delegates, the power 'of sentencing criminals to suffer discretionary punishment '(under the legal denomination of *Tazir*, *Akûbut* and *Siya-'sut)* in three cases. First, in the case of offences, for which 'no specific penalty of *Hudd* or *Kisas*, has been provided by 'the law, being for the most part offences not of a heinous 'nature, the punishment of which is left discretionary, below 'the measure of the specific penalties for the correction and 'amendment of the offender. Secondly, for crimes within the 'specific provisions of *Hudd* and *Kisas*, when the proof of the 'commission of such crimes may not be such as the law re-'quires for a judgment of the specific penalties, though suffi-

'cient to establish a strong presumption of guilt; or, although 'the proof be such as is required for a sentence of *Hudd* or '*Kisas*, when such sentence is barred by a remission of the 'claim to retaliation, in cases of *Kisas*—or by any of the spe-'cial exceptions and scrupulous distinctions, which (under the 'general denomination of *Shúbha*) are considered, by the pre-'valent authorities of Mahomedan law, to bar a judgment for 'the specific penalties of that law. Thirdly, for heinous 'crimes in a high degree injurious to society, and particu-'larly for repeated offences of this description; which, for 'the ends of public justice (as expressed by the term *Siyasut*) 'may appear to require exemplary punishment beyond the 'prescribed penalties; and with respect to crimes of this 'description, an unlimited discretion, extending to capital 'punishment, is admitted to have been left by the Maho-'medan law to the sovereign authority of every country, 'in which that law prevails, as well as to its judiciary delegate.' 'Such being one of the leading principles of the law, the admi-'nistration of it necessarily became arbitrary and uncertain, 'when committed to inefficient officers. The amount of injury 'suffered doubtless differs considerably in cases which fall 'under the same denomination; and therefore it is impossible 'accurately to define each particular offence, and to appoint a 'specific punishment for every crime. But there are few indivi-'duals, and rarely to be found, to whom so wide a latitude in 'meting out punishment can be entrusted, as is given by the Ma-'homedan law: and still smaller must be the number of those, 'whose minds are able to contract to the pointless intricacies 'and uncertain provisions of that code, and at the same time 'to expand to the noble duties of judge, and the great ends of 'criminal justice. And hence it was observed, 'in the adjudi-'cation of punishments under the discretion thus allowed, that 'the Futwas of the Mahomedan law officers of the criminal 'courts were often governed by a consideration of the degree 'of proof against the party accused, rather than the degree of 'guilt and criminality of the act, established against him; 'and the penalties awarded by them, in such cases, were either 'adjudged on insufficient proof of guilt, or were inadequate to 'the heinousness of the offence of which the prisoner was con-'victed.' The law was amended in these points by the regula-'tion, from which these passages are quoted."— Pages 15, 16, &c.

We will now proceed to consider the system at present in force, for administering the criminal laws.

All charges of adultery, fornication, calumny, abusive lan-

guage, slight trespass, or inconsiderable assault, must be preferred to the magistrate of the district; but, with these exceptions, all other charges may be made, at the option of the aggrieved party, to the darogah of the thanna, within whose jurisdiction the crime is committed. Magistrates are authorized however to refer charges, of the nature specified above, to the Police officers for investigation or report; but judgment can be passed on them only by the magistrates, or their assistants. If, through inadvertence, or misconception of the nature of the crime—and we are all apt to magnify injuries committed against us—charges of the above nature are preferred to the darogah, he is forbidden to investigate them; but, simply endorsing upon the back of the petition, the date of presentation and the ground of rejection, he is directed to return the petition to the plaintiff, and to instruct him to present it to the magistrate.

Although we have stated, that, with the exception of the crimes specified above, all others may be preferred to the Police officers direct, we must be understood as speaking of the *law* only: for one other crime has been specially exempted by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut—the crime of causing, or procuring abortion. We pondered long upon the grounds of this exemption, and came to the conclusion, that it was made, because it frequently arises from the commission of the two first crimes specified by law, and might therefore be considered of the same nature; and yet each crime is, of itself, of so different a complexion, that we at once see the absurdity of the conclusion we had arrived at, and that the person, who might commit the one crime, would be utterly incapable of committing the other.

It would not, we thought, be classed with abusive language and calumny, though we felt little doubt of its being frequently caused by them; and we felt it impossible that such a trespass, or assault, would be construed as light or inconsiderable, so as to bring it within the meaning of the law. After consultation with various eminent members of the Bar, who each declared himself capable of proving it to belong to either of the crimes enumerated above, we determined to consult the work referred to in the Guide. We did so, and, to our surprise, discovered that the Court of Nizamut Adawlut are of opinion, that it partakes of the nature of all, and that, unless death ensue, the offence is not considered by them to be of a heinous nature.*

* Extract from a Circular Order of the Court of Nizamut Adawlut to the several magistrates in the Lower Provinces, dated 31st Dec. 1824, No. 303.

In regard to abortion, or procuring it, the Court do not consider these offences to be of a heinous description, unless death ensue; and, where this is not the case, they are of opinion, that such charges partake of the nature of those specified in Clause 1, Section 13, Regulation 20 of 1817, (viz. adultery, fornication, calumny, abusive language,

The Indian Judges have at various times been accused of a deficiency of legal knowledge; but this construction of the law must save them from the charge of a want of legal ingenuity. The assertion, that the crime, unless accompanied by death, is trivial, is to be regretted. But though the judges presiding in the court in the year 1824 may have deemed it so, we are happy to see that the law awards to it a punishment of 7 years' imprisonment.

So soon as a complaint is preferred to a magistrate against any person subject to his jurisdiction for any bailable crime or misdemeanour, the party is required to make oath to the complaint: or, if satisfactory reason be assigned by the complainant for not attending to make the same, the truth of the charge may be deposed to by some other credible person; and a summons is then issued to the defendant, who is required, with the exception of very trivial cases, to put in bail to appear before the magistrate to answer the charge. This bail, which is to be taken by the officer serving the process, should be merely sufficient to prevent the parties absconding, before the case comes before the magistrate, and must never be excessive. Should a party so summoned abscond, or omit to give bail, he is liable to be apprehended by a warrant. Warrants issued for the apprehension of persons, who may have fled into, or been ordinarily resident in, Calcutta, must, under Act 23 of 1840, be presented to one of the judges of Her Majesty's Court, who will thereupon endorse and direct the same to be executed. After taking the defence, and hearing the evidence adduced on both sides, the magistrate passes sentence according to the nature of the case: but he can in no instance (we are here speaking of misdemeanours only) award a greater punishment than six months' imprisonment and a fine of 200 rupees, commutable to imprisonment for a further period of six months, should the fine not be paid.

Heinous charges may be preferred, at the option of the complainant, either to the darogah, or the magistrate who may at once, on the truth of the charge being sworn to, issue a warrant for the apprehension of the accused. If, in charges preferred to the darogah, that officer shall, after investigation, be of opinion that there is no evidence to convict the accused, he is at liberty to release him on bail, pending the final orders of the magistrate, to whom he is required to transmit the preliminary proceedings held by him. If he on the other hand considers the charge proved, he is required at once to transmit the accused,

slight trespass, or inconsiderable assault), and should not therefore be investigated by the Darogahs of Police, or other Police officers, without the special orders of the Magistrate.

together with the papers of the case, in the custody of a police officer, to the magistrate, who, after conducting the trial to a close, may acquit him, or sentence him to imprisonment with hard labour in irons, for any period not exceeding two years, and one year in lieu of corporal punishment. In cases distinctly taken out of his jurisdiction by any Regulation, or Act, or in which he considers him deserving of a greater measure of punishment than he is capable of awarding, the magistrate may commit the prisoner for trial to the Sessions Judge.

Should a case be sent to the sessions, the witnesses for the prosecution, whose depositions have been taken before the darogah and the magistrate, are again heard vivâ voce, *de novo*, in the presence of the judge and the law officer, or assessors, or a jury; the defence of the prisoner is taken to the charge; and any new evidence, he may wish to have heard, is taken, and the case is determined. Should no specific punishment be declared by any Regulation, the judge is competent to pass any sentence of imprisonment, not exceeding seven years with labour in irons, and two years in lieu of corporal punishment. He may also, in cases of misdemeanour, award a fine of any amount. Should the judge be of opinion that the sentence, which he is competent to award, is inadequate, he is at liberty to transmit the case for an enhanced punishment to the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, which is competent to award any sentence, short of death. Similarly, should any sentence, which the Sessions Judge is obliged to award agreeably to any particular law, be too severe, he is at liberty to transmit the case to the above court for mitigation of punishment.

All criminal trials were formerly held by the judge, aided by a law officer, who was appointed to sit with him for the purpose of expounding the Mahomedan law, which law the Regulations of the Company set aside. Thus, if the Mahomedan law sentence a prisoner to lose two limbs, the judge is directed by Regulation 19 of 1793 to commute it to imprisonment with hard labour for 14 years; if to lose one limb, to seven years. Again, should the Mahomedan law reject the evidence of any person on the ground of his not professing the Mahomedan law, the Regulations require him to state what his opinion would have been, had the person been a Mahomedan, and the judge then passes sentence. A difference of opinion, as to the guilt of the prisoners, rendered the transmission of the record for the final orders of the Nizamut Adawlut indispensable—a measure which retarded justice so much, that, in 1832, a law was passed which enabled the judge to dispense with the aid of the law officer altogether.

By that law a judge may avail himself of the assistance of respectable natives, should they be willing to afford it, in either of the three following ways:—1st, By referring the suit, or any point thereof, to a *punchayet*, who will carry on their enquiries apart from the Court, and report to it the result. 2d, By appointing two or more such persons to be assessors in the Court, with a view to the advantages derivable from their observations, particularly in the examination of witnesses. The opinion of the assessors may be given separately and discussed; and should the judge, or any of the assessors, desire it, their opinions may be recorded in writing in the suit, 3d, By employing them as a jury: they must then attend during the trial and are at liberty to suggest, as it proceeds, such point of enquiry as occur to them, and after consultation will deliver in their verdict.

The mode of selecting the jurors, the number beyond two to be employed, and the manner in which their verdict shall be delivered, are left to the discretion of the judge who presides. But, under all the modes of procedure noted above, the decision is vested exclusively in the judge, who may pass sentence, provided he is specially empowered by any Regulation to punish the prisoner for the crime established against him: otherwise he must refer the case for the final orders of the Nizamut Adawlut.

Persons, not professing the Mahomedan faith, may claim to be exempted from trial according to the Mahomedan law; and when they do so, their trial must be conducted in one of the three ways above pointed out.

Thus we see that trial by jury has been nominally introduced into India. A jury may be appointed, and deliver in its verdict, but its opinion carries no weight with it. With this we do not quarrel; for the natives of India are not sufficiently advanced to have such power entrusted to them. Not a man among themselves would, if he could avoid it, subject himself to the final decision of such a tribunal: yet few would object to be tried by one European judge, unaided by a jury, or a Mahomedan officer.

The prestige of the trial by jury is fast fading away in England; and the late Irish trials have shown that some alteration is indispensably necessary. Twelve men are sworn to give in a true verdict. Eight consider the crime proved, and four dissent: yet these four will be compelled by the dread of imprisoment, or of hunger, or of loss of time, to agree with the eight, and deliver in a verdict in direct opposition to their conscience and their oath—and yet this is called a unanimous verdict! This might be generally avoided by having the jury composed of the same member of jurors as at present, and allowing the verdict of two-thirds to be conclusive. But, as we before observed, the

natives of this country are not sufficiently advanced to be allowed the boon of trial by jury, as in England. and we therefore trust that until they are, it will not be forced upon them.

We learn from the Guide books, that the judge is directed frequently to remind the witnesses, that they are on their oath; and this leads us to observe that no oath, considered binding upon the consciences of Hindus and Mahomedans, is imposed in our Courts.

The Hindus were formerly sworn by the water of the Ganges, and the Mahomedan by the Koran. But these oaths were abolished in 1840, and an affirmation substituted in their stead, while the penalties of perjury remained. The natives of India have long been averse to swearing; and an oath is considered highly derogatory to their dignity and honour. No native of respectability therefore would attend our Courts; and, with the hope of surmounting their objections, the affirmation was substituted. The measure has signally failed. A respectable native is as averse as ever to appear in Court, while the only check upon the lower orders has been abolished. The penalties of perjury are being daily incurred by men, who have in their own opinion committed no crime. To lie is fashionable and no crime; but to have the lie detected is disgraceful, though meriting only in their eyes contempt, not punishment.

The repeated calling of the attention of the witness to the obligation imposed upon him, as enjoined by the Regulation, is highly creditable: but peculiar care should be taken by all judicial officers in the mode of administering an oath. It is too often administered in a careless and irreverent manner, and in the midst of noise and confusion, which must render its obligations but imperfectly understood by the witness receiving it. It is impossible to invest the form with too much solemnity; it is impossible to take too much pains to fix the attention of the witness upon it; so as to leave no loophole for ignorance or perversion. "My firm belief is," says an able writer, "that the 'administration of oaths on useless trifling occasions, and the 'carelessness, with which they are administered, are the prin-'cipal causes of those gross perjuries, which vitiate and dis-'grace our jurisprudence. If God be called upon to bear wit-'ness to matters of no moment; if his holy name be on 'solemn occasions uttered in a loose profane or idle man-'ner—where can be the sacredness, or where is likely to be the 'obligation, of such a binding?" If this be true of Christian England, how much more true of this country, where the oath is not considered binding, and where the people are more weak and ignorant? Happily no fee is required in India on the

taking of an oath, and the levity, with which the fee is demanded (frequently forming part of the oath), as noticed by the writer we have quoted above, is unknown. The substitution of an affirmation, in lieu of an oath, is not, we observe, binding upon any of Her Majesty's Courts of Justice: but the reason of their exception is not stated. A special law however has been passed, declaring affirmations legal in the Courts of the Calcutta Magistrates.

The crimes, punishable by law by Sessions Judges, are thus enumerated by one of the Judges of the Nizamut Adawlut. :—

"In original offences, that is, offences which it is not competent to a Magistrate to punish on conviction, the extent, to which a Sessions Judge can sentence to imprisonment, is seven years in some, fourteen in others.

'In the former class, are affrays attended with homicide, wounding, or severe beating, homicide, not amounting to wilful murder, maiming, or wounding; going forth in a gang for the purpose of committing robbery; embezzlement of public money; perjury; forgery, or subornation thereof; fraudulently issuing and publishing fabricated deeds and papers; using, issuing, selling, or disposing of counterfeit stamp paper; paying or tendering for payment, counterfeit coin, bank-notes, or other security for money, knowing the same to be fabricated or counterfeited; and clipping, filing, drilling, defacing or debasing the coin of Government.

"Now these are heinous offences: and I would not say; that, as a maximum punishment, seven years' imprisonment was excessive. A wise discretion is exercised in apportioning the punishment to the offence, in each case within the limits prescribed.

"A sentence of fourteen years' imprisonment by the Sessions Court is permitted in cases of robbery by open violence, burglary or theft, attended with wounding, or other corporal injury not endangering life, and in some cases wounding with intent to kill, of counterfeiting the coin of the Government, forging stamp paper, or notes, or other public securities, knowingly receiving property obtained in robbery by open violence, or burglary, or theft, attended with aggravating circumstances.

And to every punishment, so mentioned above, should be added a further imprisonment of two years, in lieu of corporal punishment.

The Magistrate, where the district is large, may, if it be necessary, be assisted by a Joint Magistrate, who has the same powers as himself, and also by Assistant and Deputy Magis-

trates. The assistants are competent to award, in cases of theft, one month's imprisonment with labour, and one month in lieu of corporal punishment—and, in cases of misdemeanours, imprisonment for fifteen days, and a fine not exceeding 50 Rupees, commutable to a further period of imprisonment of fifteen days.

Where an assistant may be deemed duly qualified, he may be vested with the power, in cases of theft, of imprisoning individuals for six months, and one month in lieu of corporal punishment; or, in other cases, with six months' imprisonment and a fine of 300 Rupees commutable to a further period of six months, should the fine not be paid, provided the Regulations and the Muhammedan law warrant such punishment.

Deputy Magistrates may be, according to their qualifications, vested with any of the powers ordinarily exercised by a Magistrate. The office of a Deputy Magistrate has been recently established under Act XV. of 1843: and it is yet too early to venture an opinion upon the step. It is beyond all doubt in the right direction, and must eventually succeed; but, owing to some cause or other, it has not as yet been attended with the decided success, so reasonably anticipated by Government.

The Court of Nizamut Adawlut, which is the highest Court in the country, is vested with the general controul of the subordinate courts, and is competent to confirm, modify, or reverse any sentence passed by them. It formerly had the power of enhancing punishment, or of punishing persons acquitted by the courts below: but this power has been taken away from it by Acts, XXXI, of 1841, and XIX, of 1848. It is the *only* Court that has the power of reversing an illegal or unjust sentence, without any appeal being preferred to it. We regret that the same power is not vested in the lower appellate Courts; as their not having it, is often tantamount to the withholding a righteous sentence. Where any illegal or unjust sentence is discovered by them, the case must be reported for the final orders of the Nizamut Adawlut; and, from the delay unavoidable in the transmission of the papers of the case to Calcutta, the sentence of the unfortunate prisoners very frequently expires, before the favourable orders of the Court can possibly arrive.

But we must now consider the law of appeal. Until the year 1831, no specific law, relative to appeals in criminal cases, appears to have existed: but the superior Courts were by law competent to revise the proceedings of the lower Courts, and therefore admitted appeals, whenever they were preferred to them.

In 1831, a law was passed, allowing an appeal in all criminal

trials to the Nizamut Adawlut, but in miscellaneous cases only to the Sessions Judge, whose order on the appeal was final. In 1837, a further alteration was made. An appeal was allowed in every case of every kind from the orders of the Magistrate to the Sessions Judge, saving only in cases relative to orders appointing, suspending, and removing, police and ministerial officers; and a second appeal was in criminal trials allowed to the Nizamut Adawlut.

In 1841, an entirely new law of appeal was promulgated. Act XXXI. of that year allows an appeal from the orders of an Assistant Magistrate, or any other officer acting under a Magistrate, not vested with special powers, to the Magistrate in all cases within the limitation prescribed by Sections 8 and 9, Regulation 9 of 1793; *i e*, in cases of theft, one month's imprisonment with labour, or in cases of misdemeanour, imprisonment not exceeding fifteen days or a fine not exceeding 50 Rs., commutable to imprisonment for fifteen days, provided the appeal is filed within one month. To that extent, the orders of a Magistrate or Joint Magistrate are final: but an appeal is allowed to the Sessions Judge from every sentence or order, exceeding the above limits, passed by any officer exercising magisterial authority, if preferred within one month.

An appeal is allowed to the Nizamut Adawlut from every sentence, or order, passed by a Sessions Judge in criminal trials, provided it be preferred within three months.

Appellate Courts, subordinate to the Nizamut Adawlut, are incompetent to alter any sentence or order of any inferior court, except upon appeal by parties concerned; and neither they, nor the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, have any power to enhance the punishment of any person convicted, or to punish persons acquitted, by the subordinate courts.

The Sessions Judge, though restricted from altering any sentence of a Magistrate, except on appeal, is empowered to call for his proceedings in any case, in order to satisfy himself as to his regularity of proceeding; and, should any irregularity be discovered he is competent to refer the case for correction to the Nizamut Adawlut.

The Nizamut Adawlut is empowered to call for the records of any criminal trials of any subordinate courts, and to pass such order upon them, as may seem fit.

An appeal is allowed to the Sessions Judge from the decision of a Magistrate, in cases of forcible dispossession decided by him under Act IV. of 1840, provided it be preferred within the month: and the decision of the Sessions Judge is final.

Such is the present law of appeal; but as it has been found

to encourage litigiousness, and to occupy the time of the appellate courts unnecessarily, a further change is in contemplation. The problem of appeal, it cannot be denied, is a difficult one to solve, and has for some time occupied the attention of Government, in obedience to the express directions of the Court of Directors, who, in a despatch, dated the 22nd January 1845, to the Government of Bengal, thus write:—

"The lengthened terms of imprisonment are still such as 'cannot in our judgment be necessary for the purpose of example, and are objectionable in every other view of the subject. We refer you to the observations to the same effect 'conveyed to you in our dispatch of the 28th September, '1842, No. 12.

"We observe that, in no fewer than 460 cases, the sentences 'of Commissioners and Sessions Judges have been called up 'for review by the Nizamut Adawlut; and those of Magistrates 'and inferior officers, in no fewer than 4,318 cases, by Sessions 'Judges. This forms a large proportion of criminal cases to 'be tried a second time. You are aware of our opinion, that, 'while it is necessary that a vigilant superintendence should 'be exercised over subordinate tribunals, with the view of preventing them from falling into error, and of preserving uniformity and regularity of proceeding, an absolute right of 'appeal cannot be allowed to convicts without its leading to 'unavoidable abuse. We trust, that, under the instructions 'with which we have furnished you, the law, in this respect, 'may undergo some useful modification."

On the receipt of this despatch, Lord Hardinge, considering the opportunity a favourable one for the full consideration of the question, "called upon the Court of Nizamut Adawlut 'to aid him, and lay before him such a plan, as might enable him 'to abrogate the right to appeal so indiscriminately allowed; 'and directed it to call upon the Sessions Judges and Magistrates to consider the subject with attention, and to report 'upon it at an early date.

"On this subject, the Secretary to the Government of "Bengal observed in a letter to the Officiating Register of the "Sudder Court, dated 19th February, 1845.—

"As a general rule, His Excellency would be disposed to 'abrogate all appeals on matters of evidence and fact, of which 'in general the Court of first instance, having the parties before it, is commonly better able to judge, than any Court of 'appeal, which sees only the record of the case; leaving a full 'liberty of appeal on questions of law. These questions would 'be required to be fully set forth in the application for appeal;

'and, if such applications were accompanied, as they ought to 'be in each case, by a copy of the order appealed against, the 'appeal might ordinarily admit of immediate decision by the 'appellate court, without calling for the record.

"His Excellency would still leave to every superior court 'the power of calling for, and inspecting, and reporting on 'the proceedings of its subordinates, without, however, alter-'ing the decisions passed by the latter. Indeed His Ex-'cellency would insist upon this mode of superintendence, and 'enforce it with strictness, as being in his judgment superior '(for its object) to the present system of appeal.....The 'manner, in which the time of the Courts is now occupied by 'appeals, is notorious. It is illustrated very distinctly by the 'Court's last return of the administration of criminal justice, 'for 1843. In that return it will be found, that, in the Sudder 'Court itself, the number of criminal cases before it on appeal 'was only 47 short of being equal to the number of regular 'trials referred to the court under the ordinary regulations— 'the numbers being,—

"Of regular trials 278
"Of appeals ..... 231.

'The number of regular trials, held by the Sessions Judges, 'is not given in the return; but the number of persons tried 'was 4,270. Supposing an average of two persons tried in each 'case, the number of cases tried would be 2,135. While the 'number of appeal cases, for hearing before the same func-'tionaries, was 4,924, or more than double the number of ordi-'nary trials.

"The number of appeals tried by Magistrates is not given: 'but, if it bore any thing like the above proportion to the 'trials of first instance, the number must be enormous.

"There would appear then, in the present circumstances of 'the country, to be but a choice between two methods of ad-'ministration. The one is that at present pursued, of taking '*great pains in the selection* of functionaries (!), giving them ju-'risdiction over immense tracts of country and vast numbers of 'people, paying them highly, and scarcely trusting them at all, 'without a constant system of appeal.

"The other is that of an equally careful selection, and equal-'ly adequate remuneration, of functionaries: but their num-'bers greater, the extent of their local jurisdiction smaller, and 'a confidence reposed in them, equal to the importance of their 'positions, and accommodated to the habits and manners of the 'people over whom they are placed; while, at the same time,

'such a general supervision is established, as cannot fail to 'bring to light any abuse of the confidence bestowed."

In obedience to these instructions, a Circular was issued to the various Sessions Judges and Magistrates, calling upon them for their opinions: and we had hoped to find them recorded in the "Correspondence on the abolition and modification of Criminal Appeals;" but we have been disappointed.

The letter of the Register to the Court simply records the opinions of the Sudder Judges, which we shall presently notice, and states that "the replies of the Magistrates and Sessions Judges are herewith submitted."

Replies to the Circular letter of the Sudder Courts were received from twenty-seven Judges, and fifty-four Magistrates Commissioners and Political Agents, making a total of eighty-one: but of these only twenty-three have been printed, while no notice whatever has been taken of the remainder.

The principle of "selection" has not been declared; nor have we, from perusing the replies, been able to discover it. No analysis even of the opinions of these twenty-three officers has been given; and we have accordingly been obliged to make one.

Of the twenty-three officers, whose minutes have been printed:—

8 are in favour of the system of appeal at present in vogue.
4 would confine appeals to points of law.
2 would continue the present system, as far as regards Magistrates, but abrogate all appeal from the decision of Sessions Judges.
1 would confine it to points of law, and cases of manifest deficiency, or total absence, of proof.
1 is for the total abolition of appeal in every case.
1 would confine it to points of law, provided the qualifications of the Magistrates are first raised.
1 would greatly reduce the power of appeal, but specifies no limits.
1 would continue the present system with regard to Magistrates, but continue appeal to points of law for Sessions Judge.
1 would restrict appeals to heinous offences.
1 would allow them upon points of evidence and facts, to sentences passed in excess of six months' imprisonment or 200 rupees, or three months' imprisonment with 100 rupees fine, and to all questions of law without reference to the period of imprisonment or amount of fine.
1 would continue the present system, but legalize fines for vexations, or litigious appeals.
1 omitted to give any opinion at all.

Five have recorded their opinion against appeals in summary cases, under Act IV. of 1840 for dispossession; but the others have overlooked the law altogether.

After receiving and considering these replies, the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, in their letter to the Secretary of the Government of Bengal, dated the 8th October 1847, observe:—

"The chief modification of the law of appeal, which is proposed, is, that the liberty of appeal, of right, should be taken away. Further, cases under Act IV. of 1840, and others, in which the decisions are open to be contested in civil suits, should not be appealable, except as to the relevancy of the law to the particular matter at issue. In cases too, where the order of the Law or Court is conclusive by law, it should nevertheless be legal, to be respected by the superior Court. On this account, the power formerly vested in the Nizamut Adawlut, by Section 24 Regulation 9 of 1807, should be restored to it, both as regards criminal trials and miscellaneous proceedings.

"The Court would maintain the system of appeal, modified as above; because, even if comparatively few of the convictions of the lower Courts be reversed, the necessity is still shewn of allowing an appeal to insure a fair administration of justice. This will not be gained by allowing them only on points of law, for there are few such in connection with criminal trials. Failure of justice principally arises from conviction on insufficient evidence, or excessive punishment upon right conviction, rescinded by Section 8, Regulation 53 of 1803."

The plan then, recommended by the highest Court in the country for the adoption of the Government, is simply, to take away the liberty of *right* of appeal in criminal cases, and to abrogate appeal in summary cases under Act IV. of 1840, except as to the relevancy of the law to the particular matter at issue.

No appeal however, we think, should be admitted from decisions passed by Magistrates in summary suits for dispossession under Act IV. of 1840; because a decision is required in them with the simple object of suppressing affrays; and this object would be better attained by a Magistrate, upholding and carrying into effect his own decision—a decision which he is morally convinced is right—than in giving effect to a decision of a Sessions Judge, which is at variance with his own, and which, if he is a man with any self-reliance, he must necessarily consider wrong. It has not unfrequently happened, that the award of the Magistrate has been carried into effect, and the evil pas-

sions of the litigants allayed; but, when the order has been reversed on appeal, and the execution of the order of the appellate Court has led to the very thing, it was intended to prevent, viz. an affray. It is competent to an appellate Court, on a motion to that effect being made, to desire the Magistrate to delay the execution of his own order; and in some courts the injunction is issued as a matter of course on the appeal being filed. It is desirable that it should be issued in every instance.

In one class of criminal cases, where an appeal is disallowed, we are of opinion that it should be granted; and it might be granted too with such a proviso, as would not interfere with the harsh yet benevolent intentions of the Act. We allude to the cases of corporal punishment for simple theft under Act III. of 1844—an Act which appears to have escaped the notice of all the criminal authorities whose minutes we have analysed. A Magistrate is competent in cases of theft of property not exceeding fifty rupees, to award thirty stripes of a rattan; but when stripes are given, no other punishment can be awarded. Boys, whose age does not exceed eighteen years, are required to be punished, *rather in the way of school discipline*, than of ordinary criminal justice; and it is incumbent on Magistrates, in such cases, to award them a punishment not exceeding ten stripes of a light rattan.

Corporal punishment was abolished by Lord William Bentinck in the year 1834, and it is much to be regretted that it has been found necessary to recur to it. The fault rests with the Government. The preamble to the Act declares it expedient, until adequate improvements in prison discipline can be effected. The infliction of punishment with a rattan, if vigorously applied to the back, is most severe, and leaves indelible marks; and it is usual for Police officers to examine the back of an accused person, to ascertain whether he has ever been flogged, or, as they expressly say, whether he is a *dághí*, or marked, man; so that we have no hesitation in declaring, that this Act ought to have been included among those enumerated for rescision in the Draft of an Act lately published, expressly prohibiting the application of indelible marks to any convict upon any part of the person. Boys should be whipped, as in England, privately, and with a light whip or rod, which, though they may leave weals, will not leave marks to be carried to the grave. They should also be struck, not on the back exactly, but on that part of the person, which is visited with such punishment at school.

As the object of this Act is to prevent the incarceration of offenders, of whom there is a hope of reformation, among the usually hardened inmates of a jail, the Act has given no power of appeal: and many are the innocent persons, we doubt

not, who, in this land of perjury, are at this moment bearing about on their persons the marks of disgrace. Magistrates are alone competent to award this punishment; and they are, as has been frequently pointed out in former articles in this *Review*, very young and inexperienced, and often times, from ignorance of the habits and castes of the natives, incapable of judging, when the punishment should be with propriety inflicted. The object of the Act would in no ways be defeated, if it were made incumbent upon a Magistrate to send the papers of the case for the confirmation of his order by the Sessions Judge. No delay need occur: the courts are all close at hand; and lengthened proceedings on the part of the Magistrate and Judge would be unnecessary. Were the Magistrate simply to write on the record with his own hand, "Corporal punishment considered proper," and then transmit the case to the Judge, who should simply write "Confirmed," or "Disallowed," the object would be obtained. The rubukari, containing the reasons for the judgment, might be drawn up subsequently. If the order be confirmed, corporal punishment should be instantly inflicted; if otherwise, the prisoner should be remanded into custody, till the rubukari should arrive from the Judge.

Before we dismiss this subject, we must revert to a sentence in the letter of the Secretary to Government, as it contains an error, which must not be overlooked. In speaking of the methods of administration, adapted to the present circumstances of the country, Mr. Halliday writes of the one *at present pursued*, "that of taking great pains in the selection of functionaries."

Now we have always supposed, that this plan had yet to be tried. We should be glad to learn where it has been pursued in any single instance. That there are several able, most able Magistrates in the country, we are most willing to allow; but we most emphatically deny, that they were *selected* for their appointments. They were put into them at random, and have become good officers by experience. Had they been *selected*, the inefficiency and boyishness of the magistracy would not have been so constantly pointed out. Had they been *selected*, there would have been no necessity for extra Sessions Judges, and no reason for recommending the appointment of Deputy Magistrates. Ask themselves as a body, if there is one among them, who considers himself to have been *selected*. Ask the able among them, even when, after long drudgery and "hope deferred," they have obtained a magistracy, if they do not consider themselves to have been cruelly neglected. Ask the ablest officiating Magistrates, who have year after year obtained the approbation of their immediate superior officers, what answer they obtain to their ap-

plications for confirmation. They will tell you, if old, that they are informed that there are still seniors to be provided for—if young, that they are inexperienced, and unreasonable—aye, unreasonable in asking for an office, the duties of which they have long performed zealously and creditably, but the emoluments of which have been carefully withheld from them. Such a word, as *selection*, has not been in use in the Bengal Secretariat Office since the days of Mr. Mangles. The "merit-fostering system" though subjected to ridicule, and open to objections, held out hope, and awakened a spirit of zeal and emulation in the Civil Service, which it has been difficult to quench. In his days, the man, who performed his duty, felt sure of his reward. It might be delayed, but it was sure; and ardour was never damped by the knowledge, that idle seniority or imbecility must be first provided for.

But what, it may be asked, became of the idle and the inefficient in Mr. Mangles's time? We answer, they disappeared. Cured as by a miracle, they, who believed themselves ill, or incapacitated by infirmity, revived. They became clothed again with energy, and the thirst of emulation was excited among them.

The Civil Service is strictly a seniority service: and very strictly has the rule of late, with a few to-be-railed-at exceptions, been observed. Without any exertion, without any merit, and now and then with a slightly damaged reputation, men are carried upwards with the stream, as far as the office of Sessions Judge:—and there they are laid upon the shelf.

It is no wonder, that Mr Hawkins, in his able minute upon the appeal law, has recorded against the Sessions Judges the following judgment: the only wonder is, that under the circumstances it should be as favourable as it is:—

"With regard to the Sessions Courts, daily experience 'points out the propriety of maintaining the exercise of an 'appellate jurisdiction over their proceedings by such a Court 'as the Nizamut Adawlut. The law, administered throughout 'the entire jurisdiction of the Court, in the Regulation pro-'vinces, is one; but the administration is in the hands of many; 'and, as may naturally be supposed, multiform sentences for 'the same offences vary as much as they well can do; and to 'insure any thing, like an uniformity of administration, there 'must be a controlling power, vested with authority to correct 'and amend the proceedings of the Sessions Courts. The 'criminal law was unquestionably administered with greater 'uniformity under the Circuit Courts, than it now is by the 'Sessions Courts. One Judge held the circuit in a number 'of districts, and the sentences in criminal trials for like and

'similar offences, in the entire extent of his jurisdiction, were 'much of the same character; and mutual intercourse, and 'constant interchange of communication, led to similarity of 'procedure and administration, on the part generally of the 'Judges of a Provincial Court of Circuit. Now it is quite the 'reverse. One Judge takes one view of a class of crimes; 'another takes altogether a different view; and hence the ne-'cessity of a superior power to bring them, as near as possible, 'to something like uniformity. Besides which, all our Judges 'are not men of the same stamp. One may safely be trusted 'with extensive powers; while another requires a more vigilant 'supervision. For the most part they are men, whose judgment 'can be depended upon; but there are exceptions, and there 'ever will be exceptions:—and exceptions must be considered, 'in cases involving the liberty of a man for all periods extend-'ing to fourteen years. The experiment, now proposed, of 'abrogating all appeals has not been tried for a period of half a 'century and upwards, during which our system of criminal ad-'ministration has been in force; and I do not think it can be 'safely tried now. The Circuit Judges were men of greater ex-'perience than many of our present Judges; they had the be-'nefit of mutual consultation. Our present Judges act singly 'and alone. The Circuit Judges sat with a Law Officer, and a 'difference of opinion involved the necessity of a reference to 'the Nizamut Adawlut. Our present Judges often sit with a 'Jury, and are competent to over-rule the finding of a Jury, and 'to proceed at once to sentence. The Circuit Judges were for 'the most part at a distance from the scene in which the trials 'were to be held, and came to the bench, unprejudiced by pre-'vious information. It is to be hoped that the last clause 'describes the state of things now; but it cannot be denied 'that local information, and local association, may occasionally 'involve the possibility of a different result. The abrogation 'of appeals was never thought of during the existence of the 'Provincial Courts. I do not think the experiment should be 'made now."

We will now endeavour to give an account of the extent of crime in the Lower Provinces, and for this purpose will refer to *Mr. Speede's Criminal Statistics of Bengal.* From the difficulties attending his researches, these cannot be deemed incontrovertibly correct, but are yet sufficiently so for our purpose.

The area of the Lower Provinces may be taken to be about 154,453 square miles, with a population of 37,318,685, which is about 238-54 inhabitants to a square mile. During the years

1823-24-25-26, the number of criminal cases brought to trial was 170,331, in which 392,900 persons were concerned, of whom 146,975 were convicted and punished.

All these persons were not imprisoned; but at least one-third of them were released on the payment of a fine.

In the years 1833-34-35-36, the total number of criminal trials is not mentioned; but the number of persons concerned were 166,673, of whom 128,135 were convicted and punished.

This statement shews a great improvement, for whereas in the first period the proportion of offenders to the population was *one* * in 354, in the latter, it is *one* in 560.

Of the number of persons who may have been released on appeal as innocent, or convicted on insufficient evidence, we have no information: but that they were probably numerous, we may infer from Mr. Hawkins, who tells us, that, from the year 1840 to the middle of 1845, the number of cases decided by the Magistrate and his assistants, exclusive of those committed for trial to the Sessions, was 197,016, of which 28,611 or about one-seventh, were appealed. It is to be regretted that the number of appellants, and the number acquitted on appeal, is not given: but we may form a guess. We will take the average of persons in each appeal to be three: this will give us 85,833 appellants, of whom half, it may be presumed, were released. The proportion of offenders therefore to the population is more favourable than that given by Mr. Speede.

The criminal statements for the year 1847, prepared by the Register to the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, have, while we are writing, been sent to us, and enable to give an analysis of crime for the last year, but not so complete a one as we could wish. The statements are confused, and we are unable to follow up the cases sent by the Magistrates to the Sessions Court, and by the Sessions Court to the Nizamut Adawlut, so as to tell precisely the number of persons convicted of crimes committed in any one year.

In the year 1847, 92,313 persons were apprehended by the Police; 2,257 were under trial at the beginning of the year, and 355 were transferred. Of these, 54,319 were convicted, 33,786 acquitted by the Magistrates, and 3,558 committed to the Sessions. Of the fate of those committed, we cannot speak; as the tabular statement, in which they are entered, is swollen by prisoners received back from the Nizamut Adawlut, and prisoners transferred.

It gives a total of 4,256 persons under trial before the Sessions Court. Of these, 1,764 were convicted, the large number of

* The population in the latter period is increased to 38,817,874.

1,300 acquitted, and 504 referred to the Nizamut Adawlut. The commitments of 54 persons were cancelled, 20 died, 20 were transferred (whither?), and 413 remained under trial.

To the number referred for trial to the Nizamut Adawlut, must be added 20 pending on the first day of the year, which gives a total of 480 persons. Of these 331 were convicted, and 146 acquitted, leaving three under trial at the end of the year.

The proportion of acquittals to convictions is very great, being 35,227 acquitted after trial, to 56,414 convicted.

Of the convicted, however, many were released on appeal, as we proceed to show; but the exact number of persons we cannot make out, as the number of cases appealed is alone given, and not the number of persons interested in them.

From them we gather, that, of 4,089 appeals brought to trial before the Sessions Court, 371 were rejected as irregular, the orders of 2,027 were confirmed, 1,406 were reversed, leaving 285 pending at the end of the year. To these must be added 63 orders of the Sessions Judges reversed by the Nizamut Adawlut. Allowing 3 persons to each appeal, we must deduct 4,407 persons acquitted on appeal from the numbers entered in the body of the statement as convicted, and add them to the acquittals; and the former will be then 39,634, and the latter 52,007.

The statement is valuable, but would be more so, if arranged in a somewhat more methodical manner. The result of charges pending at the beginning of the year should be distinguished from those preferred during it; and explanations might be given as to where the persons, entered as 'transferred' arrive from, or are sent to. When the commitments are quashed too, we should be told whether the prisoners were acquitted or punished by the Courts below, and a note might be given, shewing the result of trials left pending at the close of the year. This could not be difficult; as the Report before us, for 1847, was not published till October 1848, and the result therefore of the trials must have been known.

A comparative statement of the crimes committed in Bengal, with those committed in England and France, has been attempted by Mr. Speede, and we give it below; but it is by no means conclusive. We learn (page 78) that the data, from which the table for France is framed, are for the year 1826, and that the amount of population is taken from W. Porter's tables for the year 1820; while the table of crime is framed from the "Compte general de'l administration de la justice criminelle."

The table for England and Wales is the average of the four years 1823, 1824, 1825 and 1826; and that for Ireland is for the year 1826 only:—

Places.	Extent.			Persons charged.	Convictions.			Proportion to the Population.				Proportion of convictions to charges, one in
	Square Miles.	Population.	Population per square miles.		Crimes.	Offences.	Total.	Offenders charged, one in	Convicted.			
									For crimes, one in	For offences, one in	Total, one in	
Bengal.....	1,54,453	36,918,765	239.03	98,075	9,687	27,087	36,769	386	3,811	1,363	1,004	0.375
England & Wales.	57,066	11,978,875	209.91	14,140	9,523	179	9,702	845	1,259	66,921	1,234	0.686
Ireland..... ...	30,000	6,801,827	226.72	14,795	...	...	9,368	460	...	...	726	0.640
France.....	2,05,000	29,236,000	143.10	1,66,728	4,307	5,096	9,403	175	6,788	5,737	3,108	0.056

We will let Mr. Speede afford his own comments; for we are glad to be able to shew, even approximately, that the criminal administration of justice in Bengal under the Hon'ble East India Company is not very inferior to that of other countries, in Europe.

"Although taken on authority, which is generally considered 'good, the extent of square miles in France may be considered 'rather in excess; although in all other respects this statement 'may be looked on as correct. An examination of its details 'shews rather favourably for the Police of Bengal, notwithstanding the large proportion of offenders apprehended, as compared with the population—being nearly 225 per cent. greater 'than in England and Wales, and 122 per cent. above that in 'Ireland, whilst with France the comparison appears as 49 per 'cent. on the other side. This latter is so very disproportionate, alike to the rates of population, and to the subsequent 'convictions, that there is little reason to doubt, that the report 'is encumbered with every petty appearance at the Police, even 'if only for examination of passports, or administration of oaths 'of forms; and it can hardly therefore be assumed as any help 'to our object. In comparing Bengal also with England and 'Wales, or even with Ireland, consideration must be given to 'the greater degree of education known to exist in these two 'countries; and this is rendered the more striking by contrasting the one of these with the other, shewing so marked 'an evidence in favour of England and Wales, wherein education has, it is notorious, so greatly the superiority; this is the 'more worthy of remark, as it goes far to prove the fallacy of 'the assertions made by the opponents of education among the 'natives. It has to be borne in mind also, in considering the 'contrast shewn in this table, that personal liberty is much 'more secure, and the chance of false or extortionate arrests 'vastly less in Great Britain, where malicious complaints 'are less frequent, and less liable to be carried out to the 'extent of an arrest than in this country. Yet considering 'all these collateral circumstances, we cannot look on the 'appearance of this part of the Police operations in Bengal, as exhibiting so unfavorable an aspect as we have 'been generally led to expect. At the same time it must be 'admitted that it is on such comparisons alone that any judgment can be formed of the good or ill condition of the Police 'of any country and of its operations.

"In comparing the convictions of those who are arrested for 'crimes in Bengal, the advantage is evidently apparent over 'those in England and Wales. At the same time, however, the 'proportion proved in the courts in the latter exceeding those 'of the former, viz. about thirty-three per cent., we may fairly

'assume, that the executive duties of the Police are better and 'more effectually performed; since it is evident, that fewer false, 'or doubtful, seizures must occur, and that the evidence has been 'more carefully selected, and more surely obtained. We have 'however generally been led to suppose that the proportion 'of crime was greatest here; but this would not appear by 'these tables to be the case, notwithstanding the greater amount 'of the population, being about fifteen per cent., without taking 'into account the large tracts of jungle: and, were it not that, 'in India, conviction is more difficult of attainment, from the 'corruption of the courts, and the chances of escape thereby 'being increased, it would seem that Bengal was less prolific 'of crime than Great Britain. In France it would appear to 'be yet more reduced; and we have good reason to believe this 'to be the case; as in addition to the known superiority of the 'Police, in activity—the new districts are less rife in crime 'than either our own, or this country; and their inhabitants 'are a simple and inoffensive race.

'It is unnecessary to refer more at length in regard to 'offences, except to remark the very small proportion they bear 'in England and Wales to the extent and density of popula- 'tion. It is preferred therefore to pass on to the general state 'of convictions of all sorts for both crimes and offences. In 'ration of these proportionate convictions, Bengal stands third 'in the countries selected—France being the first, and shewing 'one conviction to 3,108 inhabitants, and Ireland resting the 'lowest in morality, or one in 725—Bengal being (as shewn) as 'one in 1,004; a ration that under all circumstances, may be 'considered tolerably favourable. The proportion of convictions 'to the charges made, or offenders, supports what has been 'already remarked respecting the greater activity in the exe- 'cutive apartments of the Police, and the certainty of evidence. 'It is remarkable that, generally speaking, less than half the 'offenders are convicted: notwithstanding the alleged exertions 'on the part of the Police in Bengal the convictions are little 'more than one-third. In England, Wales, and Ireland, they 'stand as two-thirds; but in France they do not amount to 'even a twentieth." pp. 80, 81.

And what, it may be asked, is the number of Magistrates and Police officers employed to maintain the peace, and prevent and detect crime among the thirty-seven and a half millions of inhabitants of Bengal? and what is the cost of their maintenance to the Company?

The lower provinces of Bengal are disposed into thirty-two Zillahs, under the jurisdiction of one Superintendent of Police. Twenty-four of these have each a Magistrate; and eight, a Joint Magistrate, subject to the immediate controul of the Sessions

Judge, who has however no power over the Police. The number of Assistant and Deputy Magistrates varies according to the exigency of the districts: of these there are at present twenty-four.

These thirty-two districts are subdivided into 445 Thannahs, or Police stations, presided over by a Daroga, having under him a Mohurrir, Jemadar, and several Burkundázes, averaging about ten to a Thannah: and numerous Choukídars, or village watchmen; who average 264 to each Thannah, all of whose duty it is to maintain the peace, to detect and prevent crime, and to perform the other ordinary duties of a Police: and did they but perform their duty, there can be but little doubt that the number is amply sufficient.

Their general inefficiency and corruptness has been so often set forth in these pages that it will suffice merely to re-state the fact.

The annexed Table, prepared from Mr. Speede's work, will show the estimated area of each particular district, the population, and the numbers of Police employed; and will be more satisfactory to most readers than giving the whole in round numbers.

District.	Area. Sq. Miles.	Population.	Darogas.	Mohurirs.	Jemadars.	Burkundázes.	Choukídars.	Puharídars.	Total number of Police.
Patna	1,960	845,790	22	21	18	472	3,558	26	4,117
Behar	1,196	807,924	9	9	14	183	6 425	38	6,678
Shahabad	3,956	961 924	11	11	15	168	4,873	..	5.078
Sarun	2,520	923,872	11	12	11	112	4,026	..	4.172
Chumparun	2.515	408,560	8	8	8	80	2,772	..	2,876
Púrneah	10,800	1,602,962	14	16	24	275	9,665	163	10,177
Bhagulpore	9,600	2,500,900	13	19	26	243	3,299	46	3 646
Monghyr	4,166	866,520	9	9	11	128	3,130	25	3.312
Tirhút	10,000	1,510,427	16	16	24	255	8,649	..	8.9 0
Dinagepore	4,136	2,293,200	17	17	18	182	7,470	..	7,704
Malda	3,500	431,715	8	8	8	95	2,192	..	2,311
Rungpore	6,570	1,214,275	20	21	26	312	7,594	..	7,973
Rajshehai	4,364	987,678	10	10	14	154	4,255	..	4.443
Bugúrah	3,963	321,000	9	9	9	125	3,294	134	3.570
Pubna	3,324	598,573	9	9	10	133	3,255	..	3,416
Múrshedabad	4,235	969,447	36	37	60	724	3.598	..	4.455
Bírbhúm	3,850	1,580,665	18	18	19	257	13,881	..	14.193
Mymensing	5,025	1,634,183	13	15	20	172	5,787	..	6,027
Dacca	2,400	542,540	20	22	22	247	2,746	..	3,057
Furídpore	4 500	556,949	11	14	12	150	2,667	..	2.854
Sylhet	5,550	500,000	15	16	18	200	3.146	..	3,395
Backergunge	4,750	737,765	13	20	13	183	2,799	..	3,028
Tipperah	4,387	806,950	11	12	12	120	2,842	18	3.015
Noacolly	3,009	433,094	9	10	10	102	1,761	..	1.898
Húghly	2,509	1,508,843	18	19	36	367	9,559	475	10,474
Burdwan	3,776	334,692	10	12	14	148	3,177	47	5.408
Bankorah	2,900	145,000	12	13	15	149	5,394	61	5,643
24-Pergunnahs	2,296	722,814	16	18	54	431	3,358	..	3.877
Baraset	3,588	336,743	6	6	11	127	2,001	57	2,208
Jessore	5,940	893,038	12	12	13	148	4,042	..	4,227
Nuddea	5,400	836,900	16	15	19	201	3,758	..	4,009
Midnapore	6,782	1,663,228	23	22	24	255	4,640	667	5,631
			445	474	608	6,918	154,613	1,747	164,832

The utter impossibility that one man, however able, can be competent to superintend 164,835 policemen, besides fifty magistrates and their assistants, is, we should think, sufficiently glaring, and on the occurrence of a vacancy we hope some change will take place. We would have two (four would be better), upon the same salaries as a Sessions Judge, with sufficiently liberal travelling allowances; and they should never be stationary. A reduction, however, in the salary of the Superintendent of Police is, we fear, all that is contemplated: but that, we need scarcely remark, will by no means secure greater efficiency in the system of controul.

The officers appointed to control these, who are all (with the exception of the Sessions Judges, thief-catchers) have been given above: and we will therefore briefly show the cost to the Company of the whole.

24	Magistrates, at 900 Rupees each per month...	259,200
16	Assistant Magistrates, at 400 Rupees each...	76,800
445	Darogahs, at 70 Rupees each	373,800
474	Mohurírs at 7-8 ditto	42,660
608	Jemadars, at 8 ditto.....	58,368
1747	Puharídars, at 4 ditto	83,856
6918	Burkundázes, at 4 ditto	332,064
154,613	Choukídars, at 3 ditto	5,566,068
	River Police, Boats, &c.	39,591

NOTE.—In this table the salaries of the Superintendent of Police, and the Deputy Magistrates, as well as the establishments of the Superintendents and of the 24 Magistrates, are omitted.

Assuming then the population of Bengal at thirty-seven millions and a half, we find that there are one hundred and sixty-four thousand, eight hundred and five police officers distributed through Bengal, which gives us an average of 1 policeman to 800 inhabitants. London is controlled by a police force of 1 to every 336 individuals; and the country by 1 to 1,769, or 1 man to every 4,403 square acres. Ireland is not a fit country for comparison; for the people are controlled there by the army, and not by the police: but we may observe that a force is maintained of 8,263 men, which gives an average of 1 to 945 inhabitants.

What strikes one with surprise is the difference of cost. A policeman in England costs the government £55-16*s.* annually; while one in Bengal costs only £4-16*s.*; or, if a village

watchman, £3-12*s*. There is however as much difference in their respective qualifications. The English policeman is as efficient, as the Bengali is inefficient.

We will now briefly consider the various crimes, and the laws in force for their suppression.

The crimes, which may be regarded as peculiar to India, and unknown in England, are those of Thuggi, Satí, Slavery, and Dharna, and to them may be added Dacoity.

Dacoity or robbery by open violence, cannot be said to be unknown in England: but there are no *castes*,* who are robbers by profession, and whose children are taught to regard robbery as a lawful means of livelihood. To constitute a dacoity, it is necessary, that the person, or persons, committing it, shall go forth armed with some offensive weapon, or in a gang of not less than three persons, armed, or unarmed, and attack some house, or building, in which there may be persons residing, or goods stored, at the time of attack.

With the view of suppressing dacoity, various laws have, from time to time, been passed, of greater or less severity, but with doubtful success. At one time a party charged with dacoity, and absconding, was proclaimed; and, on being apprehended, was liable to be tried for contumacy, should the evidence against him, on the charge of dacoity, be insufficient for his conviction. That law has been rescinded, as its severity caused it to be a dead letter: and, under the provisions of Act XXIV. of 1843, on proof of belonging to, or even of having belonged to, a gang of professional dacoits, a prisoner may be sentenced to imprisonment or transportation for life. This crime is ordinarily punished by imprisonment, with hard labour, for seven years.

Thuggí is the crime of murder committed by professional robbers, who strangle their victims, usually with a handkerchief, and offer them up as an offering to Kalí. On the discovery of organized bands of these murderers, who, by some masonic sign, known only to the initiated, were recognized by one another from one end of India to the other, the Government of Bengal instituted the most energetic measures for their apprehension. Colonel Sleeman, one of the ablest officers in the Company's Service, was placed at the head of the department for the suppression of Thuggí, and, with the aid of special Joint Magistrates, and the ordinary Police, has almost exterminated them. Numbers have paid the penalty of their crimes with their lives, while hundreds are still imprisoned for

* We fear that, even in England, such *castes* are to be found.

life. Their descendants have been taken under the special protection of Government, and are being taught various trades, such as tent and carpet making, &c.; and it is firmly hoped that they will learn to regard the crimes of their ancestors with that horror and repugnance, which is naturally aroused by the contemplation of them.

The conviction of the Thugs was mainly brought about by approvers—men who saved their own lives, by undertaking the conviction of their brother murderers. Their testimony was naturally open to great distrust; yet the circumstantial evidence procured by their means was most conclusive. A slight sketch of the nature of the evidence may be interesting. Supposing a party was apprehended at Agra, and confessed to having belonged to a gang of Thugs, he was asked if he would save his life by denouncing his companions. If he consented, sentence of imprisonment was passed against him: and he then gave a full account of his cold-blooded atrocities. If any of those whom he denounced as his companions, had been already convicted, the Magistrates in charge of them were desired to take their depositions; which were then submitted to the head of the department, for comparison with one another. Parties deposing to the same crime may have been some at Allahabad, some at Patna, and some at Chittagong, and yet their depositions agreed in every important particular. The dates and place of occurrence, the ceremonies observed by the party on going forth, and the numbers concerned, were detailed with such exact minuteness, as to leave no doubt of the truth of the depositions; and these were often confirmed by the discovery of property, or of human bones, in the spots indicated by the informers.

These depositions were acted upon; the accomplices named in them arrested; and, on learning the evidence against them, they, with few exceptions, at once confessed their guilt.

This crime has decreased: but the exertions of the Thuggí department ought never to cease, till every Thug be extirpated.

Satí, or the burning of Hindu widows in India with the dead bodies of their husbands, is the next crime we have enumerated, as peculiar to India. With the history of Sutí, we have nothing to do: it is a subject that would form an interesting article of itself. We have only to consider it as a crime, which it was declared by law to be in the year 1829, by that enlightened Statesman, Lord William Bentinck: and we have ever considered the prohibition of Satí as the noblest act that has been performed, since the Government of India has

been ours. The law prohibiting it is singularly mild; and yet it would appear to have been effectual. There is only one case of Satí recorded in the decisions of the Nizamut Adawlut, but other convictions may have taken place before the Courts of Session; although of these, even rumour is silent. The law declares that all persons aiding and abetting a Satí where the sacrifice is voluntary, shall be deemed guilty of culpable homicide, and be punished discretionally by fine, or imprisonment, or both, with, or without, labour. Where compulsion may have been used, or the woman may have been labouring under stupefaction, parties assisting at the Satí, shall be deemed guilty of murder, and shall be liable to suffer death. Since Satí was declared a crime, the practice, so utterly repugnant to human nature, has become unpopular, and must speedily cease; and, on the next revision of the criminal laws of India, a special statute for its suppression will be deemed unnecessary.

Slavery, or an absolute power over the person and fortune of a slave, very generally existed throughout India. Both the Hindu and Muhammedan laws recognise slavery; and chapters have been devoted in them to the exposition of the various modes, in which one person may become the slave of another. The British Government however has exercised its declared prerogative of modifying the laws, and has, from time to time, passed such regulations on this subject, as the condition of society would admit of. In 1811, a law was passed prohibiting the importation of slaves from foreign countries into the British territories; and by Regulation III. of 1832, the buying or selling, as a slave, any person brought from one district to another, was declared punishable. Ten years later, the death blow to slavery was struck without a murmur. By Act V. of 1843, claims to slaves were declared to be inadmissible in any Court. Slaves themselves are competent to acquire and inherit property, and any act which would be a penal offence, if done to a freeman, was made equally an offence, if done to a person on the ground that such person was a slave. The buying or selling any person, as a slave, is declared punishable by us, by fine and imprisonment: but we observe that, lately, parties convicted of carrying about girls, and attempting to sell them for the purposes of prostitution, were sentenced by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut to five years' imprisonment with hard labour.

The last crime we have named as peculiar to India, is that denominated Dharna, which is defined to be the sitting for the purpose of extorting money, or obtaining any interest or right,

whether real, imaginary, or pretended. The law against it would be a very delightful one to distressed people in England, and would effectually frustrate every species of the tormentor, designated Dun, provided a combination were entered into against them: for the sitting at the door of the house of a party, other than that from whom a claim is endeavoured to be forced, is no Dharna; so that, without the assistance of the neighbours, a dun could not be displaced. The commission of this crime, disagreeable as it is in itself to either party, has led to loss of life, and the infliction of the punishment for culpable homicide. One party, we learn from the reported cases of the Nizamut Adawlut, sat Dharna over an old man, in so effectual a manner, as to cause his death by starvation: while, on the other hand, a party of mendicants buried their companion up to his chin in the earth, and left him there, in the vain hope that their claim would be recognised. Unaccustomed to the cold earth, he languished and died; and his friends were sentenced to imprisonment for five years.

Female infanticide might perhaps have been with propriety included in the catalogue of crimes peculiar to India; but, as it is not unknown in England, and the motives are the same, we have thought it better to omit it. Any reader desirous of becoming acquainted with the peculiarities attending the crime, may indulge his curiosity by perusing an article on the subject, which appeared in an early number of this Review.

We will now proceed to notice briefly the punishments inflicted for crimes common to both countries. And first, of crimes against the person.

The crime of murder, when fully and clearly established, is usually punished by death: but, where any extenuating circumstances are to be found, or where the motive leading to the crime has not been clearly and satisfactorily explained, the criminals are punished with imprisonment or transportation for life; or with imprisonment, with hard labour (for life), in the jail at Alipore. Women are sometimes sentenced capitally for murder, or to imprisonment with hard labur for life; but are never sentenced to transportation beyond seas.

We have heard tales of great barbarity, in days gone by, having been occasionally practised in carrying the sentence of the law into execution; such as strangling the criminal on the ground, or hamstringing him before death—a precaution taken by the executioner to prevent the ghost of the criminal haunting him: and, it was not till the year 1829, that the Magistrate of Midnapore, at this time one of the Judges of the Sudder

Court, brought the subject to the notice of the superior authorities, in the following extracts of a letter to the Court of Nizamut Adawlut:—

"In almost every district the gallows is constructed in a 'manner peculiar to it, and the mode of executing differs from 'that in others. In this district, the gallows is formed by two 'perpendicular poles, and a cross bar, from which is suspended 'the rope; a rude ladder is placed against the cross bar, which 'the criminal and executioner ascend; and the noose is tied 'round the former's neck: the latter then descends, and draws 'away the ladder. The scene is altogether most shocking; 'the trembling ascent of the poor wretch, and the slow with-'drawing of the ladder enhance and prolong his sufferings, and horrify the humane feelings. It has occurred to me, 'that a moveable and portable gallows might be constructed, 'with a board, as a platform for the criminal to stand upon, 'which should drop on a bolt being knocked out at each end 'of it.

"I have further to observe, that, in some districts, the executioners are in the habit of hamstringing criminals, or rather 'of cutting the tendons behind the ancles, even before life is extinct. On this point, therefore, the orders of the Nizamut are 'likewise much needed."

The Court immediately took up the question; and, on the fifth of April, not only directed a gallows to be erected at every station, agreeably to the Judge's suggestion, but forwarded to every Magistrate a very neatly lithographed picture of a criminal about to be executed, taken from the original painting forwarded to them by the Magistrate of Midnapore.

Three years later, the exposure of bodies in chains or gibbets was prohibited, and the Magistrates were directed to give them up to their relatives when claimed, or to bury or burn them when unclaimed, according to the custom of the caste to which they belonged.

In the year 1844, Magistrates were forbidden to bestow money or new clothes on condemned criminals before they are led to execution, because "such donations and indulgences 'are calculated to detract from the force and effect of the 'solemn warning which the adjudgment of the last penalty 'of the law is designed and intended to convey."

This prohibition has very much tended to bring hanging into disrepute; but the Magistrates are compelled to be careful that the order is not evaded. Dressed as if going to a wedding, decorated with garlands and flowers, and preceded by a band

of music, the condemned criminals offered themselves, if Hindús, as victims to Kali, and thus turned the last penalty of the law into a religious ceremony. Numbers of the Thugs, executed at Saugor in former years, joyously leapt from the gallows, secure under these circumstances, as they imagined, of everlasting happiness, while the plaudits of the crowd, assembled to witness and share in the sacrifice, were resounding in their ears.

The execution now generally takes place in some conspicuous place in the town adjacent to the jail; to which the criminal is conducted with a long procession, and with as much decorum as such an occasion will admit of.

In former times, in England, the victims of the law were similarly conducted up the streets of London to Tyburn, which was then expressly set apart for this purpose, partly because it was adapted to the accommodation of a large number of persons, and partly because it was at a distance from the residence of the better classes, whose sensibilities might be affected by so disagreeable an exhibition; but they are now executed in front of the jail. Whether the change has been attended with the benefits contemplated, is much to be doubted. The mental agony of the criminal is certainly abbreviated; but it may be questioned whether the abolishing of the procession does not weaken the effect proposed.

We are not of those who would abolish capital punishment altogether, because the example is lost upon the crowd collected to witness it: for it is not upon them that the anguish of the criminal is expected to take effect. They are nearly all of them hardened and inured to crime, and only rush to witness an execution, because it is a scene which produces temporary excitement. They too often sympathise with the misery of the criminal, and lose sight of his crime—or capriciously exhibit a vindictive satisfaction at the expiation of the offence. Where in their opinion the crime is venial, feelings of irritation and resentment against the Government are excited in their breasts; and, in the indulgence of them, the misery of the criminal, and his crime, are both alike forgotten. Upon the whole then, with scarcely an exception, no beneficial effect is produced by the exhibition of a public execution.

But the great plea of the advocates for the abolition of capital punishment, is, that the suddenly cutting short the life of a criminal shuts him out from all hopes of mercy; and that, if left to reflect upon his crime, he would be led to regard it with

horror, and sue for pardon to his offended Maker with such unwearying perseverance, that he would be sure to obtain it. It is much to be doubted, however, if the discipline of a jail, especially of an Indian one, is calculated to induce serious contemplation. The mind is much more likely to become day by day more hardened by contact with crime, and at length deadened to every religious feeling. Were our jails so arranged, as to allow of private discipline, and a proper classification of prisoners, this argument against capital punishment might have weight; but, as things are, it has none.

A true history of the crime and folly of a Prison in Bengal would furnish examples almost sufficient to clog the morbid appetite of an English Public for all that is horrible, wonderful, and almost incredible. There are many, who, on looking back to the motives of their crimes, can scarcely trace the steps by which they were tempted. There are many, who, conscious of their innocence, consume their lives in indignant fretfulness at the undeserved imprisonment they are forced to submit to, and who are half worn out by the restless desire to clear themselves. And if this be so, is a jail a place to produce penitence? Removed from the opportunities of performing the religious ceremonies enjoined by their creeds, and expelled from their castes, the natives of India become utterly depraved: and, of the thousands annually incarcerated, not one is ever reformed. The Government of India is so well aware of this fact, that, as we noted in a former part of this article, corporal punishment has been re-introduced, being deemed expedient, until adequate improvement in prison discipline can be effected.

The punishment of murder in India has, we gather from the selected reports of the Nizamut, been apportioned with much discrimination.

The crime of homicide, as distinguished from murder, is classed under five heads, in accordance with the Muhammedan law; accidental, compulsory, erroneous, justifiable, and culpable. Accidental homicide is by the Muhammedan law, punishable by Diyut; and we observe that one person, who killed a man in the dark, mistaking him for a dog, and another, who killed a man while firing at a wild beast, were declared by the Law Officers liable to punishment; but were acquitted by the Sudder Judges.

Homicide by compulsion, or where a person kills another by order of his master, or other persons under menaces which in-

duce a fear of death, is not justifiable under the Muhammedan law, but the penalty of Kisas is transferred from the compelled to the compeller, while the person compelled is liable to discretionary punishment.

Erroneous homicide, or where a person deliberately intending to murder one person, accidentally kills another, is not held liable to "Kisas" under the Muhammedan law, but to discretionary punishment by 'Diyut,' and has been declared punishable, under the Regulations of Government, in the same manner as if the criminal act had been done upon the person intended to be killed.

Homicide, under the Muhammedan law, is justifiable in cases of adultery, when there is no other means of prevention: but according to Abú Hanífah, the offending party must be caught in the act, or under such circumstances,—such as being found in the house,—as may lead to the inference that the crime is about to be committed. The Sudder Judges have not invariably allowed the Muhammedan law its full scope; but have, where there have been peculiar circumstances of aggravation on the part of the accused, sentenced him to imprisonment for a short period. A special Regulation however was passed in 1822, to set aside the justificatory plea admitted in such cases by the Muhammedan law; and the crime is now punished according to the equitable principles of the English law.

Culpable homicide is ordinarily punishable by imprisonment, with labour, for the period of seven years; but, in cases of aggravation, for fourteen years. Thus, where torture was applied to a party, to extort a confession of theft, which ended in the death of the person maltreated, the prisoners were convicted of aggravated culpable homicide, and were sentenced to imprisonment for terms, varying from fourteen to two years, according to their respective degrees of guilt.

With the exception of the crime of adultery, the remaining catalogue of offences against the person requires no comments—the punishment awarded for them being the same as in England, and varying according to the degrees of guilt.

Adultery is punishable as a criminal offence in India, and the parties are liable to imprisonment with hard labour for any period not exceeding seven years. Under the Muhammedan law, persons even who harbour adulterers, are liable to discretionary punishment. The law requires the prosecution to be conducted by the husband, and, should he decline, a public prosecution cannot take place. This law is seldom or never

resorted to by the natives of India, which is surprising, as it affords them a ready legal means of indulging their naturally vindictive feelings. But they prefer a deeper revenge without exposure; and either take the punishment into their own hands, by resorting to effectual measures for preventing a repetition of the offence, or pervert the laws in their favour. They seize the offending party in their house, and, loudly proclaiming him a thief, easily secure his conviction. He has been found in the house attempting to rob the woman of her bracelets: and she unhesitatingly deposes before the magistrate, that, if she had not vigorously resisted him, the robbery would have been effected.

Of offences against property, the crime of burglary alone requires our notice, as differing in some particulars from the same offence in England. According to the English law, burglary is "the offence of breaking into, and entering a dwelling house at night, with the intent to commit a burglary therein." According to the Regulations of the East India Company, it is "the breaking into, or attempting to break into, any house, hut, boat, or other habitation, or into any ware-house, or other building used for the preservation or custody of property, with the intent to steal." Thus if breaking, or the attempt to break, into a house be made, actual entrance into the house, as in English law, is immaterial. The crime may be effected in India, either by day or night, and the house may be either a dwelling house or a ware-house. The intent also must be to steal; so that the breaking into a house with the intent to commit murder or rape is not burglary, though it is so by the laws of England. But though the breaking into a dwelling house, either by day or by night, is equally burglary, the law considers the offence of greater magnitude when committed by night, than when committed by day, and enables the Courts to award an enhanced punishment. By the laws of England, the entering into a house by a door, and afterwards breaking out of it, is burglary; but it is not so in India. In cases of burglary, unattended with violence, or aggravating circumstances, a magistrate is competent to award a punishment not exceeding two years' imprisonment with hard labour, and one year's imprisonment in lieu of stripes. Where the crime is attended with circumstances of aggravation, the case must be committed to the Sessions Judge, who may award a sentence of sixteen years' imprisonment, or banishment. We will glance at the circumstances, which the law declares to be aggravating and render-

ing persons liable to so heavy a punishment. The attempt to commit a murder is a circumstance of aggravation; so is the wounding, burning, or inflicting any corporal injury upon the occupants of the house; so also if the prisoners or any of them have been before convicted of burglary, robbery, or other heinous crime, or appear to be persons of notoriously bad character, provided they have been convicted of some specific offence, or are, at the time of committing the offence, watchmen, guards, or police officers; or if the property stolen exceed the value of one hundred rupees—these are declared by the law circumstances of such aggravation as to take the case out of the hands of the magistrate, and render it imperative upon him to commit the parties to the Sessions Court. These have been specified by the law; but lest circumstances should arise which were unforeseen by its framers, they have wisely left a general discretion to the magistrate of committing parties to the Sessions, whenever they may consider such a measure necessary.

The crime of burglary, when attended with violence, is so similar to the crime of dacoity, or robbery by open violence, that we shall endeavour to point out the distinction, as it is drawn in the reported cases of the Nizamut Adawlut. If the breaking, or attempt to break, be effected with violence, and the house be in actual use, as a habitation for persons or a ware-house for goods, at the time of the attack, and three or more persons be present, the crime committed is dacoity, or robbery by open violence; but if the breaking be effected without violence, though violence subsequently occur, it is only burglary attended with violence. Thus, if three or more persons proceeded in an open manner with torches and broke into a house, or, while breaking into it, used threatening language to the inhabitants, so as intimidate them, the crime committed would be dacoity: but if the same party had quietly broken into the house, and afterwards lighted their torches, and tied up, and maltreated the inhabitants, the crime would be burglary attended with violence. In dacoity, the house must be in actual use: in burglary, in ordinary use as a habitation, or receptacle for property. The punishment however would, in either case, be the same.

There is a vagrant law, somewhat severer than the English law, which we will notice, as it is open to abuse. Our English "Budmash," or incorrigible rogue, may be committed to the house of correction till the next General or Quarter

Sessions of the peace, and then be further imprisoned for any period not exceeding one year, (and not being a female) whipped.

The regulations of the East India Company on this subject deserve all praise, as they endeavour to reclaim such offenders by all the means in their power; and, failing to do so, effectually prevent their ever again annoying society. There is almost delicacy in the mode pointed out by the law, for ascertaining if a suspicious character be really as bad as he appears to be. The law directs a daroga, whenever any one has been denounced to him as a bad character, without any ostensible means of livelihood, to make private inquiries about him in the first instance, and then secondly, if the result be unsatisfactory, to apprehend him, and question him as to his mode of life. If he be unable to give a satisfactory account of himself, the daroga is required to send him to the magistrate, who will demand from him security for his good behaviour for any period not exceeding a year, or, in default, commit him to jail to labor till the year be expired.

When a prisoner is released, who has been confined in jail for six months and upwards, the magistrate is authorised to pay him the sum of five rupees for his immediate necessities, and to have him released in the presence of the head men of his village, who are enjoined to procure for him some means of livelihood, so as to secure his reformation and future good behaviour; and they are further required to give notice to the police should he cease to labour, or obtain his livelihood by other than creditable means. Should the suspected person be brought before the magistrate, and be unable to prove that he is earning an honest livelihood, he may be required to find security for his good behaviour for one year, or in default be committed to jail to hard labour, till that period be expired. A magistrate may, if he sees good reason, require him to furnish security for three years; but he must transmit his proceedings for the revision and sanction of the Session Judges.

Should a person be deemed so incorrigible, as to render his release dangerous to the community, he may be detained for security for an indefinite period: but he must be brought up every third year before the Sessions Judge, who shall determine upon the proceedings placed before him, whether he shall be again remanded to gaol on the same terms as before, or on others more favourable to him.

As the reformation of the criminal and the protection of

the public are alone the objects of this law, it provides that the magistrate may release such prisoner at any time, should he be satisfied that he may do so with safety.

This law seems to be at once just and merciful; yet it is frequently abused. Sometimes persons are unnecessarily required to furnish security: and sometimes the security demanded is too great. The police and the magistrate are always anxious to give it full effect, as the credit of their administration is frequently enhanced through it. We learn from Mr. Speede, that in nine districts all the suspected characters were obliged to sleep every night at the police station, till they should furnish security: the order was, however, speedily rescinded.

The system of jail discipline is, we observe from the Guide Books, excessively lax and ineffective: and it is a well known fact, that the prisoners are secured, not by their guards, but by their excessive attachment to the jail. Many men, who can scarce earn their daily bread by excessively hard toil, on their entrance into the jail, find more food than they can possibly eat already prepared for them; they are clothed and housed more luxuriously than it has ever entered into their imaginations to conceive; while the labor performed by them, is only sufficient to give them appetite, and to induce them to look forward to their dinner with much inward satisfaction. Such ought not to be the case; but until a superintendent of jails shall be allowed, with a European overseer appointed to each jail, no improvement can be expected.

The system of superintendence is at present very anomalous. The Governor of Bengal performs the duties of an inspector, and issues orders direct to the magistrate. The Sessions Judge is required to see that the orders are obeyed; but, if they are not, he has no power to enforce them. He can merely report the circumstances for the orders of the government. The very minutest details are submitted to the Governor of Bengal, who has so little, we suppose, to occupy his attention, that he can find time to taste and prescribe the kind of oil to be used by the prisoners, and to direct the mode in which the prisoners shall be shaved. The kind of beard allowed in jail, we do not learn; but we learn that the shaving is performed by contract; and that consequently every man (beard or no beard) is shaved as often during the month, as His Honor the Governor of Bengal will permit.

The subject we are writing upon is inexhaustible; and much has been previously in the pages of this *Review* written

upon it: but the length of this article warns us to bring our rambling observations to a close, and prevents our bringing into prominent notice, step-by-step, the various improvements made in the criminal laws of India, and the system of administering them. The changes have been gradual, and occasionally merely experimental: and when on trial, they have been found inexpedient, they have been immediately abandoned.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

I.—*The Poetry of the Dutts.*

We only echo the remark of a local writer, when we say that there is nothing poetical in "the dumpy name of Dutt." It is one less adapted, even than that of poor Amos Cottle, "to fill the speaking trump of future fame," as it sounds more like the short thick tout of preparation, than one of those long-drawn flourishes, with which the noisy goddess heralds her favorites. Yet it contains as many letters as that of Pope; it is quite as musical and nearly of the same character as that of Scott. All it wants is the charm of association. Had it ever been borne by a great poet, we should never have discovered that it was not poetical. And if a number of small poets could do for it as much as a single great one, we should even now have had to mention it more respectfully. We have reckoned up *five* Hindoo Dutts, who write English verses, and very passable verses too; but as yet they have not been able to separate their patronymic from the train of common-place ideas of burly babús and dingy bazars, by which it is appropriately attended. Who shall venture to say, however, that some not very remote generation may recognise as much of music in the name of Dutt, as we now hear in that of Pope or Moore?

We have said that there are at least five Dutts, who write passable verses. Four of them live and sing in Calcutta; and the fifth, though now doomed to reside at 'benighted' Madras, like Ovid on the shores of the Black Sea, is also a native of Bengal. They are all young men, and, if we mistake not, those residing in Calcutta are all of one family, sons and nephews of the highly respectable Russomoy Dutt, Secretary to the Hindu College Committee, and a Commissioner of the Court of Requests. Of course, they must be reckoned of the class, celebrated, or stigmatised, as "Young Bengal;" but, we believe, they are all quiet unobtrusive members of that section of the class, which does real credit to its teachers.

Two of these Dutts have published small pamphlets of poetry—of pieces, which have first met the public eye in the columns of the newspapers, to which the performances of the others have been, we believe, hitherto exclusively confined. Our purpose being to direct attention to effusions, noticeable as well from their intrinsic worthiness, as from the circumstances of their origin, rather than to criticise them minutely, we shall not waste, on comment and analysis, the space, which may be more usefully devoted to extract and illustration. For a foreigner and an Asiatic, writing English verses in a language picked up at school, a general correctness of expression and composition

constitutes a claim to praise; and this claim all the Dutts possess. In this respect, as in some others, they might fearlessly compete with most of our enthusiastic young gentlemen, who qualify for the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey, in the Poet's Corner of our home and colonial newspapers. Indeed, he would be an acute critic, who, from internal evidence alone, could discover that their verses were elaborated under a turban, and not under a hat, or that the initial D, appended to them, stood for Dutt, and not for Dobbs. Perhaps we might go even further, and assert that the versification of these young Hindús is distinguished by a grace and strength, which are rarely seen in that of our small English bards, and which would in some measure atone for the scarcity of new, striking, or profound thoughts. There is also in their style and tone a vigour, an energy, which, exhibited by a soft lethargic Hindú, is not a little remarkable.

The first in the field of poetic fame was Govind Chundra and, to our thinking, he is the best of the band. Early last year he put forth a small pamphlet, containing "Specimens from a volume of verses nearly ready for the press:" but, we believe, the promised volume has not yet seen the light. Its publication was made greatly dependent on the favourable reception of this pilot-pamphlet; and, as the public would not favourably receive the poetry even of an unknown Byron, we may regret, but cannot be surprised at, the non-appearance of our too prudent poet's book. The specimens before us, however, most of which had already appeared in print, enable us to judge of what the volume would have been. They are the scattered fragments of precious metal lying on the surface, that tell the richness of the vein below. In them we have the effusions of a truly poetical mind, though not of a great poet. They want the torrent flow of some of the other Dutts; but they possess that calm transparency, which reflects the quiet beauties of the heaven and earth. Their tone is tender and serious, as best befits the gentle and serious thoughts, which it expresses. We know not if Govind Chundra professes himself a Christian: but certainly, if his verses are to be regarded as the true index of his heart, he ought to do so. Let it not be supposed however, that we are introducing the reader to a mere rhyming theologian—one who writes sermons in verse; Govind Chundra's religion is that of every-day life, and mixed up with all its every-day feelings. Nor are there wanting in his effusions, thoughts, which no poet need be ashamed to utter,—gems unlooked for, which almost startle us by their unexpected beauty. Take for example the following, which occurs in the lamentation of a love-lorn Moslem girl:—

> My heart is like a desert wide—its only palm is dead:
> The only bird, that cheered with song its solitude, is fled;
> The only fount, that raised in it its limpid column high,
> Is choked and filled with barren weeds, and dry, alas! how dry!

Here is a picture less striking, perhaps, but not less beautiful, sketched during a "Night on the Ganges."

How pleasant now, at ease reclined, to mark
The sombre shadows of each varying tree.
The mangoe here, with countless leaves adorned,
Casts densest shade, and, there, the towering palm
Mirrors its length. The scented Babúl next,
With fragrant yellow flowers and leaves diffuse,
Bends o'er the wave to see its image fair.
One mass of green the trees far off appear,
And cast no shadows on the flood below.
The ample Ghát its thousand pillars rears,
In the dim moonshine looking vast and pale,
Untenanted and cold, sublimely grand;
And the high temple, with its graceful arch,
And faint discovered spire, that upwards points,
Shaded by moonlight, like a phantom, looms
Adjacent.

Our poet seems partial to the sonnet: there are no less than twenty-four in his little pamphlet of forty-two small pages, and very tolerable specimens of that form of verse some of them are. Here is one, as a sample:—

GOUR.

I gazed upon the ruins, wrapt in thought:
Sudden, they melted to my dreaming sight,
And in their place rose moated castles bright;
Like the great temple without workmen wrought;
The scene with deepest interest was fraught;
Banners unfurled like meteors mocked the light;
And burnished armour red reflections caught,
As sentries slowly paced the ramparts white.
The streets were peopled with a motley throng:
Brave men, and bashful women half afraid,—
Huge elephants, forward urged by mace and thong,
And snorting steeds in trappings rich arrayed,
In one continuous tide were borne along,
While martial music at a distance played.

And here another:—

TIME.

How oft, oh Time! men thoughtlessly reprove
Thine even course, and call thee swift or slow;
The restive school-boy, who from school would go,
The youth, that longs impatient for his love,
Miscall thee laggard, whom no tears may move
Nor soft words melt. The sage with locks of snow
Thinks thee too rapid; on thy onward flow
He looks and weeps, while dreams, which fancy wove
In the fresh season of his youthful prime,
Fade into air. For me, I mark thy way
Placid and smooth, and bless thee ancient Time!
Nor call thee slow, nor wish thy course to stay,
As, hid in shady nook, I "build the rhyme,"
Or, listless, under cloistering branches stray!

We must close our illustrations of Govind Chundra's verses with the following, which, as the composition of a young Hindú, possesses an interest beyond any which its intrinsic excellence can give it.

LINES WRITTEN ON THE FLY LEAF OF MY BIBLE.

I sought for Fame : by day and night,
I struggled, that my name might be,
Emblazoned forth in types of light,
And wafted o'er the pathless sea.
But sunken cheek, and vision dim,
Were all I got by seeking him.
I sought for wealth. The lust of gold
Sucked my best feelings, seared my heart,
Destroyed those aspirations bold
That formed my nature's " better part ;"
And, at the last, though seeming fair,
The prize, I clutched, was empty air.
I sought for Power ; the loftiest steep,
The topmost heights I strove to scale,
Nor dark abysses, yawning deep
Around me, could my courage quail.
But bolder ones, with swifter pace,
Outstript me in the eager race.
I sought for Love. His heavenly flame
Lit for a time my cheerless way ;
But, when it fled—my path became
More gloomy for the transient day.
Death spread above his sable pall,
And turned my fondest hopes to gall.
I sought for Health : the changeful girl,
The more I followed, farther fled,
Where the streamlet's billows curl,
And wild flowers burst, she hid her head.
I prayed her to return again,
My prayers were breathed,—but all in vain !
What shall I seek now ? All I sought
Eluded, shunned, my nerveless grasp ;
What shall I seek ? Oh sinful thought
While still this volume I can clasp !

Another of the Dutts has left that nursery of fledgling bards, the newspaper 'poet's corner,' and come out in all the dignity of a book of his own, which, very small though it be, gives him a claim to rank second in our brief chronicle. This is M. M. S. Dutt, a native of Bengal, as his name avouches, an ex-student of Bishop's College, and, a Native Christian, now residing at Madras. He also has put forth a pamphlet of verse, containing a metrical tale, founded on a passage in the half-fabulous history of India, and called *The Captive Ladie;* which is followed by a fragment of blank-verse, called *Visions of the Past.* The writer, in his preface, apologises by anticipation for such of the imperfections of the work, as may be attributed to carelessness, on the plea that it was written in haste for the columns of a newspaper, and amidst all the distractions of want and sorrow, which now, we believe, no longer beset him. He is less fertile in

poetic thought than Govind Chundra, but, on the other hand, perhaps excels him in force of diction, and music of rhyme and rythm. His principal poem, *The Captive Ladie*, is a rather ambitious imitation of the style, which the example of Scott and Moore and Byron, and the "fatal facility" of the octosyllabic verse, have rendered rather too popular with our aspiring bards. Of his success we will let the reader judge for himself, by the aid of a few brief extracts, conveying, what we regard as, fair, if not somewhat too favourable, specimens of his strains. But first we must cull two or three stanzas from a dedicatory address "To———,"—the poet's wife we presume —and which, if it expresses, as we have no reason to suppose it does not, the real feelings of the writer, presents the Hindú poet to his English readers in a character, which they are all unused to attribute to his countrymen, even that of a fond affectionate husband :—

Oh ! beautiful as Inspiration, when
  She fills the Poet's breast—her fairy shrine,
Woo'd by melodious worship ! welcome then !
  Tho' ours the home of Want, I ne'er repine :
Art thou not there, e'en thou, a priceless gem and mine ?

Life hath its dreams to beautify its scene,
  And sun-light for its desert ; but there be
None softer in its store—of brighter sheen—
  Than Love—than gentle Love : and thou to me
Art that sweet dream, mine own ! in glad reality.

Though bitter be the echo of the tale
  Of my youth's wither'd spring, I sigh not now ;
For I am as a tree, when some sweet gale
  Doth sweep away the sere leaves from each bough,
And wake far greener charms to re-adorn its brow.

Here is an extract from the poem itself : —

" 'Tis night—oh ! how I hate her smile,
Which lights the horrors of this isle,
Where, like lone captives, we must sigh
O'er arms that rust and idly lie—
Far from the scenes, where oft the brave
Will meet thee, glory ! or a grave—
Far from the scenes, where revels gay
Will chase the darkest cares away—
Far from the scenes, where maiden bright
Will steal to list, at fall of night,
Her lover's lute and roundelay,
And like a viewless spirit shower
Her dewy wreaths on leaf and flow'r,
Love's token—and then swiftly fade,
And vanish like an airy shade !

And here another of a different character :

A prouder scene the fiery sun
Had never—never shone upon !
Like golden clouds, that on the breast
Of yonder Heavens love to rest,

Unumber'd hosts in bright array
Glitter'd beneath the noon-tide ray :
A thousand flags wav'd on the air,
Like bright-wing'd birds disporting there ;
A thousand spears flash'd in the light,
In dazzling splendour—high and bright ;
The warrior-steed, so fierce and proud,
Neigh'd in wild fury—shrill and loud ;
The jewell'd elephant too stood
In solemn pride and quiet mood ;
And in the glittering pomp of war
The mail-clad hero in his car.
For nations on that glorious day
Met there from regions far away—
The mightiest on this earth that be
In all the pride of Chivalrie,
To celebrate thy feast—proud Victory !

" And all around the dazzled eye,
Met scenes of gayest revelrie:
For, here beneath the perfum'd shade,
By some bright silken awning made,
Midst rose and lily scatter'd 'round,
That blush'd as if on fairy ground,
Bright maidens—fair as those above—
Sang—softly—for they sang of Love ;
How fondly, in the moon-lit bow'r,
When midnight came with star and flow'r,
Young Krishna with his maidens fair
Rov'd joyously and sported there—
Or, on the Jumna's holy stream
Where star-light came to sleep and dream,
From his light skiff, that sped along,
His soft reed breath'd the gayest song,
Which swelling on the fitful sweep
Of the lone night-wind's sigh—so deep—
Wing'd ravishment where'er it fell—
Love's accents in their airy spell !

The fragment, entitled *Visions of the Past*, is introduced by the following sonnet, which is not altogether devoid of poetic feeling and beauty :—

I sat me by a shrine, and heard a strain,
Sweet as thy whispers, cedar'd Lebanon !
Which lull the weary pilgrim, when the sun
Seeks in wide ocean's gem-lit, vast domain,
His nightly haunt : it sunk, then swell'd again,
High to the throne of Israel's Holy one,
Nor swell'd its vestal symphony in vain ;—
Echo'd by sainted spirits He hath won !
The bridal song of her the spouse below :
I wept !—How oft, O world ! thy harlot-smile
Hath woo'd me from the fount, whose waters flow
In beauty, which dark Death will ne'er defile :
I wept !—A Prodigal once weeping sought
His Father's breast,—and found love unforgot !

The fragment itself is a sort of vision of Eden, and our first parents therein, and seems formed on the model of Byron's beautiful *Dream*.

We can afford only one short extract from it, as we find that we are engrossing more space than we can claim for the subject :

I look'd, it came that fulgent vision bright ;
A fleet of light upon a crystal sea !
And as it came, the shadowy beings, which thron'd
And hung around that bow'r of loveliness,
Like misty curtains, fled speed-wing'd and fast.
—As when, Bengala ! on thy sultry plains,
Beneath the pillar'd and high arched shade
Of some proud Banyan—slumberous haunt and cool—
Echo in mimic accents 'mong the flocks,
Couch'd there in noon-tide rest and soft repose,
Repeats the deafening and deep-thunder'd roar
Of him—the royal wanderer of thy woods !
They fled—that darksome crew, and as they fled
I saw that bow'r of beauty—but how chang'd—
How chang'd, alas ! from primal loveliness !
As if some desolation-breathing blast
Had wing'd in blighting sweeps its dark career
Over its fairy beauty—withering all !
But where were they, the gentle beings and fair,
I erst beheld within that blushing bow'r,
Pent in each other's arms in balmy rest ?
Methought I saw them stand with pallid brow
Eclips'd—as when from out the starless realm
Of the dark Grave—by Fancy fondly woo'd
In midnight resurrection, the pale shade
Of what was once ador'd and beautiful,
Stands by the mourner's pillow—silently !
But as they saw that airy vision bright,
They fled like Guilt behind a leafy tree.
I stood as one entranced, and sight and sense
Slumber'd in deep and dark oblivion.

Shoshí Chundra Dutt, who shall stand third on our list, has not, that we know, aspired to the dignity of a volume to himself; but he has contributed rather copiously to the literary columns of the local newspapers. Of late however, he, together indeed with most of the bards of his name, seems to have withdrawn from dalliance with the Muses. Possibly, in his case, the dry study of English Law, in which we believe he is engaged, has absorbed all the spirit of poetry and romance, which enlivened the more genial pursuits of earlier years. His effusions are characterised by a peculiar boldness and vigour of rythm, which conceal, in a great measure, the deficiency of higher poetical qualities, where they exist. We cannot afford room for more than an extract from one of his longer lyrics, but we think it justifies our belief, that the Ganges, with all its natural grandeur, and all its sublime associations, is not unworthily sung by one of its sons.

The waves are dashing proudly down
Along thy sounding shore ;
Lashing, with all the storm of power,
The craggy base of mountain tower,
Of mosque, and pagod hoar,
That darkly o'er thy waters frown ;

As if their moody spirit's sway
Could hush thy wild and boisterous play !

But reckless yet of gloomy eye.
As heedless too of smile,
Through various climes, with regal sweep,
Rolls on thy current dark and deep,
Nor even stoops to wile
The blooming fruits, and flowerets shy,
That lightly bend to reach thy wave,
Their beauteous breasts therein to lave.

Unconscious roll the surges down,
But not unconscious thou,
Dread spirit of the roaring flood !
For ages worshipped as a God,
And worshipped even now,—
Worshipped, and not by serf or clown ,
For sages of the mightiest fame
Have paid their homage to thy name.

Can'st thou forget the glorious past ?
When, mighty as a God,
With hands and heart unfettered yet,
And eyes with slavish tears unwet,
Each sable warrior trod
Thy sacred shore ; before the blast
Of Moslem conquest hurried by—
Ere yet the Mogul spear was nigh.

Thine was glory's brightest ray,
When the land with glory teemed ;
The fairest wreath the poet won,
The praise of every daring done,
On thee reflected beamed :
When glory's light had passed away,
Thine were India's wrongs and pain,
Despite that brow of proud disdain.

O'er crumbled thrones thy waters glide,
Through scenes of blood and woe,
And crown and kingdom, might and sway,
The victor's and the poet's bay,
Ignobly sleep below ;
Sole remnant of our ancient pride,
Thy waves survive the wreck of time,
And wanton free, as in their prime.

We are tempted to give a specimen of a different style :—

HYMN TO THE DEITY.

O Thou ! of this great universe the lord,
Whatever be Thy name !
Whose throne is far above the mountains brow,
Whither may never pierce our mortal sight,
In mystic gloom, or radiant blaze of light,
Lord of these works ! but far transcendant Thou !

From pole to pole, and from the earth to heaven,
In all the spheres that burn !
Thy name is glorious, as it e'er should be,
For all creation at Thy will was made,
The giant mountain, and the wild cascade,
And the hoarse billows of the roaring sea.

And every place, Thy hallowed presence owns,
Spirit of purity !
Where winter's chilly blasts perpetual reign,
And on the barren shores no verdure smiles,
The Polar Sea, and Zembla's frozen isle,
As well as summer's fertile wide domain.

Through boundless space, the stars harmonious roll !
Each sparkling gem a world,
A wandering ray of thy resplendent state,
A fragment of thy my-tic vast design,
Whose limits human pride may ne'er confine,
Lord of all Goodness ! Thou art wond'rous great !

Number Four is Hurchundra Dutt. He has within the last two years written many fugitive pieces of spirited and pleasing verse, many of them having, for their subjects, scenes and incidents in the history of his country, or the social and domestic life of his countrymen. Here is one of a series of "Oriental Lyrics," discontinued but too soon. We give it rather for its convenient dimensions, than because we regard it as a favourable illustration of the powers of its author:

THE RAJPUTNI BRIDE.

She comes, she comes, and in her hand
The *Champac* wreath she brings,
The fretted, sounding roof on high
With thrilling music rings ;
And warriors, dressed in green and gold,
Of high renown and bearing bold,
To her their homage pay ;
And as she moves with queen-like grace,
The blushes deepen on her face ;
For 'tis her bridal day.

Her bridal day ! from far and near
The gallant princes came,
With hearts, where flattering hope beat high,
And burnt love's transient flame.
Assembled in that hall of state,
Where slaves in gorgeous liv'ries wait
Their biddings to obey.
With nodding plumes the suitors stand,
Expectant each to win her hand,
And bear the prize away.

None yet could tell what favored neck
That bridal wreath would wear ;
What gallant heart had won the heart
Of one so young and fair.

The thin white veil that o'er her streamed
Was slow withdrawn :—the jewels gleamed
That decked her raven hair :—
Was there a youth then in the hall
Who would not give his wealth, his all
With her life's joy to share ?

The music ceased,—and all around
A hurried glance she cast,
When from the palace gate there rose
A bugle's shrilly blast.
Unmindful still the suitors came
With hearts where burnt love's transient flame
To win the lovely bride,
The host who stood beside the throne,
To hear the sound did start alone,
Then thought the wind had sighed.

A moment and beside the bride
Her true love brave was seen ;
Why cometh he in soldier's guise
To wed his " beauty's queen ?"
The garland round his neck is thrown,
And bride and bridegroom both are gone
Across the moors away.
In vain the guards on their chargers spring,
And swear the youth in chains to bring,
Or in fair fight to slay.

The followign is not a bad imitation of those 'pretty' love verses, which pass muster in our golden and silken albums and annuals, for very fine poetry :—

CANZONET.

When stars above are beaming,
And firefly lamps are gleaming,
And happier men are dreaming,
I think my love of thee.
And when the morning shineth,
And clouds with silver lineth,
This heart of mine repineth
For thee my love—for thee.

So when alone thou'rt roaming,
Beneath the star of gloaming,
Where brooklets clear are foaming
Oh ! then remember me.
Or when bright hopes have faded,
And all thy joys are shaded,
And cares have thee invaded,
Oh ! think my love of me.

The fifth and last on our list of poetical Dutts is Gris Chundra. He has not published much, or it has escaped our notice ; but what little he has committed to type, proves that he had no need to be ashamed of a competition for the bays with the other poets, who bear the same patronymic. Let the reader determine his standing among

them on the authority of the following, which is the last of his effusions, that we have seen :—

ABSENCE.

I think of thee, I think of thee,
When glows the east with day ;
When o'er the wide extended lea,
The perfumed breezes stray ;
When sunlight laughs upon each stream,
And lines each leafy tree,
I wander 'neath the morning beam,
And think, my love, of thee.

At noon, when high the summer sun,
Is blazing in the sky,
Pensive, and thoughtful and alone,
In listless mood I lie ;
And think of happy by-gone years,
And things once dear to me,
Of boyhood's thrilling hopes and fears,
And thee, my love, and thee.

When softly shining from afar,
As ev'ning throws her veil,
With gradual swim the evening star,
Comes o'er the rocky dale ;
When moonbeams wander o'er each stream,
Each fairy guarded hill,
Or on the ocean darkly gleam,
My thoughts are with thee still.

When half the busy world's at rest,
When silence reigns profound,
And nought on Nature's silent breast,
Disturbs the calm around ;
When low I lie in slumber warm,
From worldly troubles free,
In dreams I see thy fairy form,
And converse hold with thee.

We think the reader will agree with us in regarding it as a noticeable circumstance, that no less than five Hindus of one family, or one name, should be able to compose English verses, of which these last are not at all too favourable a specimen. It is a fact, that suggests many serious and yet gratifying reflections, on its causes, and their other and more momentous effects—on the education of the natives of India in the literature and science of the West, and its consequences. The poetry of these Dutts may not rank very high in the scale of excellence, and the power of making such verses may not be so generally diffused among the educated Hindoos, as might, perhaps, be inferred from its so prominent development in one family; but at any rate, the verses are good enough to show, that the native mind is capable of sentiment, vigour, and refinement: and we can vouch for the fact that Bengal has many other indigenous bards, worthy to rank with those, whose works we have here celebrated.

II.—*Oriental Christian Biography; containing Biographical Sketches of distinguished Christians, who have lived and died in the East. Compiled by W. H. Carey. Nos. I.—IV. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press*, 1849.

This is, so far as we know, the first introduction amongst us of a mode of publication that has become so common elsewhere, under the designation of the 'serial method.' The nature of the work before us is much better suited to such a mode of issue than is that of those works which are generally put forth in this way; as the shortness of the several sketches enables the author to comprise many of them in each part, and to arrange them so that each part shall be complete in itself. The work promises to be one of great interest; and we anticipate much gratification from reviewing it at length on its completion; meanwhile, we restrict ourselves to a very brief notice, and to a cordial recommendation of the book to a larger "share of public patronage" than is usually accorded to the products of our local press.

The plan of the work is as simple as may be. The biographical notices are very brief, but contain a clear account of all the matters of interest that are known respecting the several subjects. The materials are drawn from every accessible quarter, and are condensed with great care. The selection of the subjects has been made on the principles of the largest Protestant Catholicity. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Wesleyans and Congregationalists, Baptists and Pædobaptists, are here memorialised in the same pages, even as they do now rest from their labours in the same Paradise, and behold the face of the same Lord, whom, under somewhat different forms, and with somewhat different rites, they served in the same spirit while on earth. Clergy, dignified and undignified, established and non-established;—laity titled and untitled, high and low, rich and poor, young and old, civil and military;—European, American and Asiatic, all find an impartial record in these pages. And the impartiality is not confined to the selection of subjects for notice; it is equally exhibited in the execution of the notices themselves. There appears nothing of a sectarian tendency in the work: and we understand that the author, in order to guard against even the unconscious deviations from catholicity, into which his own conscientious views might betray him, submits every sheet of his work, as it passes through the press, to the rigorous censorship of a friend, belonging to a different section of the Christian church. Thus is secured one of the greatest excellencies, that can characterize such a work; and thus is there every prospect of realizing one of the best objects that could be aimed at,—that, namely, of inducing Christians to love all their fellow Christians more cordially. We are persuaded that many bigoted Churchmen, and many bigoted Dissenters, will be astonished to find so much good in the characters of members of their opposite "persuasions," as is evinced by these sketches; and we trust that while they are led to

regard the memory of the dead with an affection, undiluted by any thoughts of their peculiarities of sentiment on minor points of doctrine or order, they will be insensibly induced to extend to the living, who share in these peculiarities, the same affection that they have been led to feel towards the memories of their predecessors.

The arrangement of the lives is purely Sibylline. The design of this, as the author explains in an advertisement, is to introduce as much variety as possible into the several *brochures*. This could not be done, it is evident, by a chronological order, nor by a denominational order, nor by any order that we can think of, unless either an alphabetical arrangement, or the perfect want of all order that has been adopted: and we think, upon the whole, that the way chosen is the best; only we think facilities might have been afforded, by a double system of paging, for giving to the purchaser the option of binding the work, according to one, or other, of the arrangements, that we have hinted at. It is promised, however, that the inconveniences incidental to the present plan shall be remedied in another way, viz. by alphabetical and chronological Indices; the latter of which will accommodate the work to the purposes of those, who wish to trace the aspect of affairs in successive periods; while the former will make it easy of reference to those, who wish to consult it respecting any individual, whose memoir is contained in it. These indices, we have no doubt, will render the book, when complete, no less convenient as a work of reference, than the subscribers must find it agreeable, during the course of its publication, as a work for perusal.

Although we will not suffer ourselves to be betrayed into any thing like a review of the work in its present imperfect state, we must permit ourselves to give utterance to one feeling, that has been strongly called forth by the perusal of that portion of it, which is now before us. It is no new sentiment, but one that the perusal of all Christian biography tends to confirm,—the exquisite adaptation of our holy faith to mankind as such, without reference to the peculiarities of mental constitution and of social position, that distinguish men from each other. The extremes of rank and station, and the extremes of natural talent and mental acquirement, are equally capable of being blessed by its influence, and equally dependent upon its guidance through life, and its comfort and support in death. In the first No. alone, we have an account of the very learned Bishop Middleton, who found the most fitting and most honouring employment of his great talents and acquirements, in the elucidation of a very small, but very important, peculiarity in the language of the New Testament;—and, almost side by side, we have an account of one Golam Ali, who uncouthly, but sincerely, expresses his love to his Saviour and Lord, in such terms as these;—"I love orange—it is sweet; but Jesus Christ more sweet,—I love Jesus Christ." No one will be disposed to smile at this language, who knows that the learned prelate and the illiterate lascar must equally enter the kingdom of heaven

as little children. When babes and sucklings praise the Lord, they must praise him in the language of babes; yet is it out of their mouths, that praise is perfected.

We anticipate a large sale for this work, both in India and in England; and very glad shall we be if our hearty commendation shall tend in any degree to promote this end. We cordially recommend it to our readers.

As a fair specimen of the work we select at random a portion of the notice of Charles Grant—a brick from the building:

"In the Session of 1807, on a motion for papers relative to the conduct of the British Government towards the Poligars, Mr. Grant traced the Vellore mutiny to the wish of the Mohammedans for the restoration of the sons of Tippoo Sultan to power. Whatever might be the remoter causes, the immediate occasion was, clearly, some injudicious military regulations, which tended to obliterate the fondly cherished distinctions of caste among the native soldiers. It certainly did not originate, directly or remotely, in the conduct of the missionaries, whom Mr. Grant, on every occasion, was among the foremost to defend from the unjust imputations, with which they have been too often assailed.

In the revenue administration of India, he supported a system, which invested with proprietory rights and personal immunities the native landholders and cultivators; a system which originated under the paternal government of Lord Cornwallis. The interest which Mr. Grant took in the jurisprudence of India always appeared to be proportioned to the influence which, in his opinion, the due administration of justice would have upon the moral and intellectual condition of the natives. Few persons were better qualified, by personal observation and extensive enquiry, to appreciate the difficulties which lay in the way of any rapid amelioration in the state of a people sunk, as the natives of India are, in inveterate prejudices and habits, rivetted upon them by the ceaseless exertions of their superior orders or castes. But it was inconsistent with Mr. Grant's consciousness of the superiority and divine authority of Christianity to concede, either to Mohammedanism or Hindooism, a perpetual existence. Hence the pleasure with which he regarded every prudent attempt to engraft principles of British jurisprudence on the Asiatic stock; and hence the decision and zeal which he evinced upon all questions connected with the superstitions or morals of India.

The negociations between the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Ministers for the renewal by charter of the Company's commercial privileges, which commenced in 1808, when Mr. Grant was Deputy Chairman, called forth an extraordinary display of the powers of his mind.

In advocating the intellectual and moral wants of India, he had to encounter difficulties as unexpected as they were extraordinary, partly occasioned by the fears, and partly by the most surprising prejudices in favour of Hindoo idolatry, which were entertained by Europeans connected with India, some of whom came forward avowedly to oppose missionary exertions, in pamphlets which bear their names. The one party maintained the purity of Asiatic morals, and the harmlessness of the Hindoo character: and the other, the danger of interfering with Hindoo prejudices. The controversy, to which this subject gave rise, was, in its issue, eminently promotive of the interests of truth; and it prepared the way for those extensive moral and religious exertions for India, which have so greatly distinguished the last few years; and which God, in his providence, has conspicuously blessed for the benefit of that vast peninsula and its dependencies.

With a view to dispel the fears and remove the prejudices of the enemies to missionary efforts, many important documents were produced and laid on the table of the House of Commons, chiefly at the instance of Mr. Grant; such as proofs of the prevalence of infanticide in different parts of India, of the impu-

rities and atrocities of Juggernauth, and of the great extent of the worship of that idol; of the habitual falsehood and dishonesty of the Hindoos; and on the other hand, of the long undisturbed existence of Christianity in some parts of India. Lastly, Mr. Grant's own tract, entitled "Observations on the general state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, with respect to morals, and on the means of improving it." This valuable paper was called for by the House of Commons, laid on its table, and ordered to be printed for the use of the members, on the 5th of June, 1813: but it has never been published.

In entering into the measures which Great Britain might adopt for the removal of these evils, and the improvement of the state of society in India, Mr. Grant referred to the introduction of the English language, as a circumstance arising almost necessarily out of the connection of Englishmen with that country; and which rendered extremely easy, if it did not carry along with it, the introduction of much of their useful literature, and particularly the sacred scriptures. Towards the last measure, with many more direct means of improvement, such as schools and missions, he considered it incumbent on the Court of Directors to manifest at least a friendly aspect, and with respect to education, a co-operation. Mr. Grant fully answered the several objections which had been made to interfere with the religion of Hindoostan, and, in concluding this valuable paper, he made a powerful appeal to the British authorities in behalf of India.

In 1813, the Act of Parliament, commonly called the Charter Act, obtained the Royal assent. This statute, the fruit of much and laborious discussion, effected some considerable changes in the East India Company's commercial privileges, in which Mr. Grant could not concur; but, on the other hand, it contained three important modifications of the law, which were in perfect accordance with the sentiments and reasoning which he held, and the attainment of which ought in justice to be ascribed, in an eminent degree, to his zeal and exertions.

The first of these was an augmentation of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of British India, and the institution of a Bishop's See at Calcutta; the second, the privilege granted to European teachers of Christian morals, or missionaries, of enjoying a regulated access to the natives of India; and the last, the annual appropriation of the sum of one lakh of rupees for the general promotion of education among them. "Thank God," devoutly exclaimed Mr. Wilson, in his interesting funeral sermon, to which the subsequent part of this memoir is chiefly indebted, "Thank God, he lived to see the great object of his wishes and efforts in some measure accomplished,—the question of Christanity in the East gained,—an ecclesiastical establishment in British India formed and fostered by the state,—the number and efficiency of the ministers of our church stationed in that country greatly increased,—the Christian missionary protected in his peaceful and honourable labours on the shores of the Ganges,—and a force of Christian principles and feelings on the subject raised and established, both in India and at home, which, we may humbly but firmly hope, will never be successfully resisted."

The House of Commons, in which Mr. Grant sat for about seventeen years, namely, from 1802 to 1819, (being two years for the town, and fifteen for the county of Inverness,) repeatedly elected him on committees, some of which were not connected with Indian affairs.

Amidst the multiplicity of his occupations, his parliamentary constituents, and his native county enjoyed a large share of his anxious attention. At the date of his election to a seat in Parliament, the Highlands of Scotland were, as regards the means of internal communication, in a state of almost primitive destitution. Adequately to supply these deficiencies, in a country so poor, so extensive, so thinly peopled, and abounding with physical obstacles, was an undertaking too gigantic for the effects of local combination. Such being the undeniable condition of the Highlands, Government resolved to undertake various magnificent works, which, now in a state of completion, add greatly to the convenience

and welfare of the country. The Caledonian Canal was the first which was commenced. The Act for cutting the Caledonian Canal was followed by another for the formation of Highland roads and bridges. Mr. Grant, it is understood, was among the first projectors of this measure, and for a period of twenty years, he strenuously exerted himself to advance it. Among other measures of local improvement in his native country in which Mr. Grant co-operated, one of the latest efforts of his public life was the promotion of the Act for building and endowing churches in the extensive parishes of the Highlands. The establishment, formed of late years in Edinburgh and in Inverness, for the extension of education in the Highlands, constantly found him a warm and efficient friend.

Although Mr. Grant ever considered the affairs of India as his peculiar province, and as a sufficient occupation for his mind, he allowed himself to have some other public engagements, but chiefly in connection with religious or benevolent objects.

The decision of his character respecting religion enabled him often to surmount such opposition to his benevolent projects, as would have overturned the purposes of many other men. But Mr. Grant, to the last moment of his life, retained and illustrated in his conduct, the religious principles and philanthropic views which he had imbibed in India.

The great subjects of Christian benevolence were ever present to his understanding and near his heart, and appeared to have a powerful influence upon his actions, leading him in the prosecution of his multifarious occupations, to travel in paths into which the ordinary details of business would never have led him. Under some aspect or other they were almost constantly before him, and are believed to have occupied his close attention within a few days, and probably within a few hours, of his decease.'

With this long extract we take our leave of Mr. Carey, repeating our best wishes for the success of his work.

III.—1. *A Dictionary, English and Sindhi. By Capt. G. Stack. Bombay.* 1849.

2. *A Grammar of the Sindhi language. By Capt. G. Stack. Printed by order of the Government of Bombay. Bombay.* 1849.

It is sometimes not easy to decide whether the speech of a people, or of the inhabitants of a district of country, can be properly called a distinct language, belonging to a particular class, or merely a dialect of one more extensively spoken. In the use of the terms, language, and dialect, there is often a considerable degree of vagueness. It has never been determined, at what stage of divergency the peculiarities in the speech of any tribe, or nation of mankind, have become so great, that those, by whom they are used, can no longer be said to speak dialects of the same language, but rather languages of a cognate character, or sprung from the same original stem.

In India, as well as in Europe, there are several classes of languages, differing very considerably from each other. In some of these there are again various dialects, differing so widely from each other, as to occasion their being often regarded as entirely distinct languages

But the transition from the one to the other, in some of the districts where they are spoken, is in many instances so gradual, that it is almost impossible accurately to mark their respective limits, or to determine where the dialect has become so changed, as to warrant its being classed as a different language.

Thus in the case of the Hindui—the great vernacular language of North Western India—its dialects are so numerous, and in some instances diverge so far from each other, that several of them have been occasionally classed as distinct languages; while others of them melt so gradually into languages universally considered independent, that it is almost impossible to determine the real limits of the general language, to which they belong.

On the lower Ganges, the Hindui dialects almost imperceptibly merge in the Bengáli; along the skirts of the eastern Himalaya, in the Nepálese; on the north west, in the Panjábi; and on the west and south west, in the Sindhi and Marathi, &c. At the same time, within the acknowledged limits of the Hindui, not only are there many dialects, differing greatly from each other,—but even languages, especially those of the aboriginal, or hill, tribes, so entirely different in their character, as to warrant the conclusion that their origin must have been altogether distinct. In the absence also of a vernacular literature—formed on any standards of taste, generally acknowledged, and capable of giving a comparatively settled character to the language, whether spoken or written,—peculiarities of dialect have gone on constantly increasing, till in many instances the natives of one part of the country have almost ceased to be intelligible to those of another; yet most of the words, employed by either party, are from the same Sanskrit origin, though greatly disguised by peculiarities of pronunciation. Hence it is, that the Hindus of different provinces can often communicate better with each other, through the medium of the Urdu—the lingua Franca—originating with the Muhammedans, than by means of their own Hindui, of which they speak dialects so widely different from each other.

The conquest of Sindh has brought us into contact with another branch of the Hindu languages, with which we had been previously comparatively unacquainted. Whether it is altogether entitled to rank as a separate language, or must take the more humble place of a dialect, we shall not take upon us to determine. We cannot, however, but express our obligations to the gallant Officer, who, with so much labour and ability, has presented the public with a Dictionary and Grammar, of the language of Sindh. The obligation is enhanced, by its having been conferred so soon after the country had become a British possession. These works cannot fail to be valuable, as a contribution to Indian philology, as well as to those, whose public duties may require an acquaintance with the language of Sindh.

In looking over the English and Sindhi Dictionary before us we find that the greater portion of the words is of Sanskrit origin.

In one column, for instance, there are given, as Sindhi equivalents for 22 English words, 18 Sanskrit, 10 Persian and Arabic (used also in Urdu), and twelve words of doubtful origin; some of which, however, if not most, are not peculiar to Sindhi, as they are found in other dialects of Hindui, but especially in poetical compositions, such as the metrical versions of the Mahábhárat and the Ramáyan. In another column, we find under 26 English words, 29 Sanscrit, 13 Persian and Arabic, with only 9 words, which may be classed as indigenous to Sindh; though we have no doubt, that, on a closer examination than we have been able to give, this small number of words, apparently peculiar to Sindh, might be greatly reduced, by showing that some of them are aboriginal words to be found also in other dialects, or Sanskrit words greatly corrupted in orthography and pronunciation, and probably somewhat altered in signification.

Though it would seem probable, that not a few of the vocables of the Sindhi language, or dialect, may have been derived from some aboriginal language, now extinct, and that the peculiarities of its grammatical structure may have sprung from the same source, it is evident that, in its present state, it is closely allied to the Hindui and Mahratta—if it may not be claimed as a dialect of either the one, or the other, of these widely spread languages. The large number of Persian words, found in it, is easily accounted for by the geographical position of the country, and the prevalence of Muhammedanism. It evidently however differs more from the Hindui (as now usually written in prose works) in its Grammar, than it does in its actual words: though in the Brij Bhásha, and other Hindui dialects, seldom written, except in verse, we find many of the same grammatical forms. The Grammar of prose Hindui has, however, been undergoing a gradual approximation to that of the Urdu, in which it is not improbable that the language itself may be ultimately absorbed; while its poetry, for the most part, continues to be written in the dialects of Brij, and central India generally, and to retain many grammatical forms, much nearer to those exhibited in the Sindhi Grammar before us, than is likely to be supposed by those, whose Hindui studies have been chiefly confined to its prose compositions.

Our present limits will not admit of any attempt to analyze the works before us, or to do any thing like justice to their merits. We trust the author will be able to continue, and to extend, his researches. If, in addition to his English and Sindhi Dictionary, he would prepare one in Sindhi and English, he would lay the public, and especially future residents in Sindh, under increased obligation.

IV.—*Chapters on Missions in India. By the Rev. H. Fox, B. A., late Church Missionary in Masulipatam. London. Seeleys.* 1848.

The amiable author of this little volume was cut off by the hand of death at an early age, when he was entering on a career of distinguished usefulness. We will not say, in the sceptical tone of a late bard,

> "The spoiler came, and all thy promise fair
> Has sought the grave, to sleep for ever there."

Death has been to him a removal to a higher state of being, and he has left a bright example behind. We trust his mantle may fall on many, and induce talent and mental calibre of a high order to be consecrated to the conversion of the Heathen. He was for five years a pupil of Dr. Arnold's at Rugby, where he felt the first inclination towards devoting himself as a Missionary; and let us hope "that the rich endowments and the high literary advantages of our great educational establishments, may yet make them nurseries for the evangelization of the world." Mr. F. graduated at Wadham College, Oxford: and, hearing of the openings presented for a Telugú Mission, he embarked, with the Rev. T. Noble of Cambridge, for India in 1841. His first duty was the study of the Telugú language; after the acquirement of which, he entered on his favourite department of labour, "conversational preaching in the bazars, thoroughfares, and villages." His health soon broke down, and he was obliged to return to England, where he remained only seven months, as nothing could detain him from his beloved work in the land of his adoption. Again he was forced back—but only to die. His career closed in 1848.

These Chapters on Missions are very valuable, and written in an interesting tone. In treating of the *Duties of the Church*, the author observes, "a church, which is content with labouring at home, working merely among its own members, resembles a mass of fuel, in which the fire is smouldering, but not burning; which sends forth smoke, not heat; which is not indeed actually and altogether unlit, but which in no degree answers the purpose of him who instituted it." He then treats of the duties of England, in particular with reference to India (a country as large as Europe, not including Russia), and the sphere opened to her in the Madras Presidency. There are the Telugús, or Gentús, comprising ten millions of people, on the coast, and inland from Ganjam to Pulicat: a Church Mission was established among them in 1841. There are the Tamulians, reaching from Pulicat to Cape Comorin, amounting to eight millions, with forty Church Missionaries. There are the Canarese in the Mysore district, and the Malayalims (nearly one million,) along the Malabar Coast. The Madras Presidency contains a population of 11,000 Europeans, and 30,000,000 na-

tives. Mr. Fox gives the following illustration of the condition of the peasantry :—

"While staying in the Choultry (a halting place for the heat of the day), I had abundance of company in a set of palanquin bearers, and in a number of cooly men, (i. e. hired labourers), who took up their quarters, and laid down their loads in the verandah. When I had had enough of reading, and they of sleeping, I had a long conversation with two of them. The coolies were engaged as carriers ; on my talking with them about their occupations, they said that they were small farmers. and that their proper business was cultivation, but that in preference, whenever they could, they went as carriers ; they were now carrying on their shoulders bales of coarse cottons, from some merchant at Palcole, to another at Masulipatam, a distance of 45 miles : for this they each receive one rupee (two shillings) ; the value of each man's burden varying from 30 to 40 rupees (£3 to £4) ; the journey they accomplish in four days. When I asked them, why they preferred this carrier's work to cultivating the ground, they said that in this work they got their whole hire to themselves ; but that in cultivation, after paying all proper dues and rent, the Tahsildar's peons (petty officers, of the rank of constables) unjustly exacted from them at the rate of one anna on the rupee (that is, one sixteenth). "But why do you give it to them, if it is unjust ?" "If we do not give it, they beat us." "If so, why do you not go and complain to the Tahsildar ?" (He is the native collector and magistrate of a small district). "It is he that sets his peons on, and encourages them to do it." "Go to the English Collector then, and complain to him." "We can't do that ; he lives 40 miles off, and the Tahsildar would stop us on the way,and drive us back." "But can't you go, without letting any one know what your purpose is ?" "Yes we can do that ; but what is the result ? the Collector writes to the Tahsildar to enquire of him about our complaint, and he will write back to say that he has beaten us because we would not pay our rent, or some such story as that ; and then we come back again with nothing for our pains ; perhaps we get another beating for making the complaint, and get turned out of our bit of land,"

After referring to the intercourse of Europeans with the natives, and the social condition and appearance of the country, Mr. F. treats of the power of caste, which is stronger in Madras than in the Bengal Presidency, though in the latter we require many more servants on account of caste, than in the former. Mr. F. writes, "If a Brahman, parched by thirst, is compelled to ask for a draught of water of a man of lower caste than himself, he may drink it without being polluted, if only he pours a few drops of milk into it, or mixes a small piece of cowdung with it. * * * A very serious disturbance, accompanied with loss of life, occurred about eight or nine years ago, between the members of two very low castes, because the one party had poured four vessels of water over a dead body, whose funeral rites they were performing, whereas their caste did not allow them to pour more than three. * * * A Pariah may not live in the town or village occupied by families of the upper caste: at a short distance from the outskirts of their habitations, is a separate village of mean huts, called Málapátam, or Pariacherry, or Pariah-town, where this lowest class of all live. * * * On one occasion I sought to purchase, or rent, from a native, a large Hindoo house in the centre of a respectable neighbourhood in a large town, for the purpose of inhabiting it. The neighbours were

in the greatest alarm; my Pariah servants, they said, would not only have to be passing frequently through the street, a thing, which stricter custom, as retained in the villages, would not allow, but they would be spending the day, perhaps sometimes the night, within the large enclosure round the house; the whole atmosphere would be impregnated with Pariah-ism, and the locality be polluted. The owner, who was a Brahman, and lived sixty miles distant, would not let me have the house. * * * On one occasion, a Brahman, of high caste, and reputation for learning, was sitting beside me. I saw him suddenly lift his bare foot from the floor, and, looking at it with horror, immediately rise. He went outside the door, and carefully wiped it. I enquired if a scorpion had stung him, or an ant bitten him; he said, no, but that he had inadvertently put his toe upon a grain of boiled rice, which had fallen from the table, and was lying on the floor; and, that when he went home, he must purify himself. The rice had been cooked by a Pariah, and it had formed part of the meal of an Englishman. No one saw the pollution but I and the Brahman himself, and I have no idea that he would trouble himself about his purification."

Mr. Fox gives, we think, too low a view of the state of learning among the Hindus. He was too short a time in the country to be able to pronounce a correct judgment on the subject. There is a superstitious practice mentioned, which we have not heard of in Bengal. "The moon is also an object of worship: it is supposed to be a male deity: when the new moon first appears, the beholders lift up their hands towards it in adoration. Sometimes a person will take a thread from the cloth they wear for dress, roll it up in their fingers, and, throwing it towards the moon, salute the luminary with the words, 'O moon, take away my old clothes, and give me new ones." He makes mention of the village Goddesses, among which is the Goddess of cholera and small pox. We have not heard, whether a God called Dakhin Ray, who is worshipped here in the Sunderbunds, as a protector against torrents and tigers, is an object of adoration in Madras: but snakes are worshipped there. "There is a day, late in the year, when the women, especially Brahman women, go out early in the morning, carrying with them boiled rice, curds, milk, and such dainties; they hasten to the mud heaps, which mark the white ant's nests; for in these almost universally a snake has taken up its abode: and, with prayers and praises addressed to the reptile, they pour out their presents before the hole, where they suppose it is secreted." He gives several illustrations of ignorance among the Hindus, but makes one very just remark on this subject:—

"The acquaintance, on the part of the natives, with European habits, inventions and knowledge, is about on a par with the acquaintance of most Europeans in India, with the habits and belief of the Hindus. The one know no more than they did, before Europeans were seen in the country: a large proportion of the latter possess as little real knowledge of the subject, as if they had never left England."

He mentions one of the Hindu miracles :—

" At Tiripati, one of the most sacred temples, and the most favourite resort of pilgrims in all South India, is the shrine and golden image of Venkateshwaradu, one of the forms of Vishnu. About fifteen miles off among the hills, is a smaller temple, where there resides the wife of this god. Every evening the priests of this latter temple, previous to closing the doors for the night, place within the goddess-house an enormous pair of shoes, and the usual supplies of betel leaf and nut. In the morning, on opening the door, they find the betel leaf and its accompaniments consumed, the new shoes removed, and another pair considerably worn put in their place. The cause, which they assign, is this : the god walks over every evening all the way from Tiripati to see his wife ; he of course chews betel-leaf all night, and, having considerably injured his shoes on the stony mountain-tracks which he has traversed, leaves them behind him, and returns before cock-crow, wearing the new shoes, which the piety of his worshippers had prepared for him."

Mr. Fox draws, we think, like Ward in his " Hindus," too dark a picture of the native character. He adduces indeed many instances of depravity ; but we could quote as bad from the records of the London Police. However we rejoice to see, that he makes the following admission :—

" And here I have pleasure in remembering instances of many virtues which have come before my notice. I have seen husbands affectionately attached to their wives, parents dotingly fond of their children, young men paying due respect to their fathers : I have occasionally met with honesty, open dealing, and honourable bearing : I have seen friends walking together, who were friends indeed : I have seen hearty good will and kindness, gratitude and attachment to those from whom they have received kindness. Whoever is willing and ready to love the poor Hindus, in spite of their faults and moral degradation, will soon find much in them to love. Their Maker's image is sadly defaced, but it is there. They are steeped in crime and vice as well as in sin ; but they are those for whom Christ endured bitter agony on the cross, and among them are many whom he will bring to his glorious light, and who shall be bright jewels in his eternal crown. We cannot but love those whom Christ has loved ; and I feel pleasure in looking to Masulipatam as a place where I not only have very dear and valued christian friends and fellow countrymen, but where there are not a few, whose faces are dark, yet whom I can love almost as brothers. I would that some others of my countrymen could be persuaded to do the same, and to go forth to do God's work among them."

The following are thoroughly Hindu similies ;

" The earth-beetle burrows and lives in the soil ; it is always passing through it, yet it is never contaminated by the dirt, and it preserves its bright shining coat : *therefore*, the soul of man, which is divine, may dwell in the midst of worldly concerns, mix in sin, and yet remain undefiled."

" Again, " Ghee (i. e. prepared butter) and butter are not the same, yet the one is contained in the other ; and air and water are different from each other, yet one of them is produced from the other ; *therefore*, God, or the divine soul, may dwell in a sinful man as a part of him, and yet not be implicated in his sin."

" Again, " Quicksilver will lie in most intimate contact with other substances, but will, under no circumstances, mix with them ; *therefore*, the divine soul lives in most intimate connection with the frame of man, but is not mingled with it."

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